~~4to dd. 289~~

24153 d. 3

= P. Hist. 4° 21/2

S. Hist. 7A. 50 · 1/2

HISTORY

OF

THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA,

FROM

THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONARCHY

BY

RHODOLPH

OF

HAPSBURGH,

TO

THE DEATH OF

LEOPOLD THE SECOND:

1218....TO....1792.

BY

WILLIAM COXE, F.R.S. F.A.S.

ARCHDEACON OF WILTS, AND RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed by Luke Hansard and Sons,

FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1807.

2.d.153.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

ERRATA.

VOL. II.

Page 58, *l.* 5, *erase* still.—*p.* 56, *l.* 5, *for* councils *read* counsels.—*p.* 63, *l.* 15, *erase* favourably.—*p.* 65, *l.* 17 *for* to *read* from.—*p.* 73, *l.* 9, 10, *for* counties of Marc and Ravenstein *read* Cleves, La Marc, and Ravenstein.—*p.* 80, *l.* 13, *for* dispatched to *read* from.—*p.* 107, *l.* 18, *for* were *read* was.—*p.* 144, *l.* 7, *erase* no only.—*p.* 159, *l.* 14, *after* but *insert* being.—*p.* 165, *l.* 22, *for* exhortation *read* declaration.—*p.* 181, *l.* 24 *for* subtle *read* supple.—*p.* 195, *l.* 25, *for* censures of *read* against.—*p.* 198, *l.* 9, *for* Meniorow *read* Niemirow.—*p.* 200, *l.* 24, *for* extension *read* execution.—*p.* 204, *l.* 9, *for* this *read* his.—*p.* 228, *l.* 1, *for* second *read* third.—*p.* 262, *l.* 8, *for* a sufficient *read* an efficient.—*p.* 301, *l.* 3, *for* against *read* to.—*p.* 329, *l.* 6, *for* with *read* by.—*p.* 332, *l.* 5, *from bottom, for* 27 June *read* 16 April.—*p.* 414, *l.* 1, *for* developed *read* devolved —*p.* 417, *l.* 4, *from bottom, for* Luxemburgh *read* Lawenburgh.—*p.* 393, *l.* 9, 10, *for* and taking *read* took —*p.* 353, *l.* 2, *for* offices *read* office.—*p.* 384, *l.* 5, *after* Joseph *insert* in.—*p.* 598, *l.* 6, *for* were *read* was —*p.* 601, *l.* 16, *from bottom, for* 1776 *read* 1786.

CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP. I. 1685...1712.—*Death of the emperor Joseph—Birth and education of Charles VI.—Division of the Austrian inheritance made by the emperor Leopold—Charles proclaimed king of Spain—Lands on the coast of Catalonia—Obtains possession of Barcelona—Besieged by the French—His spirited defence—Relieved by the English fleet—His alternate successes and defeat—Succeeds to the Austrian inheritance on the death of Joseph—Departs from Barcelona—Elected emperor—Arrives at Vienna—Pacifies Hungary* - - - - pp. 1 to 10.

CHAP. II. 1711...1714.—*Military preparations of Charles—Change in the sentiments of the allied powers, in consequence of his accession to the Austrian dominions—Desperate situation of France—State of England—Views of Queen Anne—Change of the ministry—Their negotiations for peace—Opposition of Charles—Journey of prince Eugene to England—Disgrace of the duke of Marlborough—Inactive campaign of 1712—The troops of England withdrawn—Negotiations and conclusion of the peace of Utrecht—The emperor continues the war—Campaign of 1713—Conferences of Rastadt—Treaties of Rastadt and Baden* - pp. 11 to 21.

CHAP. III. 1706...1719.—*Origin and progress of the negotiations for the formation of a barrier in the Netherlands against France—Aversion of the emperor to the terms imposed by the Maritime Powers—Contests, delays, and difficulties on that subject—Terms of the barrier treaty—Its consequences* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 22 to 28.

CHAP. IV. 1715...1718.—*Hostilities with the Turks—Successful campaign—Victories of Peterwaradin and Belgrade—Peace of Passarowitz* - - - - - - - - - pp. 29 to 33.

CHAP. V. 1715...1720.—*Negotiations of the emperor with England—Treaty of Westminster—Death of Louis the Fourteenth and conclusion of the triple alliance—Views and situation of the court of Spain—Marriage of Philip with Elizabeth Farnese, and her pretensions to Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia—Elevation and projects of Alberoni—Quadruple alliance—Success of the allied arms—Conclusion of a peace with Spain—The emperor acquires Sicily—And establishes the Pragmatic Sanction* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 34 to 42.

CHAP. VI. 1718.—*Dominions, power, and resources of Charles the Sixth at the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance—His acquisitions from the Spanish succession—Netherlands—Naples and Sicily—Milan and Mantua—Army—Revenues—Imperial dignity—His views and projects—Character—Situation of his court and ministers—Ascendancy, intrigues, and death of count Altheim—Life and character of Eugene—Marquis de Rialp—Sinzendorf—Staremberg* pp. 43 to 59.

CHAP. VII. 1718...1722.—*Situation of the European powers after the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance—Sweden—Russia—Denmark—Poland—Turkey—Italy—Genoa—Venice—The Pope—Modena—Tuscany—Parma—The king of Sardinia—France—England—United Provinces*

Provinces—Spain—Germany—Religious disputes—Troubles of Mecklenburgh—Rise and power of the House of Brandenburgh—Internal regulations, military system, and character, of Frederic William - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 60 to 76.

CHAP. VIII. 1718 ... 1727.—*Disputes relative to the execution of the Quadruple Alliance—Repugnance of Charles to grant the investiture of the Italian duchies to Don Carlos—Unexpected union of Austria and Spain—Mission of Ripperda—Treaties of Vienna and Hanover—Elevation and disgrace of Ripperda—Embarrassments of Charles—Conclusion the preliminaries at Paris—Accession of Spain—Disgrace of the duke of Bourbon, and elevation of Fleury* pp. 77 to 91.

CHAP. IX. 1727 ... 1731.—*Delays in the execution of the preliminaries of Paris in consequence of the death of George the First—Efforts of the allies of Hanover—Spain accedes to the preliminaries by the act of the Pardo—Congress of Soissons—Attempts of the emperor to embarrass the negotiations—Disagreement between Spain and the emperor—Treaty of Seville—Armament and hostile preparations of the imperial court—Charles succeeds in detaching England from France, and renews his connection with the Maritime Powers—Second Treaty of Vienna—Death of the duke of Parma—Ineffectual attempts of Charles to form a naval establishment in the Mediterranean—Renewal of the disputes relative to the investiture of Parma and Tuscany* - pp. 92 to 103.

CHAP. X. 1731 ... 1733.—*Anxiety of the emperor to obtain the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction from the other powers of Europe, particularly from the German empire—Difficulties arising from the Religious disputes—Gains the elector of Hanover and the king of Prussia—Ratification of the Pragmatic Sanction—Opposition of the electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and Palatine—State of Europe on the death of Augustus the Second—Poland—Denmark—Sweden—Russia—Turkey—France—Spain—Portugal—Sardinia; abdication of Victor Amadeus, and accession of Charles Emanuel—United Provinces—England* - pp. 104 to 118.

CHAP. XI. 1733, 1734.—*Competitors for the throne of Poland—Account of Stanislaus Leczinski—Supported by France—The emperor espouses the cause of Augustus elector of Saxony, in conjunction with Russia—Election of Stanislaus and counter-election of Augustus—Stanislaus driven from Poland—Augustus acknowledged king—The emperor deserted by all his allies except Russia—Attacked by France, Spain, and Sardinia—Loses the Milanese—Obtains the support of the empire—Campaign of 1734 in Italy—Conquest of Naples by Don Carlos—Campaign in Germany—Spirited letter of prince Eugene to the king of England* pp. 119 to 137.

CHAP. XII. 1733 ... 1739.—*Motives of the conduct of the emperor in regard to the Polish election and the subsequent contest—Conduct of England and Holland—Ineffectual Attempts of the emperor to obtain succours from England—His intrigues, memorials, and appeals—Overtures and negotiations for peace—Campaigns of 1735 in Germany and Italy—Distress and despondency of the emperor, his family, and ministers—Signature of the preliminaries with France—Accession of the kings of Sardinia and Spain—Opposition of the Duke of Lorraine to the cession of Loraine and Bar—Conclusion of the peace* - - - - pp. 138 to 158.

CHAP. XIII. 1736, 1737.—*Marriage of the archduchess Maria Theresa with Francis duke of Loraine—Death of prince Eugene—Fatal consequences of that event—State of the court and cabinet—Ministers of the conference—Rise, Character, and influence of Bartenstein—Origin of the Turkish war—Campaign of 1737—Disgrace of Seckendorf, the commander in chief—Causes which contributed to the ill success of the imperial arms* pp. 159 to 175.

CHAP. XIV. 1738.—*Second campaign against the Turks—Duke of Loraine generalissimo—Favourable events at the opening of the campaign—Reverse of the fortune of the imperial arms—Recal of the duke of Loraine—Disgrace of Konigsegg—Consternation at Vienna—Unpopularity of the duke of Loraine—Cabals of the Bavarian party—Agitation of the emperor* pp. 176 to 182.

CHAP. XV. 1739.—*Marshal Wallis appointed to the command of the army—Defeat of Krotzka—Belgrade besieged by the Turks—Retreat and despondency of marshal Wallis—Agitation and confusion in the imperial court—Negotiations for peace through the mediation of France—Full powers committed to count Neuperg—Signature of the preliminaries—Cession of Belgrade,*

grade, and the provinces beyond the Danube and the Save—Artifices of the French Plenipotentiary—Conclusion of the definitive treaty—Arrest and imprisonment of Wallis and Newperg—Secret history of this transaction - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 183 to 201.

CHAP. XVI. 1739, 1740.—*Degradation of the imperial court—Ascendancy of France—Character and views of cardinal Fleury—Situation of the European powers—Ineffectual attempts to renew the connection between England and the House of Austria—Revival of the Disputes on the barrier treaty* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 202 to 210.

CHAP. XVII. 1740.—*Death of Frederick William, king of Prussia—Early life, education, and character of Frederick the second—His retreat at Rheinsberg—His views and conduct on his accession—Anxiety of the emperor to be relieved from his dependence on France, and to renew his connection with England—His illness and death—Person and character—His consort and family* - pp. 211 to 224.

CHAP. XVIII. 1740.—*Accession of Maria Theresa—Claims of the elector of Bavaria on the Austrian succession—Conduct of the foreign powers—Delusive assurances of France—Suspence and fluctuation of the cabinet of Vienna* - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 225 to 229.

CHAP. XIX. 1740, 1741.—*Irruption of the king of Prussia into Silesia—Mission of the Prussian agent Gotter to Vienna—Demands of Frederic—Peremptorily rejected—Ineffectual appeals to the guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction—Preparations made to recover Silesia—Defeat of the Austrians at the Battle of Molwitz—Singular flight and return of the king of Prussia* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 230 to 240.

CHAP. XX. 1741.—*Effect of the defeat of Molwitz on the Austrian cabinet—Retrospective view of the conduct of Maria Theresa—Motives of her refusal to negotiate an accommodation with the king of Prussia, and causes of her dissatisfaction with the Maritime Powers—Intrigues and preparations of France to dismember the Austrian territories—New claimants on the Austrian succession—Attempts of France to negotiate an accommodation between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia—Indignation and spirit of Maria Theresa—Mission of Mr. Robinson to the Prussian camp, and audience of Frederic—His proposals rejected* - pp. 241 to 251.

CHAP. XXI. 1741.—*Hostilities commenced by the elector of Bavaria—Active preparations of France—Successes of the king of Prussia in Silesia—Fruitless negotiations—Second journey of Mr. Robinson to the Prussian camp—Perseverance of Maria Theresa in rejecting the demands of the king of Prussia—Her character and principles—Situation of her court and cabinet—The duke of Loraine—Ministers of the conference—Influence of Bartenstein—Deceived by the illusory assurances of France, and the hopes of assistance from England—Enthusiasm of the British nation in her cause* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 252 to 259.

CHAP. XXII. 1741.—*Defusive hopes of the queen of Hungary—Disastrous state of her affairs—Hostile operations of France and Bavaria—Progress of the king of Prussia—Neutrality of Hanover—Firmness and spirit of Maria Theresa—Appeals to her Hungarian subjects—Her coronation—Speech to the diet of Presburgh—Rouses the zeal of the states—Her exertions—Concludes an armistice with the king of Prussia* - - - - - - - - - pp. 260 to 269.

CHAP. XXIII. 1741, 1742.—*Capture of Prague—the elector of Bavaria crowned king of Bohemia, and Emperor—Success of the Austrian arms—Conquest of Bavaria—The king of Prussia resumes hostilities—Seizes Olmutz, and invests Glatz—March of prince Charles of Lorraine—and retreat of the Prussians into Bohemia—Battle of Czaslau or Chotusitz—Peace of Breslau, with Prussia and Saxony—Successful operations of the Austrians against the French—Marshal Broglio blockaded in Prague—Changes favourable to the House of Austria, in England, Holland, and Russia—The king of Sardinia joins the queen of Hungary—Campaign in Italy—Conquest of Modena—The king of Naples compelled to sign an act of neutrality* - pp. 270 to 279.

CHAP. XXIV. 1742.—*Blockade of Prague—Distressed situation of France—Overtures of Cardinal Fleury—Indignantly rejected by Maria Theresa—Attempts to relieve the French in Prague—Advance of Maillebois—Checked by prince Charles—Masterly retreat of Belleisle from Prague to Egra—Maria Theresa crowned Queen of Bohemia—Return of Belleisle, with the remnant of the French army, to France* - - - - - - - - - - pp. 280 to 287.

CHAP. XXV. 1743.—*Death of cardinal Fleury—Situation of the French court and ministers—Favourable aspect of the Austrian affairs—Campaign in Germany—Battle of Dettingen—*

Affairs of Italy—Battle of Campo Santo—Treaty of Worms—Inactivity of the allies after the battle of Dettingen—Conclusion of the campaign—Prince Charles of Loraine espouses the archduchess Mary Anne - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 288 to 299.

CHAP. XXVI. 1744.—*France declares war against England and the House of Austria—Attempts to invade England—Louis XV. assumes the command of the army in the Netherlands—Progress of the French—Prince Charles passes the Rhine and invades Alsace—Illness of Louis XV.—Irruption of the Prussians into Bohemia—Seckendorf recovers Bavaria—Maria Theresa again appeals to the Hungarians—Army of insurrection—Prince Charles recrosses the Rhine, and, joined by the Saxons, compels the king of Prussia to evacuate Bohemia—Capture of Friburgh—Conclusion of the campaigns on the Rhine and in Flanders—Affairs of Italy—Expedition against Naples—The king breaks his neutrality—Surprise of Veletri—Irruption of the French and Spaniards into Savoy and Piemont—Siege of Coni—Retreat of the prince of Conti* - pp. 300 to 309.

CHAP. XXVII. 1745.—*Death of the emperor Charles the seventh—Pretended conspiracy in Russia—Views of the king of Prussia—Situation of the people and ministry of England—Alliance of Austria with Augustus the third—Treaty of Faessen with the new elector of Bavaria—Conduct of the cabinet of Vienna—Campaign in Flanders—Battle of Fontenoy—Campaigns in Italy and Germany—Battles of Hohen-Friedberg, and Sohr—Invasion and conquest of Saxony—Peace of Dresden* - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 310 to 331.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1746, 1747.—*Rebellion in Scotland—Capture of Brussels and rapid progress of the French in Flanders—Battle of Raucoux—Successful operations of the Austrians in Italy—Death of Philip the fifth—Accession of Ferdinand the sixth.—The French and Spaniards evacuate Italy—Genoa taken by the Austrians—Disputes between the Austrians and Sardinians—Invasion of Provence—Genoa recovered by an insurrection of the natives—Ineffectual negotiations for peace—Perseverance of Maria Theresa—Defensive alliance between Austria and Russia—Preparations for the campaign—Renewal of hostilities—Operations in Provence—Retreat of the allies—Blockade and relief of Genoa—Operations of marshal Belleisle—Attack of the post of Assietta—Retreat of Belleisle—Rapid progress of the French in the Netherlands—Their irruption into Holland—Revolution and establishment of the Stadtholdership—Battle of Lauffeld—Retreat of the allies—Siege and capture of Bergen-op-zoom—Naval victory of admiral Hawke* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 332 to 346.

CHAP. XXIX. 1748, 1749.—*Various overtures for a general pacification—Dissentions between the courts of Vienna and London—Convention of the Hague—Disputes with the king of Sardinia—Feeble state of the Dutch—Alarming progress of the French—Negotiations for peace at Breda and Aix la Chapelle—Opposition of Maria Theresa—Signature of the preliminaries—Obstacles to the conclusion—Signature of the definitive treaty—Dissatisfaction of the court of Vienna* - pp. 347 to 358.

CHAP. XXX. 1749...1756.—*Internal regulations and beneficial improvements introduced into the civil and military administration—State of the cabinet—Characters of counts Uhlfeld, Colloredo, Kevenhuller, and baron Wasner—Disgrace of Bartenstein—Elevation and character of Kaunitz—Disagreements between the courts of Vienna and London, relative to the election of the archduke Joseph as king of the Romans, and to the Barrier Treaty* - pp. 359 to 372.

CHAP. XXXI. 1756.—*Causes which occasioned the separation of the House of Austria from the Maritime Powers—Intrigues of Kaunitz at Paris—Negotiations for an union with France—Contests in America—England requires assistance from the House of Austria—Discussions on that subject—Convention between England and Prussia—Progress and conclusion of the treaty between the House of Austria and France—Opposition of the emperor, the ministers, and the family of the empress-queen* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 373 to 390.

CHAP. XXXII. 1756.—*The king of Prussia invades Saxony, and blockades the Saxon troops at Pirna—Battle of Lowositz—Surrender of the Saxons and retreat of Augustus the third from his capital—Irruption of marshal Schwerin into Bohemia—The empress-queen makes warlike preparations—Enters into a new convention with France—Gains Sweden—Secures the neutrality of Spain, Holland, and Denmark—Situation of England and France—Exertions of Maria Theresa to consolidate a confederacy against Prussia—Detaches Russia from England—Commencement of the seven years' war* - - - - - - - - - - pp. 391 to 399.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1757.—*Grand confederacy against the king of Prussia—Force and positions of the Austrian armies—Frederic bursts into Bohemia, and defeats the Austrians at Prague—Blockade of Prague—Dangerous situation of the House of Austria—Account of marshal Daun—Battle of Kolin—Relief of Prague—Sanguine hopes of the court of Vienna—Operations of the French against the duke of Cumberland—Convention of Closter-Severn—Progress of the French in Lower Saxony and the electorate of Hanover—Junction of the French under Soubise with the army of the empire—Success of the Austrians, Russians, and Swedes—Critical situation of the king of Prussia—Battle of Rosbach—Successes of the Austrians in Silesia—Capture of Schweidnitz—Battle of Breslau—Surrender of that capital—March of the king into Silesia—Battle of Lissa, and retreat of the Austrians from Silesia—Operations in the north of Germany—The king of England annuls the convention of Closter-Severn—The French driven from Luneburgh and part of Brunswick—Retreat of the Austrians from Silesia—Loss of Schweidnitz—Administration of Mr. Pitt, and new exertions of England in favour of the king of Prussia* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 400 to 419.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1758.—*Operations of the French and prince Ferdinand—Success of the Russians—Capture of Schweidnitz, and irruption of the king of Prussia into Moravia—Siege and relief of Olmutz—Project of Daun for the recovery of Saxony—Battle of Zarndorf—Return of the king into Lusatia—Siege of Neiss—Surprise of Hockirchen—Second attempt of Daun to recover Saxony—The armies retire into winter-quarters—Characters of Lacy and Loudon* pp. 420 to 432.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.—*Maria Theresa warmly supported by her allies—New treaty of Versailles—Plan of operations—Success of the French against prince Ferdinand—Movements of the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians—Battle of Cunersdorf, and total defeat of the king of Prussia—Jealousies between the Austrians and Russians—Their junction prevented by Prince Henry—Frederick recovers from his defeat, and protects Lower Silesia against the Russians—Soltikof retires towards Poland—Operations in Saxony—Surrender of Dresden—Manœuvres of marshal Daun—Defeat and capture of the Prussians at Maxen—Winter campaign* - pp. 433 to 445.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.—*Vast superiority of the combined forces, and distressed situation of the king of Prussia—Brilliant operations of Loudon in Silesia—Defeat and capture of Fouquet at Landshut, and surrender of Glatz—Military transactions in Saxony, Lusatia, and Lower Silesia—Battle of Lignitz—Retreat of the Russians towards Poland—Irruption into Brandenburgh, and capture of Berlin—Subsequent operations in Saxony—Defeat of the Austrians at Torgau—Operations of the French and prince Ferdinand—Death of George the second, and accession of George the third—State of parties in England, and changes of administration—Pacific sentiments of the new sovereign—Favourable disposition of the king of Spain towards the House of Austria* - pp. 446 to 462.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.—*Ineffectual negotiations for peace—Plans of the campaign—Favourable aspect of the Austrian affairs—State and cabals of the court of St. Petersburgh—Operations in Silesia—Capture of Schweidnitz—Surrender of Colberg—Transactions of Daun in Saxony—Despondency of the king of Prussia—Campaign between the French and prince Ferdinand—Resignation of Mr. Pitt, and change in the British cabinet* - pp. 463 to 470.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.—*Favourable aspect of the Austrian affairs—Depression and despondency of the king of Prussia—Death of the empress Elizabeth, and accession of Peter the third—His enthusiastic admiration of Frederic.—Withdraws from the Austrian alliance and joins Prussia—Campaign in Silesia—Revolution in Russia—Accession of Catharine the second—The Russian troops recalled—Siege and surrender of Schweidnitz—Operations in Saxony—The imperial troops defeated by prince Henry at the battle of Freyberg—Movements of Daun and the king—Armistice—Operations between the French and prince Ferdinand—Ill success of the Spaniards—Conclusion of a peace between France, Spain, and England—Peace of Hubertsburgh between Austria and Prussia* - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 471 to 482.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1762 . . . 1769.—*The archduke Joseph elected king of the Romans—Death and character of the emperor Francis—Grief of Maria Theresa—Joseph succeeds to the throne of the empire—Beneficial regulations and establishments of Maria Theresa—Improvements of Maria Theresa—Improvements in the army, and introduction of the military conscription* - pp. 483 to 490.

CHAP. XL. 1769 ... 1777.—*Causes of the partition of Poland—State and constitution of the country—Death of Augustus the third—Ineffectual endeavours of Maria Theresa to secure the throne for the House of Saxony—Count Poniatowski supported by the empress of Russia—His election and character—Contests relative to the privileges of the dissidents—Tumults and intestine dissensions—Interference of Russia and Prussia—Maria Theresa supports the catholics—Civil war in Poland—Confederacy of Bar—The Turks declare War against Russia—Projects of the king of Prussia for the dismemberment of Poland—Interviews with the emperor, and union between Austria and Prussia—Success of the Russian arms—Alliance of the House of Austria with the Porte—Artful policy of the king of Prussia—Obtains the concurrence of Russia and Austria—Measures which preceded and accompanied the dismemberment—Wretched state of Poland—Ratification and terms of the partition—Changes in the government—New encroachments of Austria and Prussia—Peace of Koinardji between the Russians and the Turks—Austria and Prussia compelled to relinquish their encroachments—Acquisition and the Bucovina* - pp. 491 to 511.

CHAP. XLI. 1777.—*Favourable situation of the House of Austria after the partition of Poland—Connections with the House of Bourbon—Views and principles of Choiseul—Marriage of the archduchess Maria Antonietta with the Dauphin—Rise, progress, and system of the Anti-Austrian party in France—Dismission of Choiseul—Ministry of the Duke d'Aiguillon—Accession of Louis the sixteenth—Appointment of Vergennes—His system of policy—Disappointment of the court of Vienna—Visit of the emperor to Paris* - - - - - - - - - - pp. 512 to 520.

CHAP. XLII. 1777 ... 1779.—*Death of the elector of Bavaria—Disputes relative to his succession—Claims of the House of Austria—Opposed by the king of Prussia—Account of the controversy—Commencement of hostilities—Correspondence between the emperor and the king—Endeavours of the empress-queen to effect an accommodation—Opposition of the emperor—Situation of Russia and France—Their mediation obtained by the empress-queen—Congress of Teschen—Conclusion and terms of the peace* - - - - - - - - - - pp. 521 to 541.

CHAP. XLIII. 1779, 1780.—*Dissatisfaction of the court of Vienna at the conduct of France—Endeavours to conciliate England and Russia—Review of the state of England, and of the American contest—Refusal of Maria Theresa to countenance the colonies—Her motives in seeking the alliance of Russia—State of the Russian court and cabinet—Visit of the emperor to Catherine the second—He succeeds in overthrowing the Prussian influence—The archduke Maximilian appointed co-adjutor of Cologne and Munster* - - - pp. 542 to 559.

CHAP. XLIV. 1780.—*Illness, death, and character of Maria Theresa—Her offspring—Territorial acquisitions during her reign* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 560 to 566.

CHAP. XLV. 1780 ... 1784.—*Character of Joseph II. on his accession—State of the Austrian dominions—Plans of reform—New system of government—Ecclesiastical innovations—Visit of the Pope to Vienna—Abolition of feudal vassalage, and new land-tax—Patronage of literature—Establishments for the promotion of science, and for the purposes of education—Commercial regulations* - pp. 567 to 582.

CHAP. XLVI. 1781 ... 1785.—*Second visit of Joseph to France—His favourable sentiments of the court of Versailles—Abolition of the barrier treaty—Origin and termination of the dispute with Holland—Convention of Fontainbleau* - - - - - - - - - - pp. 583 to 591.

CHAP. XLVII. 1781 ... 1786.—*Confirmation of the alliance with Russia—Joseph assists Catherine in her acquisition of the Crimea—His views of aggrandisement on the side of Turkey thwarted by France—His ineffectual attempts to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria—Formation of the Germanic league* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 592 to 600.

CHAP. XLVIII. 1786 ... 1788.—*Death of Frederic the Second, king of Prussia, and Accession of Frederic William—Decline of France, and revival of the ascendancy of England—Sketch of the state of parties, and changes of administration—Terms of the peace between England and France—Ministry of Mr. Pitt—Unfriendly conduct of the court of Vienna—Renewal of the alliance between England and Russia—Revolution in Holland—Relative situations of Austria and France* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 601 to 608.

CHAP. XLIX. 1787 ... 1790.—*Views of Joseph and Catherine for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire—Progress of Catherine through her own dominions—Visit of the emperor—Declaration of war against Russia by the Porte—Attempt of the Austrians to surprise Belgrade—Joseph declares war—Unsuccessful Campaign of 1788—Enterprises of Loudon and the prince*

of Coburgh—Incursion of the Turks into the Bannat—Disgraceful retreat of the emperor from Caransebes—Censures of his conduct—War between Sweden and Russia—Campaign of 1789—*Death of the sultan Abdelhamen, and accession of Selim—Disgrace of the grand vizir—Brilliant success of Loudon and the prince of Coburgh—Desperate situation of the Turks—Interference of England and Prussia—Deplorable state of France—Origin and progress of the revolution* - pp. 609 to 629.

CHAP. L. 1787 ... 1790.—*State, constitution, and government of the Austrian Netherlands—Reforms introduced by Joseph—General discontents—Conciliating conduct of the governors general—Displeasure of the emperor—Deputation sent by the states of Brabant to Vienna—Duplicity of the emperor—Trautmansdorf appointed minister plenipotentiary, and d'Alton commandant of the military force—New attempts to introduce the reforms—Revival of the discontents—Rise and progress of the revolution—Retreat of the Austrian forces—Establishment of the Belgic confederation—Fruitless attempts of Joseph to recover the Netherlands* pp. 630 to 650.

CHAP. LI. 1789, 1790.—*Commotions and discontents in the hereditary countries, particularly in Hungary—Joseph declines in health—Threatened by the king of Prussia—Revokes the constitution, and restores the regalia of Hungary—His sickness, death, and character—His marriages* - pp. 651 to 662.

CHAP. LII. 1790.—*Accession of Leopold the Second—His prudent conduct towards his new subjects—Opens a negotiation with the king of Prussia and England—Convention of Reichenbach—Armistice with the Turks—Peace of Sistova—Dismission of the Prussian minister Hertzberg, and decline of the influence so long possessed by Kaunitz—Leopold elected and crowned emperor of Germany* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 663 to 678.

CHAP. LIII. 1790, 1791.—*Leopold composes the discontents in the hereditary countries—Affairs of Hungary—Violent proceedings and demands of the Hungarian diet—Prudence and firmness of Leopold—His coronation—Acquires the confidence of the nation* pp. 679 to 687.

CHAP. LIV. 1790, 1791.—*State of parties in the Netherlands—Conduct of Leopold at his Accession—Mediation of the Maritime Powers and Prussia—Congress of the Hague—Events of the counter-revolution—Subjugation of the Netherlands—Convention of the Hague—Evaded by Leopold—His inauguration—Mediating powers withold their guaranty—Revival of internal ferments—Views of Leopold* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - pp. 688 to 698.

CHAP. LV. 1790 ... 1792.—*Progress of the French revolution—Distresses of the king—Ascendancy of the jacobin faction—Encroachments of the national assembly on the rights of the German princes—Plans of Leopold for the relief of the king—His attempt to escape, and arrest at Varennes—Declaration of Leopold at Padua—His fruitless application to England—Connections with Prussia—Meeting at Pilnitz—Pacific conduct of Leopold—Vast Designs of the jacobin faction—Their attempts to force the nation into a war with Austria—Discussion relative to the feudal rights of the German princes; and the protection granted to the Emigrants—Reply of Leopold to the peremptory requisitions of France—His death, character, and issue* - pp. 699 to 728.

HISTORY

OF THE

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

REIGN OF CHARLES VI.

CHAPTER I.

1685—1712.

Death of the Emperor JOSEPH—*Birth and Education of* CHARLES VI.—*Division of the Austrian Inheritance made by the Emperor Leopold—Charles proclaimed King of Spain—Lands on the Coast of Catalonia—Obtains Possession of Barcelona—Besieged by the French—His spirited Defence—Relieved by the English Fleet—His alternate Successes and Defeats—Succeeds to the Austrian Inheritance on the Death of Joseph—Departs from Barcelona—Elected Emperor—Arrives at Vienna—Pacifies Hungary.*

ON the death of JOSEPH the hopes of the House of Austria and the future destiny of Germany rested on CHARLES, who was the only surviving male of his illustrious family. By that event the House of Austria, Germany, and Europe, were placed in a new and critical situation. From a principle of mistaken policy the succession to the hereditary dominions had never been established according to an invariable rule, it was not clearly ascertained whether the males of the collateral branches should be preferred to females in the lineal descent, and this uncertainty had occasioned many disputes between the collateral branches.

Chapter 1. 1685—1712.

To obviate this evil, and to prevent future disputes, Leopold had arranged the order of succession: to Joseph he assigned Hungary and Bohemia, and all the other hereditary dominions; and to Charles the crown of Spain, and all the territories which belonged to the Spanish inheritance. Should Joseph die without issue male, the whole succession was to descend to Charles, and in case of his death, under similar circumstances, the Austrian territories were to devolve on the daughters of Joseph in preference to those of Charles. This family compact was signed by the two brothers in the presence of Leopold *.

Joseph died without male issue; but left two daughters, to whom the natural affection of a father might have prompted him to transmit his dominions; yet his prudence and justice prevailed over the sentiments of paternal affection: appreciating the danger of conferring the sceptre on his eldest daughter, who had not yet completed her twelfth year, he confirmed the family compact, and consigned to his mother the temporary administration of affairs.

Charles, who now succeeded to the Austrian dominions, was son of the emperor Leopold, by his third wife Eleonora Magdalen, a princess of Palatine Newburgh; he was born in 1685, and educated in the court of his father, under the direction of Anthony prince of Lichtenstein, his governor, and Lavigni, an ecclesiastic of exemplary morals, and of profound and elegant learning †.

He was at this juncture in Spain, defending his crown against his competitor the duke of Anjou, who had assumed the title of Philip
1703. the Fifth. On the 12th of September 1703, he had been proclaimed king of Spain, at Vienna, by the title of Charles the Third; being acknowledged by the allied powers, he took his departure on the 19th, and passing through Holland landed at Portsmouth, where he was received by the dukes of Marlborough and Somerset, and conducted by prince George of Denmark to an interview with queen Anne at Windsor. He was then in the eighteenth year of his age, and is thus described by the continuator of Rapin: "The court was very splendid, and much "thronged; the queen's behaviour towards him was very noble and

* Struvius, tom. ii. p. 1412. † Ibid. p. 1431.

"obliging.

" obliging. The young king charmed all who were present; he had a " gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modesty. His beha- " viour was in all points so exact, that there was not a circumstance in " his whole deportment that was liable to censure. He paid an extra- " ordinary respect to the queen, and yet maintained a due greatness in " it. He had the art of seeming well pleased with every thing, without " so much as smiling once, all the while he was at court, which was " only three days. He spoke but little, and all he said was judicious " and obliging*."

In the ensuing year the young monarch sailed from Portsmouth with a large fleet, commanded by sir George Rooke, and a considerable body of land forces under the duke of Schomberg; but being driven back by a violent tempest, did not reach Lisbon till after the death of the Infanta of Portugal, to whom he was betrothed. 1704.

Having made several ineffectual attempts on the Spanish coasts, Charles at length landed in Catalonia, where he had numerous partizans, at the head of 12,000 men, under the command of the brave and eccentric earl of Peterborough, and prepared to commence the siege of Barcelona. Although a revolt had taken place among the Catalans, and sanguine hopes were entertained of immediate success, yet the English commander found the scene of affairs far different from his expectations. " Instead of 10,000 men in arms," to use his own words, " to cover his landing, and strengthen his camp, he found " only so many higlers and sutlers flocking into it; instead of a city " in a weak condition, and ready to surrender upon the appearance " of his troops, he found an orderly garrison, and a force almost equal " to his own army†."

In this hopeless situation of affairs, it was unanimously resolved in several councils of war to re-embark the troops; but this determination was overruled by the spirited resolution of Charles to " stay and die " with his brave Catalans‡." The siege was accordingly commenced,

* Tindal, vol. xv. p. 569.

† An account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, p. 10.

‡ Ibid.

Chapter I. 1685—1712.

the fort of Montjoy taken by storm, Charles entered Barcelona in triumph, and was proclaimed king. Catalonia joyfully received her new master; and the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia were overrun by his arms. But the party of his rival Philip having regained the ascendency, a combined army of French and Spaniards, led by Philip in person, and commanded by the duc de Noailles, drove back his troops, and laid siege to Barcelona.

October 13. 1705.

Charles resolved to stand by his capital, and shewed more concern for the security of the place than for the safety of his own person.

On the advance of the French army, lord Peterborough, alarmed at the danger of the archduke, threw seven or eight hundred men into the town; the garrison of Guione, with a number of miquelets, also forced their way into the place; while the English general with 2,500 troops and miquelets, occupied the heights furrounding the enemy's camp, cut off their supplies of provisions, and even prevented all correfpondence by land between Philip and Madrid; so that the only mode of communication was by sea through Alicant. With all these reinforcements, however, the garrison of Barcelona did not exceed 2,500 regular troops, including 800 or 900 English, 600 of whom defended the fort of Montjoy.

April 1706.

The French and Spanish army, amounting to 20,000 men, commenced the siege by attempting to storm the fort of Montjoy; but being repulsed with great slaughter, proceeded by regular approaches, and did not compel the garrison to surrender till after a siege of twenty-two days.

In consequence of this protracted defence, the troops in Barcelona were enabled to repair the works of the town, to remount the artillery, and prepare for the approaches of the French, which were carried on with little skill and great caution. By means, however, of their formidable artillery, the enemy in thirty-five days made two breaches in the rampart, one of which was practicable, and advanced even to the covered way. The garrison, reduced to 2000 men, were wholly employed behind the breaches, while the inhabitants guarded the remainder of the works.

In

In this situation the enemy might have carried the town by assault, had they not been intimidated by the desperate resistance of the garrison of Montjoy, and by the loss of their best engineer, Lapara, who had been killed in the attack of that fort.

The resolution of Charles rather to be buried under the ruins of his capital than to yield, preserved Barcelona, as the inhabitants were animated by his presence and example, alone, to make a desperate resistance. His prudent and spirited conduct on this memorable occasion is described by Mr. Walpole, who witnessed the relief of Barcelona: "The king's presence and example, who frequently shewed himself in places of most danger, and made all his family work at a great intrenchment behind the breaches, gave life and vigour to them; and from the confession of all his people, had the king withdrawn himself, which many advised him to do, they would have surrendered immediately."

Notwithstanding his unshaken firmness and extraordinary exertions, Charles was reduced to the most desperate situation, and to use the words of Mr. Walpole, "not a speck of blue appeared to give any hopes of the preservation of the town, nor even of the king's person, and consequently of the whole Spanish monarchy." On one side the besiegers hourly threatened an assault, on the other a French squadron of 28 ships of the line blocked up the harbour, while the English fleet, on which his deliverance depended, was detained by contrary winds. At length the wind became favourable, the long expected succours drew near, the French squadron quitted the harbour, and on the 8th of May the English fleet, amounting to fifty sail of the line, with a considerable body of land forces, anchored before the town.

The troops were landed with the utmost expedition, and passed great part of the night under arms behind the breaches. On the ensuing morning the French army broke up the siege, and retreated with precipitation, leaving their sick and wounded, great part of their artillery, and immense magazines and stores. Their retreat was harassed by the small but enterprising body under lord Peterborough, and their march. May 11.

Chapter 1. 1685—1712.

march being overcast by a total eclipse, the superstitious favourers of the house of Austria portended the eternal setting of the Bourbon sun.

The wonderful spirit and activity of Charles which formed a striking contrast to his natural phlegm, subsided on the relief of the place; he wasted much time in religious ceremonies,, and in making a procession to the shrine of the Holy Virgin at Montserat. In answer to the urgent remonstrances of general Stanhope, he excused his delay by alleging that his equipage was not ready; and was not roused by the animated reply of the English ambassador: "Sir, king William entered "London in a coach with a cloak bag behind it, and was made king "not many weeks after*."

The deliverance of Barcelona was followed by a series of alternate successes and defeats, in which Charles twice entered Madrid in triumph, and was twice compelled to retreat; he was at one period master of all the eastern parts of Spain, and at another reduced to the single province of Catalonia. In the midst of this struggle he espoused Elizabeth Christina, princess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle†, and resided at Barcelona, hoping to realise his expectations on the crown of Spain rather from the astonishing successes of the allies in Germany, Italy, and Flanders, than from the efforts of his own heterogeneous army, divided among themselves, and led by generals of different nations and principles, equally at variance with each other.

April 17, 1711.

Charles was awakened from his dreams of visionary grandeur by the intelligence of his brother's death, which secured to him the whole

* Mr. Walpole to Mr. Robert Walpole, Barcelona, June 23, N. S. 1706.

The events of this siege are taken principally from lord Peterborough's account. — Memoires de Noailles, anno 1706. — Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire d'Espagne sous le regne de Philippe V. par le Marquis de Philippe, tom. 2. p. 7 — 23. — Memoirs of Lord Walpole, p. 5.—Mr. Walpole's letters to his brother, from Barcelona, 1706. passim.

† He had offered his hand to Wilhelmina Carolina, princess of Brunswick Blankenburgh; but from attachment to the Protestant religion she rejected his offer, and afterwards espoused George the Second. Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 31.

inheritance of the House of Austria, and opened the prospect of the Imperial dignity.

In consequence of the arrangements made by Joseph, the empress mother, as regent, assumed the reins of government, proclaimed Charles king of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduke of Austria, without opposition, notified his accession to the courts of Europe, and took every precaution in concert with Eugene to secure for him the Imperial crown. From the sudden death of Joseph, the throne was vacant, and the struggles for that dignity might have occasioned new and dangerous convulsions, had not the most prudent and vigorous measures been instantly adopted. Prince Eugene had reached Nuremberg in his way to assume the command of the army in Flanders, before he received information of the emperor's death. He hastened to the Upper Rhine, and gained the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Palatine; he then repaired to the Hague, and after concerting the plan of future operations with the English and Dutch ministers, returned to Germany, gave an impulse to the circles of the empire, and collected a considerable force in the vicinity of the Rhine, both from the detachments of the Austrian troops, and from the contingents of the German princes and states. Having assumed the command in quality of generalissimo, he placed himself in a position to prevent the interference of France, and to awe the diet of election, and dispatched a messenger to his royal master, urging his instant presence in Germany*.

Charles sanctioned the proceedings of his mother, and enlarged the term of her regency; he intrusted Eugene with full powers to manage his interests at the approaching election; established a council, under the direction of his consort, for the conduct of his affairs in Spain, and gave the strongest hopes of support to his faithful subjects in Catalonia. Embarking at Barcelona on the 27th of September he landed in the vicinity of Genoa, had a public interview with the duke of Savoy in the neighbourhood of Pavia, and received on his arrival at Milan, the 16th of October, the joyful tidings of his unanimous election to the Imperial throne; after a short stay at Milan,

* Wagner Historia Josephi, p. 423.

where

Chapter 1. 1685—1712.

where he was congratulated by the Italian powers, the new emperor proceeded through Inspruck to Franckfort, and was crowned on the 22d of December. In addition to the usual titles of emperor and king of the Romans, and to those of Hungary and Bohemia, he styled himself king of Spain, and in proof of his determined resolution to assert his right to that crown, he conferred the order of the Golden Fleece on several of his adherents.

The election of Charles the Sixth formed a new epoch in the political annals of Germany. Hitherto the capitulation ratified by each emperor was considered as a temporary act, only binding the sovereign who swore to its observance; but the despotic proceedings of Leopold and Joseph, in putting the princes and electors to the ban of the empire, confiscating their territories, and granting new fiefs, without the consent of the diet, gave rise to a permanent, or as it was called, a Perpetual Capitulation, to be ratified by each succeeding emperor, which confirmed the privileges of the Germanic body, limited the authority of their chief, and could not be altered or enlarged except by consent of the diet *.

By this capitulation the emperor was not to assemble any diet or council relating to the affairs of the empire, without summoning all the princes and states; he was not to wage war, conclude peace, or enter into alliances without their consent. He was not to put any prince under the ban of the empire by his own authority; not to appropriate to himself, or confer on his own family, any confiscated territory, and he was bound to restore the possessions of which the members of the empire had been forcibly deprived †. It was also stipulated that no election of a king of the Romans should take place during the life of the reigning emperor, unless he was long absent from Germany, or the infirmities of age rendered him unable to conduct the helm of affairs. This instrument likewise ratified the privilege of election secured to the electors by the golden bull, precluded the head of the empire from conferring a vacant electorate without the consent of the

* Struvius, tom. ii. p. 1483. Lamberti, tom. vi. passim. Pfeffel, tom. ii. p. 508.

† Wahl—capitulation, Carls VI.

college,

college, and confirmed to each prince and state the right of concluding separate alliances, either among themselves or with foreign powers, which were not contrary to the interests of the empire.

The ceremony of the coronation being concluded, Charles hastened to Vienna, to take possession of his hereditary dominions. After a residence of only two months in the capital, which was employed in the necessary regulations at the commencement of a new reign, he directed his attention to Hungary. He accordingly repaired to Presburg to receive the crown, to ratify the pacification of Zatmar, which had been commenced by Joseph and concluded by his mother, and to extinguish those sparks of rebellion, which still remained, after two centuries of intestine warfare. May 21.

Charles was hailed by his subjects as the harbinger of approaching tranquillity. Eager to conciliate their affections in the minutest as well as the most important objects, he restored to the country the insignia of royalty, and after the ceremony of his coronation, deposited in the hands of the natives the crown of St. Stephen, which they regarded with superstitious veneration. In arranging at the diet the complicated and difficult questions of religion and government, which agitated the minds of all parties, in a country long torn by intestine commotions, and among a people jealous of their rights and privileges, he acted with becoming wisdom and due moderation. He rejected the presumptuous advice of those among his counsellors who represented it as beneath the dignity of an emperor and king of Spain to submit to limitations of his authority, and readily confirmed the immunities, both civil and religious, which had been granted by the pacification of Zatmar. In reply to the remonstrances of the catholic clergy against the edict of toleration, he said, "although I approve your zeal, and am ready to defend the church of Rome at the peril of my life, yet justice, policy, and my own interest, require that I should not leave my protestant subjects without a ray of consolation *."

From these wise and moderate measures a great revolution, highly favourable to the house of Austria, took place in the sentiments of the

* Memoires de Lamberti, tom. vii. p. 561.

Chapter 1. 1685—1712.

Hungarian nation. No longer oppressed in their liberties, or restrained from the free exercise of their religion, they became, from the most violent enemies, the most active defenders of their sovereign. From this period this spirited but turbulent people, who had always unfurled the standard of revolt during an Ottoman war, not only became the barrier of the Austrian empire against Turkish invasion, but more than once saved the house of Austria from impending destruction on the side of Europe; and that blood which had hitherto discoloured the waters of the Danube and the Save, in civil warfare, was shed in defence of their sovereign on the banks of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Po*.

* For this early part of the life and reign of Charles the Sixth have been consulted Struvius, vol. ii. art. Charles VI.—Schirach's Biographie.—Kaiser's Carls des Sechsten. Histoire de l'empereur Charles VI. Amsterd. 1741.—Lamberti passim. Heiss Histoire de l'empire.—Pfeffel Histoire d'Allemagne. Evenemens remarquables sous Charles VI. —Sacy Histoire Generale de Hongrie, tom. ii. p. 411.

CHAPTER 2.

1711—1714.

Military Preparations of CHARLES—*Change in the Sentiments of the Allied Powers, in consequence of his Accession to the Austrian Dominions—Desperate Situation of France—State of England—Views of Queen Anne—Change of the Ministry—Their Negotiations for Peace—Opposition of* CHARLES—*Journey of Prince Eugene to England—Disgrace of the Duke of Marlborough—Inactive Campaign of 1712—The Troops of England withdrawn—Negotiation and Conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht—The Emperor continues the War—Campaign of 1713—Conferences of Rastadt—Treaties of Rastadt and Baden.*

Chapter 2. 1711—1714.

HAVING pacified Hungary, Charles returned to Vienna to resume, with increasing vigour, his military preparations for prosecuting the war; and the state of the enemy gave hope that the House of Austria would once more regain her antient ascendancy.

France itself exhibited the most striking scene of misery, desolation, and calamity. Even the very seasons seemed to war against the monarch and his people. The sudden vicissitudes of weather destroyed the vines and corn in the germ; every city and every province was threatened with impending famine; commerce and manufactures, the nerves of a nation, were almost annihilated; the population swept away by the ravages of war. The finances, rapidly decreasing, were yearly becoming more and more unequal to support the enormous burdens of the contest; the forcible circulation of fictitious money, and the anticipation of the revenues by every species of fraud and artifice, blasted the honour of the government at home and sunk the credit of the nation abroad; the public sale of military rank, and the prostitution

Chapter 2. 1711—1714.

of honours, hitherto the venerated badge of merit, and other expedients the most disgraceful to a high-spirited people, proclaimed at once the distresses of the nation and the reduced situation of the government. In the midst of these calamities the court was the scene of intrigues and feuds: the very house of Louis was divided into parties; and the monarch who, in his prime, had awed, astonished, and terrified his contemporaries, in his decline sunk in the opinion of his subjects, his family, and Europe by the indecision of his counsels, the failure of his measures, the ill choice of his ministers, and the effects of his degrading connection with madame de Maintenon, his supposed mistress and real wife.

By the disastrous events of five campaigns, and the three desperate defeats of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, the barrier which had hitherto defied all the efforts of Europe, was broken through; and the fortresses, the result of such art, expence, and labour, diverted, but could not resist, the tide of war. The army, which had risen like the hydra from its repeated discomfitures, and the generals who had exhausted in vain all the resources of the military science, were driven to the last line of the formidable frontier. That stupendous colossus, which had overshadowed and overawed the world, was smitten to its foundations; the loss of a single battle, or the capture of a single fortress, would have opened a passage into the defenceless provinces of France, and scarcely left the monarch, who, for half a century, had given law without controul, a place of security even within his own capital.

The continuance of the same vigour, skill, and unanimity for a single campaign would have secured to the allies all the objects of the Grand Alliance, and all the advantages for which they had made such numerous sacrifices and such astonishing exertions. But unfortunately their hopes were frustrated by that principle of dissolution which is inherent in all great confederacies; and it is with the deepest concern we reflect, that England was the primary cause of this change, so fatal to Europe and so disastrous to the civilized world.

Although Anne had obtained a crown by the revolution, she was invariably inimical to its principles, and adverse to the succession in the Hanover line; and she was affected with scruples of conscience, in accepting a throne, from which she had seen her father excluded. Overborne by the spirit of the nation, and dazzled by the splendid victories obtained over its natural enemy, she had hitherto supported in public the whig administration, but was secretly disgusted by the political thraldom in which she was held by her great and powerful ministers, and was still more alienated by the caprice and insolence of her former favourite, the duchess of Marlborough. Thus circumstanced she transferred her confidence to Mrs. Masham, a relation and dependent of the duchess, who gradually supplanted her benefactress. Her scruples revived, and she gave way to the sentiments of affection towards her brother, whom she had been compelled to stigmatize as illegitimate. She was desirous to restore a tory administration, by whose means she hoped to set aside the Hanover line, and to introduce her brother as her successor, provided he would embrace the protestant religion, to which, notwithstanding the bigotry of her family, she was invariably and ardently attached.

Mrs. Masham, secretly inclined to the exiled family, and directed by the tories, confirmed her mistress in these sentiments, and urged her to shake off the degrading domination of the whigs. By her means the queen entered into a secret negotiation with Harley, which ended in the gradual dismission of the whig ministry, and the appointment of a tory administration, of which Harley was the chief. The parliament was dissolved, and the tories obtained a decided preponderance in the new elections. The majority of the nation strongly favoured this change; for notwithstanding a series of wonderful successes, the burdens necessary to support the war had rendered it unpopular. Godolphin and Marlborough were loaded with calumnious and unjust imputations; the whigs were accused of promoting hostilities for their own private interests, and their downfal was hastened by the absurd impeachment of Sacheverel, who in a sermon had defended the tory doctrine of passive obedience.

1710.

Chapter 2. 1712—1714.

Anne, as well as the nation, looked with a more favourable eye towards France; the new ministry intrigued with the court of St. Germain; caballed with the jacobites, and privately renewed the negotiations for peace. The party of Austria rapidly declined; and the death of Joseph unfortunately furnished a plausible pretext for breaking the Grand Alliance. The dangers arising from the union of the empire, Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, and Spain, in the same person, were exaggerated; and the nation was alarmed with the apprehension of seeing the exorbitant power of Charles the Fifth revived in the person of the new emperor. The British Cabinet made overtures to France, and proposed to renew the public conferences in conjunction with the Dutch at the Hague; but this proposal was overruled by Louis, who foresaw that he could not baffle the sagacity, or evade the influence of Marlborough and Heinsius, and the negotiations were privately continued at Paris and at London*.

A relaxation accordingly took place in the prosecution of hostilities; and Marlborough, weakened by the departure of Eugene to cover Frankfort, confined his operations to the capture of Bouchain. On the side of Italy the attempts of the duke of Savoy to penetrate into France, were defeated by marshal Berwick; in Spain the imperial arms were unsuccessful; and Philip circumscribed the Austrian adherents and the empress almost within the walls of Barcelona.

Sept. 13. 1711.

In this situation of affairs the British ministry pressed the negotiations for peace. Preliminaries were signed at London on the 8th of October, by which Louis agreed, in general terms, to take measures for preventing the union of the crowns of France and Spain on the same head, to secure a barrier in the Low Countries for the States General, and on the side of the empire for the House of Austria, and to give a reasonable satisfaction to the other members of the Grand Alliance.

Oct. 8. 1711.

Charles, aware of these negotiations, exerted all his efforts to prevent the conclusion of the preliminaries, and made warm representations in

* Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii.—Torcy—Tindal.

the

the different courts of Europe against so dishonourable a desertion of the grand alliance. He dispatched circular letters to the electors, exhorting them to persist in their engagements, and urged the States-General to join in his representations to the queen, not to trust the immortal glory which she had gained in the war, and the welfare of her people, to the insincerity of French promises *. At the same time count Gallas, his minister in London, made the strongest remonstrances against this breach of faith, and even printed in the public papers the preliminary articles, which had been communicated to him in confidence, with a severe and violent comment. The queen, irritated at this appeal to the people, and his cabals with the whigs, ordered him to withdraw from England, though she softened this mark of resentment, by informing the emperor that she would receive any other minister †. Chapter 2. 1712—1714.

Encouraged by the representations of the Dutch, and the clamours of the whig party in England, the emperor dispatched Eugene to London, hoping either to induce the queen to continue the war, or to rouse the spirit of the nation against the peace. But the presence of Eugene produced a contrary effect. His friendly visits to the duke of Marlborough and the leaders of the whigs, offended the queen; and he was charged by the tories with forming the most diabolical as well as ridiculous plots against the government. Among other projects he is said to have proposed the assassination of the earl of Oxford, also to set fire to London in the night, particularly to the palace, while, in the midst of the confusion, the duke of Marlborough was to head an armed force, take possession of the Tower, the Bank, and the Exchequer, and seize the person of the queen ‡. 1712.

* Tindal, vol. xvii. p. 413.

† Tindal. Lord Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol ii. p. 146.

‡ Swift in his four last years of queen Anne has not scrupled to detail these fables; and Macpherson has not blushed to insert them in his History, vol. ii. p. 531. The respectable authority of Torcy is adduced on this occasion; though he himself avows his incredulity, when he says, "si "l'on en croyoit des gens, peut etre mal iin- "formés," tom. iii. p. 268. In fact the only evidence from whom this charge was derived, was Plunket, a Jacobite spy, and his account is contained in a paper intitled Jack Rogers's Dream, in Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 451. The ministers themselves gave no credit to these reports, but favoured them in order to alarm the queen.

Thus

Chapter 2. 1712—1714.

Thus was prince Eugene, whose known character for integrity and honour ought to have shielded him from such imputations, degraded into a leader of banditti; and so great was the alarm and ferment that he was publicly insulted by the populace. After a continuance of three months, Eugene returned with the mortification of having witnessed the disgrace of the duke of Marlborough, the defeat of the Austrian party, and of having failed in his efforts to prevent the meeting of the congress of Utrecht, which assembled early in 1712.

Jan. 29. 1712.

The emperor was resolved to prosecute the war, although deserted by England; and therefore dispatched his chancellor, count Sinzendorf, to Utrecht, with a view to break off, or at least to retard the negotiations. Sinzendorf claimed the full execution of the grand alliance; demanded in the name of his master, not only the entire possession of the Spanish monarchy, but the restitution of all the cessions which had been made to France by the treaties of Munster, Nimeguen, and Ryswic, and encouraged the ministers of the other allies to advance similar claims *. This conduct, indeed, suspended the proceedings at Utrecht, but enabled the French to accelerate their private negotiations with the Court of England. The business was nearly brought to a conclusion when the duke of Burgundy, heir apparent to the French monarchy, and grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, dying in February 1712, was soon afterwards followed to the grave by his eldest son, the duke of Britanny. By these fatal events, the duke of Anjou, the remaining son of the duke of Burgundy, a weak and sickly infant, was next in succession; and became the only bar to the union of the French and Spanish monarchies under Philip the Fifth, the presumptive heir. These circumstances gave a new turn to the negotiation, and placed the English ministry in a critical situation. They had relinquished the crown of Spain to Philip, and had now no other means of preventing the probable union of France and Spain, than by extorting the renunciation of Philip either to France or Spain. Fortunately the age and infirmities of Louis the Fourteenth rendered him equally desirous of peace, as he was anxious not to leave his

* Lamberti, tom. vii. p. 20. & seq.

kingdom

kingdom involved in the calamities of a war, to a minor prince. He therefore acceded to the demands of the British ministry; and after much difficulty and opposition, extorted the renunciation of Philip to the crown of France.

Meanwhile Charles made the most active preparations for the prosecution of hostilities, and hoped to break up the conferences at Utrecht by some splendid enterprize against the French in the Netherlands. His views were warmly seconded by the States, and the other allies, who were equally averse to the terms of peace; early in the spring, prince Eugene took the command of the allied army, which amounted to 120,000 men, and was soon afterwards joined by the British forces under the duke of Ormond, who had succeeded the duke of Marlborough.

Although the duke of Ormond declared that he had orders to cooperate with the allies, the effects of the private negotiation between England and France were soon manifest. Eugene having proposed to attack the French army under Villars, was thwarted by Ormond, who had private orders neither to risk a battle or undertake a siege. Eugene next turned his attention to the siege of Quesnoy, which he invested, and by urgent remonstrances at length prevailed on Ormond to furnish a corps of the auxiliaries in British pay to cover his operations. But when the town was nearly compelled to surrender, the British commander concluded an armistice with Villars, and communicated to prince Eugene his orders to separate from the confederates. He then prepared to march towards Dunkirk, which had been yielded to England as a cautionary deposit.

The emperor and the States made the most urgent remonstrances to the queen against this desertion of their cause; and the discontents in the army arose to the most dangerous height. The duke of Ormond was refused by the States a passage through Douay and Tournay; was deserted by all the auxiliary troops, except two regiments; and the princes by whom those troops were furnished, declared their resolution to support their contingents one month, and after that period to share the expence with the States and the emperor. Ormond increased the

Chapter 2. 1712—1714.

general indignation by seizing the towns of Ghent and Bruges in the name of the queen of England, and by these measures gave the death blow to the grand alliance. Notwithstanding, however, this base desertion, the emperor and all the other allies disdainfully rejected a suspension of arms, which was proposed by the British plenipotentiaries, and unanimously determined to prosecute hostilities.

Eugene, having taken Quesnoy, invested Landrecy, but the loss of the British forces was severely felt. Villars advanced to the relief of the place, attacked a body of troops posted near Denain, under the earl of Albemarle, to cover the convoys, stormed their intrenchments, and after a bloody conflict, forced seventeen battalions, with the commander in chief, and all the officers, to surrender prisoners of war. Eugene, who was on the other side of the Scheldt, advanced to support Albemarle, but by the breaking of the bridge was unable to furnish any succour, and was only a melancholy witness of this fatal catastrophe, which compelled him to raise the siege. This misfortune was the prelude to greater disasters, and was followed by the captures of Denain, Marchiennes, St. Amand, Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain *.

In the course of these events, the armistice between France and England was prolonged, and the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal were induced to desert the cause of the emperor. The Dutch, terrified by the progress of the French arms, alarmed by the threats of England, to conclude a separate peace, and lured by the favourable conditions of the barrier treaty, soon followed their example; and the negotiations were carried on with such earnestness and zeal, that treaties of peace between France and all the belligerent powers, except the emperor, were signed at Utrecht on the 11th of April 1713. Spain acceded to these treaties on the 13th of July †.

Louis the Fourteenth acknowledged the queen's title to the crown of England, and the protestant succession, agreed not to allow the pretender to reside in France, to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk,

* Vie du prince Eugene. Tindal. Schirach. Heinrich. Memoires de Villars.

† Dumont—Koch abrége de l' Histoire des Traités de Paix. Tindal. Heiss.

Chapter 2. 1712—1714.

Dunkirk, and to cede Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the exception of the Isle of Cape Breton, also Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and St. Christopher's. Spain likewise yielded to England Gibraltar and Minorca, and by an engagement called the Assiento treaty, granted the right of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes for thirty years, which had been before enjoyed by France.

In this treaty the great affair of the succession to the Spanish dominions was regulated between England and France. Philip renounced his right to the succession of the crown of France, which was entailed on his brother the duke of Berry, and afterwards on the duke of Orleans; and it was stipulated that the two crowns should never be held by the same person. The right of Philip to Spain and the Indies was acknowledged, and in failure of his issue, they were to descend to the house of Savoy. The Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples, were assigned to the emperor; and Sicily, with the title of king, to the duke of Savoy *.

In the mean time the Netherlands were to remain in the possession of the United Provinces; additional fortresses were ceded by France to complete the intended barrier, and those countries were to be restored to the house of Austria as soon as the terms of the barrier treaty should be arranged †. To the empire the king of France offered the cession of Landau, the razure of Fort Louis on the Rhine, and the restitution of Kehl and Brisac; and in return for these concessions, the emperor was required to restore to the elector of Bavaria and the Italian princes the territories which had been wrested from them during the war.

Charles was highly dissatisfied with the terms imposed upon him by France and England; and, without consulting his own strength, disdainfully persisted in rejecting all overtures. Having obtained the co-operation of the empire, he determined to prosecute the war alone against the French, who had sustained during twelve years the efforts of the greater part of Europe. Conscious, however, that

* Paix d'Utrecht, tom. i.

† The account of the barrier treaty follows in the next chapter.

Chapter 2. 1712—1714.

he could not equally maintain the contest in all parts without allies, he concluded with France and England a treaty of neutrality for Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries, in consequence of which the Austrian troops evacuated Catalonia and the islands of Majorca and Ivica, and he concentrated his force on the banks of the Rhine. He flattered himself that his brave troops, led by Eugene, would still perform wonders; that one important victory would obtain more advantageous terms; and that at all events it would be far more honourable not to owe a peace to the allies who had deserted him, under the humiliating conditions of acknowledging his rival Philip the Fifth, but to conclude a separate treaty with France, without renouncing his pretensions to the crown of Spain.

The whole campaign passed without a general action, and was principally confined on the side of the Imperial troops to defensive operations. The great military talents of Eugene being unable to cope with the superior numbers of the French, led by marshal Villars, the capture of Landau and Friburgh, the exhausted condition of the Austrian finances, and the unwillingness of the German states to continue the war, compelled Charles to enter into a negotiation with France. On the 26th of November 1713, prince Eugene and marshal Villars opened conferences* at Rastadt; on the 6th of March 1714, the preliminaries were signed, and a congress assembled at Baden in Switzerland. Charles, indignant at the conduct of England, rejected her mediation, and refused to admit the British plenipotentiaries at the congress; the ministers of the Pope, the duke of Loraine, the electors of Cologne and Bavaria were likewise excluded; and as Charles was intrusted with full powers by the German diet, the terms of peace were adjusted between himself and the empire on one side, and France on the other, and signed on the 7th of September.

The treaty of Ryswic was made the basis of the peace. Charles was also guarantied in the possession of Naples, Milan, Mantua, Sardinia, and

* For an account of these conferences see Memoires de Villars, tom. ii. p. 297. Actes et Memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht,— Histoire du Congrés d'Utrecht. Memoires de Torcy.—Dumont Corps Diplomatique.

the

the Low Countries, under the condition of ratifying the barrier treaty; he obtained the restoration of old Brisac, Friburgh, and Kehl; in return he reinstated the electors of Bavaria and Cologne in their dominions and dignities; he agreed to leave the princes of Italy in the peaceable enjoyment of the territories which they actually possessed, and permitted the important fortress of Landau to be retained by France.

"Thus," justly exclaims marshal Villars, "after a war of fourteen "years, during which the emperor and the king of France had "nearly quitted their respective capitals; Spain had seen two rival "kings in Madrid, and almost all the petty States of Italy had changed "their sovereigns; a war which had desolated the greater part of "Europe, was concluded on the very terms which might have been "procured at the commencement of hostilities *."

* Memoires de Villars. Memoires de Torcy. Mem. de St. Simon. Schirach. Struvius. Tindal. Lord Bolingbroke's Correspondence.

CHAPTER 3.

1706—1719.

Origin and Progress of the Negotiations for the Formation of a Barrier in the Netherlands, against France—Aversion of the Emperor to the Terms imposed by the Maritime Powers—Contests, Delays, and Difficulties on that Subject—Terms of the Barrier Treaty—Its Consequences.

Chapter 3. 1706—1719.

AMONG the most difficult points which remained for future adjustment, was the transfer of the Netherlands, in possession of the Dutch, to the emperor, and the final ratification of a barrier treaty.

Though the outlines of this treaty had been adjusted at the Peace of Utrecht, between England, France, and Holland, it met with almost insuperable difficulties, from the commercial jealousy of the English nation, the unceasing and urgent demands of the Dutch, and the repugnance of the emperor to receive those provinces on the terms dictated by the maritime powers. While the Netherlands were possessed by the Spaniards, the fortifications of the frontier towns fell into decay; the French in every war over-ran these provinces without opposition, and more than once menaced Holland with subjugation. For this reason the Dutch required the formation of a barrier, which should be capable of resisting the invasions of France, and whose security should not depend on the caprice or negligence of the sovereign. Hence, in the grand alliance, concluded in 1701, between the emperor Leopold, England, and Holland, it was agreed to conquer the Low Countries from France, for the formation of a suitable barrier; but the adjustment of this

frontier was so difficult, that no treaty was concluded till 1709, after the congress of Gertruydenberg.

When the united arms of the allied powers had over-run the greater part of the Netherlands, England and Holland assumed the administration of affairs, and established a council of state, composed of natives who indeed issued their decrees under the name of Charles the Third, but without taking the oath of allegiance, and were wholly subservient to the requisitions of English and Dutch deputies *. In the ensuing year the great object of the barrier was taken into consideration by the maritime powers, but without consulting the emperor, and in 1709 a treaty was concluded by the duke of Marlborough and lord Townshend, by which the States on one side guarantied the protestant succession, and England on the other secured a barrier, consisting of certain towns in the Netherlands, which had previously belonged to Spain; while an adequate subsidy from the revenues of the Netherlands was assigned for the maintenance of Dutch garrisons. These fortresses were Nieuport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocque, Ypres, Menin, Lisle, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, with any other towns which should be afterwards wrested from France. 1706.

But in consequence of the dismission of the Whigs, and the introduction of the Tories into the ministry, this treaty was publicly censured by parliament, and did not take effect; and a new project, less favourable to the Dutch †, though equally galling to the house of Austria, was concluded on the 29th of January 1713, between England and Holland, and at the same time confirmed by France in a separate treaty with Holland. 1713.

In these different treaties it was stipulated that the Netherlands should be delivered to the house of Austria as an hereditary and unalienable possession, and "should never on any consideration be transferred to a prince or princess of the house of Bourbon, by sale,

* Memoires Historiques des Pays Bas, p. 131.

† The important fortresses of Lisle and Maubeuge, which were necessary to complete the chain of the barrier, were restored to France; Nieuport, Lierre, and Halle, were also excluded from the barrier, and Mons alone was added.

exchange,

Chapter 3. 1706—1709.

exchange, marriage, will, or otherwise." In all other respects the house of Austria was to receive the Netherlands with the prerogatives and limitations both commercial and civil, as they were possessed by the kings of Spain, according to the articles of the treaty of Munster.

Hitherto all the transactions relative to the barrier treaty had been concerted without the participation of the emperor; and although it was settled that the States should enter into a preliminary arrangement with the court of Vienna, yet no formal notification was made until the 6th of July 1714, when it was delivered to baron Heem, the Imperial minister at the Hague. Hence Charles was no less disgusted with this contemptuous silence, than he was dissatisfied with the conditions which infringed the rights of his sovereignty. He accordingly rejected the plan, and proposed a conference for a different adjustment, which, on the conclusion of the peace of Baden, was held at Antwerp, under the mediation of England.

The pretensions of the two parties were so opposite and contradictory, and the mediation of England so lukewarm, that all compromise seemed impracticable; even the death of Anne during these negotiations, though it changed the conduct of England, did not overcome the reluctance of the emperor, and George the First in vain dispatched generals Stanhope * and Cadogan to Vienna, the first from his personal credit with the emperor, and the other from his friendship with prince Eugene, who had the greatest preponderance in the Austrian cabinet.

Many motives influenced the conduct of the emperor in declining to ratify this treaty. Towards the close of the reign of Anne he had entertained an opinion that the party of the Pretender was paramount in England, and had listened to overtures for a match between the exiled prince and one of his nieces †. Even the accession of George

* General, afterwards earl Stanhope, had served under Charles in Spain, with great credit. On the accession of George I. he was appointed secretary of state, and some letters are still preserved among the Walpole papers, which passed between Mr. Stanhope and the emperor. Among these is one written by Charles in his own hand, highly expressive of his esteem, and of his regret for the fate of the Catalans, which does honour to his head and heart.

† Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 523.

the

the First did not wholly dissipate this illusion, Charles imagined that his establishment on the British throne would be but of temporary duration, and was unwilling to involve himself in an engagement to guaranty the protestant succession. He therefore dismissed Mr. Stanhope with great marks of personal regard, but without gratifying him in the object of his mission.

Both the emperor and his ministers treated lord Cobham, who succeeded general Stanhope, with studied neglect; and prince Eugene testified the utmost reserve and indifference to his friend and fellow soldier, general Cadogan *. In various conferences he bitterly inveighed against the harsh and degrading conditions which the maritime powers attempted to impose on his Imperial master, and declared that the revenues of the Netherlands would be inadequate to the support of the civil establishment, after the payment of the subsidies to the Dutch. The emperor also affected great scruples of conscience, alleging that the grant of these subsidies as a permanent revenue was contrary to the oath, which he, as successor to Charles the Second, was bound to take, not to impose any taxes without the free consent of the States. His repugnance was still further augmented by the ungenerous conduct of the Dutch, who incessantly reminded him of his obligations to them for the possession of the Netherlands.

Charles, aware of the weakness of the Dutch government, and of the embarrassments of England by the rebellion of 1715, which was magnified almost into a new revolution, and encouraged by the secret overtures of France, delivered an ultimatum, by his minister count Königsegg, to the congress at Antwerp, and threatened to march his troops into the Netherlands, unless in six weeks his demands were complied with. These disputes delayed the conclusion of the treaty, until the total defeat of the rebels in England, the death of Louis the Fourteenth, and the dread of a Turkish war, changed the politics of the emperor; while

* Letters from lord Cobham, sir Luke Schaub, and general Cadogan to lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole, in the Walpole and Townshend papers, 1715 and 1716.

Chapter 3. 1706—1709.

prince Eugene suddenly promoted the ratification, from a jealousy of the Spanish council who obstructed the treaty, and from resentment against the deputies of the Low Countries who desired an arch-duchess for their governess *. The treaty was accordingly concluded on the 15th of November 1715. Prince Eugene was appointed governor; and

1716.

the Dutch, on the 4th of February 1716, delivered the Netherlands to count Konigsegg, as plenipotentiary of the emperor.

By the barrier treaty, the States agreed to yield to the emperor the provinces possessed by Charles the Second, as well as those ceded by France at the peace of Utrecht. A corps of from 30 to 35,000 men was to be maintained in those countries, of which the emperor agreed to furnish three-fifths, the States the remainder; and in case of war a further augmentation was to be arranged by the two parties. The emperor allowed the States the sole right of garrison in Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, and the fort of Knoque; but the garrison of Dendermond was to be furnished jointly, the governor to be nominated by the emperor, and to take an oath that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the States. In like manner, in the garrisons belonging to the States, their officers were to preserve to the house of Austria the sovereignty of the places committed to their care, and not to intermeddle in civil affairs. The Dutch troops were also allowed the free exercise of their religion in the different garrisons; but were to establish no churches, nor annex any exterior distinctions to their places of worship.

The States were permitted to repair the fortifications of the different towns, but not to erect new works without previous notice to the governor general, nor to charge the emperor with the expenses without his consent. Different cessions also were made to the States for the security of their frontiers; and the emperor engaged to pay the annual sum of 500,000 crowns for the maintenance of the Dutch troops, and charged himself with the debts of Charles the Second to the United Provinces. The rights and privileges of commerce were to remain on

* Sir Luke Schaub to Mr. Walpole, March 28, 1716.

the

the same footing as established by the treaty of Munster in 1648, and the ships, commodities, and merchandizes from Great Britain to the Netherlands, or from the Netherlands to Great Britain, were to pay the same duties of export and import as were established at the conclusion of the treaty, till new regulations should be made by the three powers, in a treaty of commerce which was to be arranged as early as possible. The emperor also engaged that these provinces should never be transferred to a prince of the house of Bourbon by marriage, sale, or otherwise.

England confirmed and guarantied this treaty, and engaged, should the Netherlands be attacked, to furnish 10,000 men, with 20 ships of war, if necessary, or to act with her whole force.

But notwithstanding the signature of the treaty, the mutual jealousy of the emperor and the Dutch did not subside; the emperor deemed the conditions on his part too severe, and exhibited evident signs of a resolution not to fulfil the articles, while the Dutch on theirs retained possession of the districts which were restored by France.

A general consternation also prevailed among the natives of the Low Countries, who complained that the Dutch, jealous of their prosperity, wished to exclude them from all commerce. The States of Brabant and Flanders made strong remonstrances by deputies sent to Vienna; they represented the treaty as derogatory to the emperor's dignity, and fatal to the dearest interests of his subjects. They stated the impossibility of executing the treaty without annihilating their immunities; because subsidies were granted to the Dutch as a fixed revenue, whereas, according to their constitution, no subsidies could be granted without the consent of the States *.

Hence the scruples of the emperor returned, and he opened new conferences with the States-General, in the hopes of obtaining a modification of the conditions; but the negotiation was protracted by the discussions relating to the appointment of the magistracy in several of the towns garrisoned by the Dutch troops, the toleration of religion, the extension of the limits, the arrears of the subsidies;

* Memoires des Pays Bas, p. 152.

Chapter 3. 1706—1709. 1718.

sidies; and the convention, which finally settled these and a few other contested points, was not concluded till the 22d of December 1718, by the Imperial and Dutch plenipotentiaries at the Hague.

Although this convention considerably reduced the Dutch limits in Austrian Flanders, yet a bare perusal of the articles will sufficiently prove that the barrier treaty contained the seeds of future dissension between the house of Austria and the maritime powers; and that, in case of a continental war, neither of the contracting parties would fulfil the tenour of their engagements. The head of the house of Austria could not tamely submit to see his principal forts and frontier towns in the hands of a mercantile nation, who had circumscribed the commerce of his subjects; nor could he acquiesce in the defalcation of his revenues, for the maintenance of foreign garrisons, who contested with him the rights of sovereignty. He considered himself as little more than a titular prince, to hold the Low Countries in trust for the maritime powers merely as a barrier against France; he appreciated the danger of exposing his own hereditary dominions, for the sake of defending distant and precarious possessions, and was therefore induced to throw their principal protection on the maritime powers, who were alone interested in their preservation. This principle, which was deeply impressed on the minds of Charles and of his successors, proved an insuperable obstacle to the defence of the Netherlands; and in the subsequent wars with France, those countries, unless secured by an act of neutrality, were almost as rapidly overrun as if no barrier had existed. Hence the barrier treaty became a fruitful source of contention, without producing the smallest advantage; it even finally occasioned the very evil it was intended to prevent, the separation of the house of Austria from the maritime powers, and perhaps contributed more than any other cause to the ultimate possession of those countries by France*.

* For the contents of this chapter have been consulted: History of the Barrier Treaty by Mr. Poyntz;—Lord Walpole's Answer to Bolingbroke—Dumont—Rousset—Koch—Struvius—Pfeffel—Schirach—Tindal—Histoire du Systeme des Barrieres in tom. ix. of Tableau de l'Histoire des Provinces Unies—Memoires des Pays Bas—Lord Bolingbroke's Correspondence,

CHAPTER 4.

1715—1718.

Hostilities with the Turks—Successful Campaign—Victories of Peterwaradin and Belgrade—Peace of Passarovitz.

DURING the negotiations for the barrier treaty, several events occurred of great importance to the house of Austria. Among those the most remarkable was the peace of Passarovitz, which terminated the war with the Porte, and, by the acquisition of Belgrade, secured the frontiers of Hungary from Turkish invasion.

The good effects of the fortunate change which had taken place in the minds of the Hungarians, from the pacification of Zatmar, were displayed in this rupture; when the native troops had no inconsiderable share in driving the Turks beyond the Danube, and in conquering the Bannat of Temeswar, and the territory of Belgrade.

The Turks in 1715 broke the peace of Carlovitz, declared war against the Venetians, conquered the Morea, and laid siege to Corfu. These rapid successes, which recalled to recollection the former preponderance of the Ottoman power, spread general alarm among the princes of Europe; and the king of Sardinia projected a confederacy of the Italian States under the protection and guidance of France *. But Charles, jealous lest this confederacy should give pre-eminence to the houses of Bourbon and Savoy, counteracted the league; and when the Venetians appealed to him as a guarantee of the treaty of Carlovitz, made preparations for immediate hostilities. After an offer of mediation, which the Porte rejected with disdain, he dispatched prince Eugene into Hungary at the head of a small, but well-disciplined army, flushed with victories in the Netherlands and

1715.

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. ii. p. 65. 4to.

on

Chapter 4. 1715—1718.

on the banks of the Rhine. Eugene passed the Danube in sight of the Ottoman army of 150,000 men, and encamped near Peterwaradin behind the very intrenchments which he had occupied in his former campaign, and which, by an unaccountable negligence, the Turks had not destroyed. Without delay he led his troops against the enemy, routed their numerous and undisciplined forces, who could only oppose to the military skill of Eugene and the deliberate courage of the Imperial army, a blind and impotent valour, killed the grand vizier and 30,000 Turks, took 50 standards, 250 pieces of heavy artillery, and an immense booty. This action was fought near Carlovitz, in the very camp wherein, seventeen years before, the Turks had signed the truce of twenty years, which by attacking the Venetians they now broke. The capture of Temeswar, the last of the antient dependencies of Hungary retained by the Turks, secured the possession of the Bannat, and the conquest of Wallachia.

August 5th, 1716.

These conquests, which distinguished the campaign of 1716, were followed by still greater successes in the ensuing year. In the month of June, Eugene invested Belgrade, the key of the Ottoman dominions on the side of Hungary. The place, which contained a garrison of 30,000 men, was vigorously defended, and supported a blockade of two months, till the arrival of an immense army under the command of a new grand vizier, gave hopes to the besieged, and alarmed the besiegers. The Turkish troops advancing, intrenched themselves in the form of a semi-circle, stretching from the Danube to the Save, and thus confined the Imperial army, in the marshy grounds between those two rivers.

1717.

In this exposed and unwholesome situation, numbers of the Imperialists daily perished from the fire of the enemy, and more fell victims to the ravages of a contagious disorder. Yet the troops supported these accumulated evils with the most exemplary patience, anxiously expecting that the Turks would be compelled, for want of provisions and forage, to break up their camp; but these hopes were frustrated by the perseverance of the enemy, who pushed their lines and batteries to an eminence commanding the bridge

over the Save. Eugene now found himself in a critical situation; the enemy by destroying the bridge might prevent his retreat, or might send a corps across the Save to surprise the detachments intrenched at Semlin, and cut off the parties employed in bombarding the lower town of Belgrade. The Imperial troops also, daily diminishing in number, would be soon unable to guard the lines; and the emperor and empire, exhausted by the war which they had just concluded with France, could not support the enormous expense of another campaign. The danger was still further increased as the enemy had advanced their trenches and raised batteries within musket-shot, and were even preparing to storm the lines. Eugene was therefore aware that a decisive victory alone could relieve the army from their dangerous situation, and preserve Hungary and Transylvania.

Under these circumstances Eugene summoned a council of war, and being unanimously supported in his opinion, issued orders for a general engagement. During the anxious night preceding this action he visited the posts, instructed the officers, exhorted the soldiers, and distributed with his own hand refreshments to fortify them against the fatigues of the ensuing fight, and as he passed from post to post, cries of exultation resounded from every quarter. "Lead us," they exclaimed, "against the enemy! Eugene commands! the safety of our country, and the interests of our religion are at stake; we will conquer or die!"

The Imperial army consisted of 60,000 men; but as 20,000 were stationed to keep in check the garrison of Belgrade; and as several detachments were posted on the opposite bank of the Save, not 40,000 could be brought into action, to storm intrenchments mounted with a numerous artillery, and defended by not less than 200,000 men, the most complete army which the Porte had ever sent into the field since the siege of Vienna.

Before midnight Eugene was on horseback; three bombs were discharged as a signal, and the whole army was instantly in motion. About two, the right wing, advancing in order and silence under cover of the darkness, burst upon the enemy's works, and surprised the

Chapter 4. 1715—1718.

the guard, who were reposing in negligent security. But the same darkness which had at first favoured their attack, was so much increased by a thick fog, that part of the right wing fell by mistake upon some intrenchments which the enemy had raised that night, and meeting with a desperate resistance were thrown into confusion. As long as the fog lasted this confusion was irreparable, and the Imperialists ignorant of the ground, and harassed by the impetuous assaults of the enemy, suffered extremely. At length the sun rose and dispelled the mist *; Eugene discovered part of the right wing separated from the centre, taken in flank and rear, and exposed to imminent danger. To see and remove the danger was the effort of a moment. Placing himself at the head of the second line, and followed by a corps of volunteers, he charged the enemy sword in hand, and though wounded, forced his way through their ranks mowing down all before him. The troops alarmed for the safety of their intrepid leader, pressed forward, redoubled their efforts, and drove the Turks back to their intrenchments. At this moment, Eugene surveyed the lines with awful apprehension. Aware that the spirit of the army had led them to be too precipitate in the attack, he endeavoured to curb their impetuosity, and to give a more certain and solid direction to their force. But his own example overbore a deference even to his orders. The

* The classical reader will recollect with pleasure a similar event described in the Iliad, when Jupiter covers the combatants with a thick darkness; and the noble prayer of Ajax on that occasion:

"The men, the steeds, the armies, all are lost
In general darkness! Lord of earth and air,
Oh king! oh father! hear my humble pray'r!
Dispel this cloud! the light of heav'n restore!
Give me to see! and Ajax asks no more!
If Greece must perish, we thy will obey,
But let us perish in the face of day!——
With tears the hero spoke; and, at his pray'r,
The God relenting cleared the clouded air:
Forth burst the sun with an enlight'ning ray;
The blaze of armour flash'd against the day."

Pope's Homer, book xvii.

impulse

impulse was given, and nothing could restrain the ardour of the troops. The infantry made the attack with irresistible violence, forced the intrenchments, carried the batteries, and turned the Turkish cannon against the banners of the crescent. From that moment all was route and dismay; before mid-day the Imperialists were in possession of the intrenchments, artillery, and camp; and the enemy fled with such disorder and precipitation, that those who were in the rear killed those who were before, not to be impeded in their flight *.

The immediate consequence of this defeat was the surrender of Belgrade, which was followed the next year by the peace of Passarovitz, so called from a small town in Servia, where Eugene and the grand vizier opened the conferences, and signed the preliminaries on the 21st of July 1718, under the mediation of Great Britain and the United Provinces. This treaty established a truce of twenty-five years, and secured to the house of Austria the Bannat of Temeswar, and the Bannat or western part of Wallachia and Servia, together with the town and territory of Belgrade and part of Bosnia †.

* Relation de la Victoire sous Belgrade in Lamberti, tom. x. p. 260. Vie de prince Eugene.

† Rousset, vol. ii. p. 411. Struvius, vol. ii. p. 1505. Koch, vol. iv. p. 47.

CHAPTER 5.

1715—1720.

Negotiations of the Emperor with England—Treaty of Westminster—Death of Louis the Fourteenth and Conclusion of the Triple Alliance—Views and Situation of the Court of Spain—Marriage of Philip with Elizabeth Farnese, and her Pretensions to Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia—Elevation and Projects of Alberoni—Quadruple Alliance—Success of the Allied Arms—Conclusion of a Peace with Spain—The Emperor acquires Sicily—And establishes the Pragmatic Sanction.

Chapter 5. 1715—1720.

WHILE Charles was embarrassed with the war against Turkey, he was occupied in a series of complicated negotiations with France, England, and Holland, and involved in hostilities with Spain.

Although the principal powers of Europe were comprehended in the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, yet the two sovereigns, principally interested in the event of those negotiations, were not reconciled. The Emperor did not acknowledge Philip king of Spain, and Philip did not renounce his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, the Milanese, and the Low Countries, which the peace of Utrecht had transferred to the House of Austria. Hence those treaties contained the seeds of immediate rupture, and could be considered as little more than establishing a temporary suspension of arms; Europe accordingly was kept in a state of perpetual agitation during a period of sixteen years, before the disputes concerning the Spanish succession could be finally terminated.

Charles, though too much exhausted to meditate the renewal of hostilities, was compelled by the threatening aspect and ambitious views of Spain to take measures for his own security.

On the death of Maria Louisa of Savoy in 1714, Philip espoused

poused in the same year Elizabeth Farnese, princess of Parma. This turbulent and ambitious woman gained a prodigious ascendancy over the mind of her hypochondriac and doting husband, and not only fomented the enmity which Philip entertained against the Emperor; but by adding her own pretensions to the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, contributed to widen the breach, and remove still further the prospect of an accommodation. The views of Elizabeth were seconded by the daring genius of Alberoni, whom she had raised to the office of prime minister, and who, infusing a new spirit and activity into the counsels of Spain, made active preparations both by sea and land. The emperor, alarmed at these preparations, dreading lest Louis the Fourteenth should assist his grandson, and aware that Naples would fall an instant sacrifice to the attacks of the two powers, was induced to listen to the overtures of George the First, which he had before rejected, as the alliance of England was the only counterpoise he could secure to the vast weight and power of the House of Bourbon. He accordingly lent a willing ear to the claims of George the First, as elector of Hanover, on the duchies of Lauenburgh, Bremen, and Verden, and hastened the conclusion of a defensive alliance, which was signed at Westminster May 5, 1715. 1715.

But the death of Louis the Fourteenth in the following September greatly changed the situation of affairs. He was succeeded by a minor of an infirm constitution; and the duke of Orleans, who governed France first as regent, and afterwards as prime minister, was anxious to recover his country from the exhausted state to which it had been reduced by the numerous wars of Louis the Fourteenth, to repress the national spirit of conquest, which had given umbrage to the powers of Europe, and to secure his own succession to the crown, which had been guaranteed by the treaty of Utrecht, should Louis the Fifteenth die without issue.

The court and kingdom were divided into two parties; one favoured the rights of the duke of Orleans, the other the claims of Philip the Fifth, who notwithstanding his renunciation aspired to the reversion of

Chapter 5. 1715—1720.

the French crown *. With a view therefore to support his rights the duke of Orleans was desirous to form a connection with England, who was equally interested to prevent the accession of Philip, and whose assistance was necessary to check his attempts, and repress the efforts of his numerous partisans in France.

The British cabinet no less appreciated the great advantages of an alliance with France, which would counteract the intrigues of the Pretender abroad, deprive him of the only power whose interposition they had just reason to apprehend, and awe his adherents into submission at home. The interests of the two parties equally concurring in the same object, the negotiation was speedily brought to a successful issue; and a triple alliance was concluded at the Hague between England, France, and Holland, for maintaining and guaranteeing the order of succession to the crowns of France and England as settled by the peace of Utrecht.

Jan. 4. 1717.

The emperor was highly averse † to the spirit and tenour of this alliance, which, by ratifying the treaties of Utrecht, secured Spain to Philip, and confirmed the galling conditions of the Barrier. His pride was likewise mortified, as he foresaw that the connection with the House of Austria would now become a secondary consideration with England.

During the negotiations his minister at London endeavoured to prevent the conclusion, by declaring that the signature of such an engagement should instantly annul the treaty of Westminster. Some trifling modifications were accordingly made, but as they were not sufficient to appease the Emperor, he declined the invitation to accede to the alliance. Conscious, however, that he could not break the connection between France and England, and alarmed by the vast preparations of Spain, while he was involved in a war with the Turks, he was compelled to yield to the necessity of his affairs. But he temporised and protracted his accession till he had extorted a secret promise, from France and England, to effect the exchange of Sardinia for Sicily; as he

* Memoires de Montgon. † Lamberti, tom. ix. p. 560. 564.

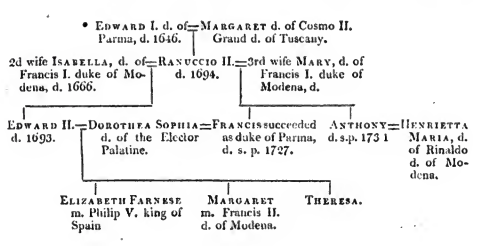
he was well aware that while Victor Amadeus retained that island, the possession of Naples would be rendered extremely precarious.

These engagements, however secret, were not concealed from Philip and Victor Amadeus, and they both united to frustrate the plan.

Although Spain was scarcely recovered from the devastations of a long and bloody war, Philip was roused into action by the importunities of his ambitious consort, who was anxious to assert her claims to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia.

Parma and Placentia had for two centuries been possessed by the Farnese family, according to lineal descent, but at this period the male line seemed likely to become extinct. Ranuccio the Second, sixth duke of the house of Farnese expired in 1694. He had three sons, Edward, who died before him, leaving a daughter Elizabeth Farnese, afterwards queen of Philip the Fifth; Francis who succeeded him in the duchy, and Anthony, both of whom were without issue*. And as the duchies of Parma and Placentia had at different periods belonged to the emperors and to the Holy See, the succession was claimed by Charles the Sixth as a male fief of the empire, by the Pope as a movable fief of the Holy See, and by Elizabeth Farnese as her family inheritance.

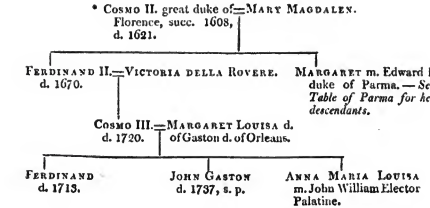
The great duchy of Tuscany was under a similar predicament. Cosmo the Third was the reigning sovereign, and his only surviving son John Gaston



Chapter 5. 1715—1720.

Gaston was without issue, and separated from his wife; and the succession was claimed by Charles the Sixth as a fief reverting to the empire, and by Anna Maria Louisa, sister of John Gaston and wife of John William Elector Palatine. Elizabeth Farnese, however, asserted her pretensions still in virtue of her descent from Margaret daughter of Cosmo and wife of Edward the first duke of Parma*. She was more anxious to secure this inheritance as she had been recently delivered of a son, Don Carlos, on whom she wished to entail the succession, and to secure a retreat for herself in case of the death of her husband.

The claims of Elizabeth Farnese were encouraged and supported by her favourite Alberoni, whose vast and enterprising genius aspired to realise greater projects than the acquisition of two petty territories in Italy. He had gained Victor Amadeus by the offer of the Milanese in exchange for Sicily; he had, through the means of baron Gortz, negotiated a peace between Charles the Twelfth and Peter the Great, who were both irritated against George the First; and at his instigation the Swedish monarch agreed to make a descent into England at the head of a formidable body of Swedes and Russians, to collect the Jacobites to his standard, and march to the capital. He prevailed on the Turks to continue the war against the Emperor, and carried on secret negotiations with prince Ragotski and the malecontents of Hungary. He tried to amuse the court of London with the proposal of a marriage between the prince of Asturias and the princess



princess Anne, while he was secretly endeavouring to excite an insurrection among the Jacobites, and had actually promised to support the Pretender with the whole force of Spain. Chapter 5. 1715—1720.

In regard to France he intrigued with the malecontents in Britany, and attempted to foment troubles in the Cevennes by exciting the Calvinists to rebellion. He insisted that the exclusion of Philip from the crown of France was invalid, because contrary to the Salic law which no act could annul; and that if Louis the Fifteenth should die without issue male, Philip was the undoubted heir, and not the duke of Orleans, who had usurped the regency. To support his master's right he formed, by intrigues and money, a powerful party in France, composed of the Jesuits, and a considerable number of the nobility devoted to the old system of Louis the Fourteenth, and disgusted with the regent, and headed by the duke and duchess of Maine. He even dispatched emissaries into France to secure the person of the duke of Orleans, and to convey him to Spain; and, covering his ambitious projects with the appearance of public good, he proposed to convoke the States General, for the appointment of a new regent, reforming the state, and paying the national debt.

The magnitude of his preparations was not inadequate to the execution of this gigantic project; and Europe waited in anxious suspence the bursting of the storm.

Alberoni commenced the execution of his plan by the invasion of Sardinia. On the 22d of August, the marquis de Leda at the head of the Spanish army disembarked at Cagliari, and soon effected the conquest of the whole island. In the following year he invaded Sicily with a still more numerous armament, and in a short time made himself master of the principal fortresses except Syracuse, which he closely blockaded. 1717.

These acts of hostility and the impending danger, united the Emperor, France, and England for their common safety. Charles being delivered from the dread of the Turks by the victory of Belgrade, dispatched a body of troops to the defence of Naples, and hastened the conclusion

Chapter 5. 1715—1720.

conclusion of the peace of Passarovitz. He also reluctantly renounced his pretensions to Spain; and entered into a treaty with Great Britain and France, which, from the expected accession of the United Provinces, was termed the Quadruple Alliance. By this treaty the Emperor agreed to acknowledge Philip king of Spain, and to give to Don Carlos Tuscany, with the eventual investiture of Parma and Placentia, and in the mean time to secure the reversion by garrisoning the fortresses of those duchies with neutral troops. In return for these renunciations Sicily was to be yielded by Victor Amadeus to the Emperor in exchange for Sardinia, and Philip was to renounce his pretentions on the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, and the two Sicilies. By a separate article the three allies bound themselves to enforce the acceptance of this treaty, and the kings of Spain and Sardinia were allowed three months only to notify their acquiescence to these conditions.

August 2, 1718.

Victor Amadeus, exposed to the attacks of France, acceded to the treaty on the 2d of November; but Philip disdainfully rejected all overtures of accommodation, although his fleet had been defeated and almost totally destroyed by admiral Byng off the coast of Sicily.

August 11.

Towards the commencement of the ensuing year, a French army, under marshal Berwick, crossed the Pyrenees, and penetrated into Spain; the coasts of Gallicia were ravaged by the English squadrons, and a remnant of the Spanish navy destroyed at Vigo. The fleet which carried the Pretender towards Scotland was dispersed by a storm; the regent duke of Orleans quelled the conspiracy fomented by the Spanish faction in France; Peter the Great was awed by the appearance of an English fleet in the Baltic, and Charles the Twelfth, on whose co-operation Alberoni had founded the most sanguine hopes, was killed at the siege of Fredericshall.

Nov. 13.

The English fleet having prevented the Spaniards from reinforcing their army in Sicily, the Imperial general count Mercy landed at the head of 13,000 troops, and being reinforced with 10,000 men, took Messina after an obstinate resistance of three months, recovered

covered the greater part of the island, and confined the enemy almost under the walls of Palermo.

This rapid success gave weight to the demands of the allied powers; the fall of Alberoni was the prelude to the pacification of Europe, and on the 25th January, Philip acceded to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, which was moulded into a treaty of peace, and signed at the Hague on the 17th of February. By this treaty it was stipulated that the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia should never be united with the crown of Spain; and the Emperor promised to expedite the letters expectative of the reversion, called, in the diplomatic language of the times, the Eventual Investiture, within two months after the ratification *. 1720.

Soon after the signature of the Quadruple Alliance, Charles promulgated a new law of succession for the inheritance of the house of Austria, under the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. According to the family compact formed by Leopold, and confirmed by Joseph and Charles, the succession was entailed on the daughters of Joseph in preference to the daughters of Charles, should they both die without issue male. Charles, however, had scarcely ascended the throne, though at that time without children, than he reversed this compact, and settled the right of succession, in default of his male issue, first on his own daughters, then on the daughters of Joseph, and afterwards on the queen of Portugal and the other daughters of Leopold. Since the promulgation of that decree, the empress had borne a son who died in his infancy, and three daughters, Maria Theresa, Maria Anne, and Maria Amelia. With a view to insure the succession to these daughters, and to obviate the dangers which might arise from the claims of the Josephine Archduchesses, he published the Pragmatic Sanction, and compelled his nieces to renounce their pretensions on their marriages

* For this chapter have been consulted Dumont—Lamberti, tom. ix. and x.—Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole—Memoirs of Lord Walpole—Rousset—Memoires de Montgon—St. Philippe—Struvius—Desormeaux—Heiss—Henault—Pfeffel—Koch—Tindal—Schirach's Biographie.

Chapter 5. 1715—1720.

with the electors of Saxony and Bavaria. Aware, however, that the strongest renunciations are disregarded, he obtained from the different states of his extensive dominions the acknowledgment of the Pragmatic Sanction, and made it the great object of his reign, to which he sacrificed every other consideration, to procure the guaranty of the European Powers *.

* Struvius, tom. ii. p. 1528. Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 5.

CHAPTER 6.

1718.

Dominions, Power, and Resources of CHARLES *the Sixth at the Conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance—His Acquisitions from the Spanish succession—Netherlands—Naples and Sicily—Milan and Mantua—Army—Revenues—Imperial Dignity—His Views and Projects—Character—Situation of his Court and Ministers—Ascendancy, Intrigues, and Death of Count Altheim—Life and Character of Eugene—Marquis de Rialp—Sinzendorf—Starenberg.*

Chapter 6. 1718.

BEFORE we proceed in the history of Charles the Sixth it is necessary to pause and review his political situation, in regard to the internal state of his dominions, and his relations with foreign powers.

At the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance Charles seems to have attained the summit of his power and splendour, and if we estimate his power from his possessions he would appear the greatest monarch in Christendom. He was by election emperor of Germany, by hereditary right sovereign of Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, the Tyrol and the Brisgau, and in addition to the hereditary possessions of the House of Austria, he had recently obtained Naples and Sicily, the Milanese and the Netherlands. The population of these extensive dominions did not amount to less than 24,000,000 of souls. But if we consider the effective strength of these territories and their disjointed state, we shall find that Charles was rather weakened than strengthened by his new acquisitions.

The Netherlands, though the richest and most populous district of Europe, were distant from his other dominions; part of the revenues was appropriated to the repairs of the fortifications, and the main-

Chapter 6. 1718.

tenance of Dutch garrisons; and the remainder, which, by the constitution of the country, he could not augment or alienate, was inadequate to their defence in time of war. His authority also was extremely limited and precarious, as the country was divided into provinces forming separate and independent states which possessed different privileges and could not be reduced to an uniform system of government. Having recently experienced a tumultuary opposition to some innovations which he was desirous of introducing into the forms of government, and the collection of the revenue, he was obliged to quell the refractory spirit of the natives by exemplary punishment, and could only keep them in awe by a military force *.

In addition to the antient causes of enmity which subsisted between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, the possession of the Netherlands furnished a new source of future contention by inflaming the natural jealousy arising from the proximity and jarring interests of rival nations.

We have already observed that the Barrier Treaty contained the seeds of inevitable dissension, and the tenure on which those countries were held, gave rise to continual bickerings with the maritime powers, who, jealous of their commercial interests, had bound him by the strongest engagements not to permit any foreign trade from the Netherlands which might interfere with theirs. Hence the acquisition of these territories was the source of continual dissentions, and weakened instead of cementing the union of the house of Austria, with England and Holland.

The kingdom of Naples and its appendage Sicily, which Charles acquired in exchange forSardinia, did not furnish a military force sufficient for their own defence. Hence they were likely to become the point of attack from France and Spain; and the Emperor could not furnish adequate succours from his German territories without the assistance of the maritime powers.

The duchies of Milan and Mantua were likewise isolated from his other dominions by the interposition of the Grisons and the territory

* Memoires des Pays Bas Autrichiens, p. 157.

of

of Venice; and Mantua, the only place capable of resisting a long siege, required a numerous garrison, and immense magazines. The revenue of the country, though more than adequate to the maintenance of the civil establishment, was yet too scanty to furnish resources for war; and that duchy, separated from his other possessions, was exposed to invasion from the arms of France or Spain, unless it was protected by the king of Sardinia, who held in his hands the key of Italy.

Under these circumstances, Charles derived his only certain and permanent sources of strength from his hereditary dominions; but these were greatly inadequate to the grandeur of his ideas and the extent of his projects.

In point of numbers, and when headed by such generals as Eugene and Staremberg, the Imperial army might have been extremely formidable, had the finances been sufficient for their maintenance. The amount of the peace establishment exceeded 100,000 men; but all these troops were necessary to occupy his numerous fortresses, to secure the tranquillity of his distant territories, to supply his contingent of 18,000 men for the Low Countries, and to repress the discontents in Hungary. Their pay was extremely small, because, when stationary, they were supplied with provisions and forage from the hereditary countries.

During the whole reign of Charles the Sixth, the war establishment never exceeded 160,000 men; of these not more than 70,000 could be brought into the field, who, being deprived of their customary supplies of provisions from the hereditary countries, and unable to maintain themselves by their scanty pay, could scarcely be kept on foot without subsidies from foreign powers, except in a war with the Turks, when they drew their subsistence from Hungary.

His revenues, which amounted to 30,000,000 of florins*, were scanty in comparison with the extent of his dominions, and in a state

* Not more than £. 3,000,000 sterling.

of

Chapter 6. 1718.

of almost irreparable disorder. The original cause of this dilapidation was principally derived from the burthensome wars in which Leopold and Joseph had been engaged for the Spanish succession. Although the finances had been improved by the establishment of the banks of Vienna, and the wise measures adopted under the administration of count Gundaker Staremberg, for the liquidation of the arrears; yet the good effects of that plan had been thwarted by the expences of the campaigns against the Turks, the warlike preparations occasioned by the perpetual contests with Spain, and the defective management of the revenue under the auspices of count Altheim.

Another great cause of the disorder in the finances arose from the practice of the Emperor himself, who drew annually from the governors, both of his hereditary and foreign provinces, sums to a considerable amount for his private purse. These sums being taken from the revenues appropriated to the maintenance of the civil and military establishments, injured the public service, and occasioned the neglect of the most urgent affairs. The governors were anxious to gain the favour of the Emperor by making large remittances, which supplied him with the means of bribing foreign courts, gratifying his Spanish and Italian adherents, and purchasing jewels, of which he was more fond than any of his predecessors.

The Imperial dignity gave splendour to the house of Austria, as well as the influence which was derived from the power of conferring ecclesiastical dignities and honorary distinctions; but, as emperor of Germany, Charles possessed rather a nominal than a real sovereignty. He had no permanent revenue, nor any settled military force; and his principal influence arose rather from his weight as head of the house of Austria, than as chief of the empire and president of the diet. In case of war in which the empire took part, he was indeed assisted with men and money by the contingents of the princes and states, according to the resolutions of the diet; but even when the whole body was unanimous the contingents fell far short of their nominal amount; the supplies of money voted under the name of

Roman

Roman months*, were scanty and ill paid; and the army, which on paper was stated at 120,000 effective men, seldom exceeded 20,000 in the field, consisting chiefly of raw and undisciplined troops, actuated by the petty interests and discordant views of the states to which they belonged, and seldom in a condition to act before the middle of the campaign†. But whenever the states were divided in opinion, and particularly in a war with France, the emperor was feebly supported; and part of the Germanic body either adopted a neutrality, or joined in hostilities against their chief.

In this situation of Europe, and this state of his power and resources, it was the interest of the sovereign of the house of Austria to avoid foreign entanglements, to maintain his dominions in tranquillity; to promote the arts of peace, to repair, by an uniform system of œconomy, the deficiencies of his revenue, and to heal the wounds inflicted by a long series of internal commotions and external warfare. But Charles acted more from his apparent than real strength; from the recollection of former grandeur rather than from the sense of present weakness. This inconsistency of conduct was derived no less from his own personal character, and the principles which seemed hereditary in his family, than from the disunion among his ministers, and the views of those by whom he was governed.

Charles was not gifted with the talents of his brother Joseph, had not enjoyed the same advantages of education, and was by nature so cold and phlegmatic, that it was said he was serious even when he smiled; but he was by no means deficient in abilities. His conception though slow was clear; his political knowledge was extensive, and he expressed himself in various languages with great elegance and facility. His intentions were honest and upright; and he was anxious to govern his

* These subsidies were called *Roman months*, because formerly the states of the empire were obliged to furnish an army of 20,000 foot, and 4,000 horse, to accompany the Emperor in his expedition to Rome; and those who did not chuse to provide soldiers paid a monthly equivalent in money. This mode of contribution was afterwards extended to all other cases where men and money were required for the service of the empire, and hence the term Roman months was applied to subsidies in general. Heiss Histoire de l'Empire, livre vi. chap. 6. and Pfeffel, v. 2. p. 186.

† As these troops seldom made their appearance before the month of August, by a pun on the Imperial title of *Augustus* they were termed the *August* troops.

subjects

Chapter 6. 1718.

subjects with wisdom and justice. His religion was less tinctured with bigotry than that of his father Leopold, or even of his brother Joseph. Though sincere in his belief of the Roman Catholic faith, and attached from principle to the See of Rome, he yet preserved himself in great points uninfluenced, always retained the clergy in due subjection, and never suffered them to intermeddle in matters of state. Strict in his morals, he was ever remarkable for great propriety of character and decorum of manners; and even in the ardour of youth never deviated into any glaring excess. But these solid qualities and upright intentions were counteracted by a narrow jealousy, a love of adulation, and a punctilious obstinacy, which induced him to maintain an inflexible perseverance in measures once adopted; and these natural defects were aggravated by the ascendancy which an artful favourite, count Altheim, had acquired over his mind.

It was a great misfortune to Charles, that of all the ministers and attendants whom Leopold had placed about his person on his departure for Spain, and at an age when the deepest impressions are made, not one was worthy either of his esteem or imitation. His governor prince Lichtenstein, who accompanied him in the character of grand master of his household, and to whose guidance he was peculiarly intrusted, was a nobleman of mean intellects, pedantic knowledge, and wholly devoted to the wild pursuits of alchymy*; hence, at a time of life when friendships are easily formed, Charles contracted a partiality for count Altheim, from whom he imbibed principles which unfortunately regulated his future conduct, and influenced the events of his reign †.

* Memoires de la Torre.

† This account of the character of Charles, of the situation of his court and ministry, and of the influence and intrigues of count Altheim, is taken from "Relation Secrette de la Cour de Vienne, du 6 Juin 1721, sent to lord Townshend for the inspection of George the First; also Relation de l'Etat de la Cour de Vienne et de ses forces et finances 1727; and Lettre ecrite au mois d'Avril 1728 à la Reine sur la situation des affaires de l'Europe, et en particulier sur les interêts de la Grande Bretagne," in the Waldegrave, Walpole, and Hardwicke papers. These curious state papers, were written by St. Saphorin a native of Switzerland, and agent for the British affairs at Vienna, and develop the situation and system of the court, under Charles the Sixth, the characters of the Emperor, Altheim, Eugene, and of the principal ministers.

Count

Count Altheim the nephew of prince Lichtenstein first attracted the notice of Charles by an open variance with his uncle, and soon improved the favourable opinion of the young monarch by the elegance of his address and the insinuation of his manners. Under the semblance of a frank and open behaviour, he concealed great cunning and intrigue. To perpetuate his influence he prejudiced Charles against the court and ministers of Vienna; he insinuated that the sole aim of Joseph and his cabinet was to exclude him from the throne of Spain, to annex the Milanese to the Austrian dominions, to secure to him only the kingdom of the two Sicilies with the Low Countries, and to render him entirely dependent on the court of Vienna. Chapter v. 1718.

When Charles became head of the house of Austria, the artful favourite availed himself of his master's vanity to suggest that his glory was interested in being his own minister, that he was superior to his servants in abilities as in dignity, that he ought to prove himself a greater man than either his father or brother, by supporting alone the weight of empire, and should principally consult those who were indebted to him for their elevation, and had his honour only at heart. By instilling such doctrines, and by appearing totally subservient to the will of the Emperor, Altheim acquired an undue influence over the counsels of his phlegmatic and suspicious master. But though he might have aspired to the situation of prime minister, he was so conscious of his own incapacity to direct the helm of government, that he never accepted an office of responsibility. He refused to be a member of the secret conference or cabinet council, and in the post of master of the horse, became the real though not the ostensible minister, and contented himself with the substance, while he left to others the shadow of authority. He gradually appropriated to himself the disposal of all places except in the military line, new modelled the board of finances, and filled the several departments of government with his creatures.

He availed himself of the predilection which Charles always professed for Spain, and his sanguine hopes of recovering that crown, and

Chapter 6. 1718.

prevailed on him to institute a council composed entirely of Spaniards or Italians, for the purpose of governing the Low Countries, Naples, and the Milanese; and this council, became the private cabinet which, during his life, swayed the helm of state. He also availed himself of the discontents which had taken place between Sinzendorf and Staremberg, two ministers of the conference, and by sometimes supporting the one and sometimes the other, he held the balance in his own hands, and prevented them from uniting against his own authority *.

Having diminished the influence and credit of these ministers, Eugene alone remained a barrier to his ambition, and an object of his jealousy. The rank and dignity, the high consideration in which the prince was held by persons of all stations, his power as president of the council of war, and member of the secret conference, led the favourite to spare no cabals, and to employ intrigue upon intrigue, to undermine his credit and obtain his dismission.

Francis Eugene, descended in a direct line from Charles Emanuel the First, duke of Savoy, was fourth son of Eugene Maurice, count of Soissons, by Olympia Mancini, niece of cardinal Mazarine. He was born at Paris in 1663, and destined to the church; and being when young presented to the abbeys of Cassanova and de la Clusa, was generally known by the name of the abbot of Savoy. Though his studies were principally directed to the profession for which he was destined, yet he made a considerable progress in various branches of polite literature. His favourite books were Quintus Curtius, and the Commentaries of Cæsar; and the constant perusal of these and other works on military subjects, fired his youthful imagination with the love of camps and of arms, produced a dislike to the ecclesiastical profession, and rendered him anxious to exchange his cassoc for the coat of mail.

Being disappointed in his application for military rank to Louis the Fourteenth, he quitted all his prospects in France, and repairing to

* St. Saphorin.

Vienna,

Vienna, entered as a volunteer in the Imperial army, then serving against the Turks in Hungary, in which his brother Philip had the command of a regiment. He learned the art of war under John Sobieski, Charles duke of Loraine, and Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, and signalised himself on various occasions, by his gallant spirit and deliberate valour, particularly at the sieges of Vienna, Neuhasel, and Buda. Soon after the siege of Neuhasel, prince Louis of Baden presented him to Leopold with this prophetic compliment, "This young Savoyard will in time be the first captain of the age."

Eugene rose rapidly in the Imperial service; every campaign produced new instances of his valour and talents, and forwarded his advancement. At length, after having distinguished himself in a most signal manner in Italy against the French, he was appointed, in the 34th year of his age, commander in chief of the Imperial army against the Turks. His first campaign was distinguished by the important victory of Zenta, in opposition to the orders of Leopold, not to risk a general engagement. This victory, gained on the 11th of September 1697, was memorable for the presence of the Sultan Mustapha the Second, the death of the grand vizier, of seventeen bashaws, and 30,000 Turks, and by its consequences the peace of Carlovitz, which first humbled the power of the Porte, and secured Hungary and Europe from the dread of Turkish invasion.

In the midst of the acclamations of the army and the applauses of Europe, Eugene returned to Vienna, secure, as he thought, of the most favourable reception from the gratitude of his master; but his enemies had insinuated that success could not justify his disobedience to positive commands, and when Eugene delivered the great seal of the Ottoman empire, and related the effects of the victory, Leopold received him without either praise or reproach. Being arrested for disobedience of orders, he said to the officer who demanded his sword, "Take it, since the will of the Emperor requires it; behold it still reeking with the blood of his enemies. Nor will I ever consent to resume it, unless I continue to employ it in his service."

Chapter 6. 1718.

The news of his arrest was no sooner known throughout the city, than the burghers assembled in crowds, and exclaimed, "Is this the return of gratitude for our tutelary angel; the man who has delivered Vienna and the empire from destruction?" They flocked around his palace, and sent a deputation to inform him that they would sacrifice their lives in his defence. "Accept," replied Eugene, "my sincere acknowledgments, but I entreat you to disperse; I desire no other guaranty of my safety than the uprightness of my conduct, and the few services which I have been able to render to his Imperial majesty: that monarch is far too enlightened not to discriminate truth from calumny; and too equitable not to do me justice."

The mind of Leopold had been warped though not hardened by the calumnious insinuations of the enemies of Eugene. On reflection he could not but perceive that such ungrateful behaviour would disgrace him in the eyes of Europe, alienate the affections of the army who idolized their commander, and deprive him of the services of the most able captain of the age, at a time when the disputes concerning the Spanish succession were likely to involve him in a war with France. Impressed with these considerations the Emperor restored Eugene to favour at the moment when his enemies appeared most confident of his disgrace; and in answer to those who advised him to cite Eugene before the council of war, he crushed the cabal by replying, "God forbid that I should treat like a malefactor, a prince, by whom Heaven has bestowed on me favours which I do not merit, and who is the instrument of God to punish the enemies of his son!"

Eugene, restored to the plenitude of favour, generously forgave his calumniators; his zeal for the House of Austria was not cooled, but he refused to retain the command of the army, if shackled in his military operations by orders from the cabinet. He insisted and obtained the permission of the emperor to act solely from himself, without dependance, and according to the emergency of circumstances.

From this period Leopold acted towards Eugene with every mark of respect and affection, created him president of the council of war, consigned

signed to him the sole management of the war for the Spanish succession, and was indebted to him for a series of successes in Italy and Germany, which added strength, lustre, and dignity, to the House of Austria.

During the whole reign of Joseph, whose liberal mind was congenial to his own, Eugene possessed the full confidence of his sovereign, and preserved an unbounded influence in civil and military transactions. In the Low Countries he shared with Marlborough in the honour gained by the victories of Malplaquet and Oudenarde; but in Italy he enjoyed without a rival the glory of forcing the French lines, defeating their army under the walls of Turin, driving the French and Spanish troops to their own frontiers, and in securing the conquest of that country.

In the first years of the reign of Charles the Sixth, the direction of the war on the Rhine, against the French, the negotiations at Rastadt, the final conclusion of the peace of Baden, and the victories of Peterwaradin and Belgrade, justly entitled him to the gratitude and approbation of his sovereign. But peace had no sooner secured the Austrian dominions on the side of Turkey, and Eugene returned to Vienna to resume his ministerial functions, than Altheim brought his plan to maturity; and many traits in the character of the prince, together with the situation in which he stood with the Emperor, concurred to forward the success of the favourite's intrigues.

Though from fidelity to the Emperor, Eugene had rejected the offers of Louis the Fourteenth, to restore him to his native country, and confer on him the government of Champagne, with the rank of marshal, yet he was not personally attached to his sovereign; he neither conciliated his friendship nor sought his regard; nor could he conceal that he found the liberal mind of Joseph more congenial to his own, than the suspicious temper of Charles; and he frequently observed, "Joseph always treated me as a brother, but Charles as a master."

Eugene possessed such an unaffected modesty, that he did not receive without pain even the common acknowledgments due to his transcendent talents; and being himself thus averse to flattery, he did not

pay

Chapter 6. 1718.

pay sufficient deference to the Emperor, who was accustomed to receive the most fulsome tribute from all that approached his person. He had conceived such horror at the smallest appearance of deceit as to avoid almost the common expressions of civility; was cold and distant in his first address, but remarkable for never making a promise which he did not intend to fulfil. Hence he offended many whom it was his interest to conciliate, and the finest feature of his character excited the disgust of courtiers, who are less offended with soft words and deceitful promises than a candid and frank refusal.

Fond of polite literature, and possessing an exquisite taste in the liberal arts, he had not always patience for the routine of office: and though president of the council of war, and member of the secret conference, he could not be induced, unless from the most urgent necessity, to transact business at any other hours than from ten in the morning till two. The remainder of his time he dedicated to miscellaneous literature, to the arts, particularly to painting, of which he had formed a valuable collection, and to the company of a small and chosen society, presided by the countess Bathiani, to whom he was attached *. Hence he sunk in the opinion of Charles, who affected great assiduity in business, and was no less minutely attentive to trifles than to affairs of the utmost consequence. Altheim did not fail to represent in the most odious light, this conduct as highly disrespectful, and productive of delays in the dispatch of public business; and though he could not sully the upright and incorruptible character of Eugene, he displayed in the strongest colours the scandalous venality of madame Bathiani, and of the persons who were most distinguished by the prince's confidence.

The counsels of Eugene were always moderate and disinterested, and therefore not congenial to corrupt or designing men. Notwithstanding his talents for war, and ardour for military glory, instead of supporting a continuance of hostilities which increased his own consequence, he was an advocate for peace whenever honourable terms

* St. Saphorin, Relation Secrette—Earl Waldegrave's and Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

could

could be procured. During the late contest with the Turks, he was not ignorant of the intrigues which threatened his dismission at the cessation of hostilities; yet he used his full powers in compelling the Imperial plenipotentiaries to conclude a peace. In a word, he derived from a consciousness of his own integrity such a contempt for the cabals of a court, that he did not condescend to take sufficient precaution against them, and nearly fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of Altheim. Chapter 6. 1719.

Under the pretence of general reformation in the departments of government, the favourite insinuated to the Emperor, that the power of Eugene was too great for a subject, and even shackled the authority of the crown. He therefore proposed as a remedy against what he called a government within a government, to establish an independent committee of war, and he hoped, that as the high spirit of the prince would not brook this affront, his remonstrances would offend the Emperor, and he would either resign or be dismissed. The conduct of Eugene justified this supposition, for when informed of the intended alteration in the council of war, he declared that if a single servant was dismissed, he would instantly retire.

The efforts of Altheim were seconded by his brother in law count Nemsch, who submitted to the Emperor daily reports highly unfavourable to the prince. Before the scheme was matured, a valet of count Nemsch having stolen the minutes of these informations, carried them to Eugene, who instantly appealed to his sovereign. This unexpected discovery disconcerted the whole project. Charles could not refuse attending to the just remonstrances of Eugene on the eve of a war with Spain; and the favourite himself had not courage to carry his plan into execution. Nemsch was arrested, tried, deprived of all his employments, and imprisoned for two years in the citadel of Gratz; and one of his principal agents, the Abbé Todesqui, was whipped by the common executioner and banished.

But though Eugene thus triumphed over the cabals of his enemies, he never acquired the full confidence and friendship of Charles. The recollection of past services, the disgrace which would be incurred by dismissing him, and the dread of driving him into the service of France, preserved

Chapter 6. 1718.

preserved him in his posts, but with more ostensible than real power. During a war indeed, or when hostilities seemed unavoidable, Eugene possessed considerable authority, and was permitted to regulate the military operations with almost absolute sway; but in peaceable periods his councils had little weight, and the Emperor consulted his own prejudices and suspicions, and followed the importunate representations of his other ministers, who envied the high distinction enjoyed by the great supporter of the house of Austria. Hence his audiences of his sovereign were always cold and short, each mistrusting the other; the Emperor from jealousy, Eugene from a recollection of the many attempts which had been made to remove him. He gave his advice plainly and frankly in the cabinet whenever it was demanded; but never enforced his opinion, or condescended to court the approbation of his sovereign or the concurrence of the ministers. In his own department alone he preserved his authority without the smallest controul even from the Emperor himself*.

1722.

Not long after the failure of this intrigue Eugene was relieved from further attempts by the decease of count Altheim, who died in 1722 to the great regret of the Emperor. Charles testified his friendship for his favourite, by declaring himself guardian of his children, and to use the words of a contemporary writer, "gave orders in what manner they should be educated, and treated them more like his own children than his subjects †."

On the death of count Altheim, the principal ministers of the cabinet were prince Eugene, count Gundaker Staremberg, and count

* "Il influe peu ici," says St. Saphorin, "hormis dans les choses qui sont purement de son departement. Il y influe d'autant moins, qu'ils sont toujours en garde (l'empereur et lui) lorsqu'ils se parlent, car ils se defient souverainemnnt, l'un de l'autre. Quoiqu'il preside dans toutes les conferences, il n'y influe plus, puisque si les comtes de Sinzendorf et de Staremberg sont du même avis, il le suit, car il se determine rarement sur aucune chose avant d'avoir entendu le sentiment de ces deux ministres; et s'ils sont d'avis differens, la plupart du tems il se range à celui du comte de Staremberg, en qui il a plus de confiance qu'au comte de Sinzendorf.

† Letters of Pohnitz, tom. i. p. 256, 257.

Sinzendorf

Sinzendorf, emphatically called ministers of the secret conference, and the marquis de Realp, who was at the head of the council of Spain. Chapter 6. 1718.

The marquis de Realp, a native of Catalonia, who had attached himself to the interests of Charles while struggling for the crown of Spain, owed his promotion to the influence of count Altheim, to whom he always continued devoted. Though not a member of the conference, he had at this period great personal credit with his master, as well because he had been recommended by Altheim, as because he was intrusted with the principal management of the Spanish and Italian affairs. He was visionary and indiscreet, wholly ignorant of the political system of Europe, and ill qualified for negotiation; but was consulted by the Emperor in commercial regulations, particularly those relating to his foreign dominions.

Since the death of Altheim the Emperor had lived with Realp in greater familiarity than with any of his other ministers; Charles admitted him in his hours of retirement, which were passed in the society of Spaniards and Italians, who had attached themselves to his fortunes in Spain, and with whom he shook off that solemnity of deportment which he uniformly maintained in public.

Count Sinzendorf, chancellor, and secretary for the direction of foreign affairs, had been principally recommended by the marquis de Realp, as a counterpoise to the interest of prince Eugene. Realp, well acquainted with the suspicious character of the Emperor, described him as a man not remarkable for eminent talents, and of an interested and supple disposition, but of great experience in foreign affairs. Yet Sinzendorf, though at first he acted a subordinate part, afterwards gradually supplanted his patron, and rose to the highest confidence by flattering the chimerical schemes of the Emperor, and by affecting an entire deference to his will.

His character formed a singular contrast of opposite qualities. He united the extremes of flattery and bluntness, suppleness and obstinacy, phlegm and impetuosity, humility and arrogance. He was highly elated with the most trifling incident in his favour, and sunk into the

Chapter 6. 1718.

deepest despondency on the smallest reverse*. From his devotion to the luxuries of the table, he is justly termed by the royal historian, the Apicius of the Imperial court; from his fondness of the pleasures and enjoyments of society, and his attachment to play, he was unable to attend to the multiplicity of business; and by his dilatory and procrastinating spirit increased the natural tardiness of the cabinet of Vienna. The magnificence of his establishment, and his love of parade, involved him in expences which far exceeded his income; and he was not backward in accepting presents from foreign courts as the price of his good offices. He did not, however, conceal from the Emperor the amount of these gratifications, or the offers which were made to him, and in some instances was authorised by his master to accept the presents, and to employ part of the money in gaining foreign ministers, or in promoting his favourite schemes.

Count Gundaker Staremberg possessed high integrity and an elevated mind, and was well acquainted with the financial department, of which he had the direction. He despised the arts of flattery by which Sinzendorf and Realp conciliated their master; and, like Eugene, always delivered his opinion with frankness and sincerity. He was, however, cold, formal, reserved, and contemptuous, jealous of Eugene, but despising his other colleagues. He therefore commanded the esteem, but did not possess the confidence of the Emperor; was disliked by the other ministers, and had little credit out of his department.

These were the ministers who were intrusted with the ostensible direction of foreign affairs; and their discordant views and characters

* Mr. Robinson conveys a striking description of count Sinzendorf's temper and character, in a letter to lord Harrington, July 5, 1736; "Count Sinzendorf is naturally timorous, and when things go ill with him he abandons himself to sighs and groanings. On the contrary when things seem in the least to go to his wishes he is too elated; and the least momentary incident which may have been the occasion of his coming once unruffled or unreproached out of the Emperor's presence is a triumph to him." "Did you perceive," said count Tarouca, "how gay he was when he dined with you last Sunday; it was from one distant glimpse only of the Emperor's being more contented with him than with Bartenstein."

increased

increased the difficulty of transacting business with a court which had been long remarkable for its dilatory and overbearing conduct. The change which had taken place in the habits and disposition of the Emperor contributed still further to augment this embarrassment.

At the commencement of his reign Charles was sedulous in the transaction of business, constantly attended the conferences of state, toiled through the mass of diplomatic papers, and even wrote numerous dispatches to his embassadors with his own hand. But this assiduity gradually subsided, he devoted great part of his time to music, and to the pleasures of the chase, and wasted the remainder in ceremonies and parade, or in the company of his Spanish and Italian favourites. He still, however, affected great attention to business, and would suffer no measure to be executed which he had not previously examined and sanctioned. He also received the result of each conference, which was drawn up by count Sinzendorf, secretary for foreign affairs, and counter memorials were often presented by the other ministers.

From this mode of conducting business, papers and documents continually accumulated, which the Emperor had neither leisure nor inclination to examine; and the most important negotiations were continually neglected. Even the copy of the Quadruple Alliance remained three months on his table before he could be induced to sign it *.

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

CHAPTER 7.

1718—1722.

Situation of the European Powers after the Conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance—Sweden—Russia—Denmark—Poland—Turkey—Italy—Genoa—Venice—The Pope—Modena—Tuscany—Parma—The King of Sardinia—France—England—United Provinces—Spain—Germany—Religious Disputes—Troubles of Mecklenburgh—Rise and Power of the House of Brandenburgh—Internal Regulations, Military System, and Character, of Frederic William.

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

THE external relations of the house of Austria towards foreign powers, were essentially changed on the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance.

A bloody war, which had continued for the space of eighteen years, had totally changed the political situation of the North. It originated in the contest for the possession of Livonia, which had been alternately occupied by the Poles and Russians, and had been assigned to the Swedes at the peace of Oliva. Augustus the Second, king of Poland, with the hopes of recovering Livonia, formed a confederacy with Russia and Denmark, against Charles the Twelfth, who had recently succeeded to the crown of Sweden in the fifteenth year of his age. But the views of the confederates were baffled by the vigour and intrepidity of the young monarch; Charles compelled the king of Denmark to desert the confederacy, and conclude the peace of Travendahl; he forced Augustus to abdicate the throne of Poland, which he conferred on Stanislaus Letzinski; defeated the Czar in several encounters, and threatened him with the same fate as Augustus. But after having raised his military glory to the greatest height, he lost by the single battle of Pultawa all the fruits of his former successes, sacrificed his veteran troops amidst the wilds of Russia, and wasted several years as a fugitive and suppliant at the mercy of the Porte.

During

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

During his absence Augustus regained the throne of Poland; and the confederacy was renewed and strengthened by the accession of the Electors of Brandenburgh and Hanover. The Emperor anxious to prevent the war from spreading into the empire, joined with the other members of the grand alliance, to secure a neutrality for the Swedish provinces in Germany. This proposal, however, being scornfully rejected by the king of Sweden, the confederates burst upon his dominions, overran Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden, involved his nephew the duke of Holstein in his misfortunes, and Charles the Twelfth only returned to experience new defeats, and to witness the loss of his fairest provinces.

Though at length reconciled to his rival, Peter the Great, he still breathed war and vengeance, led his army into the heart of Norway, and fell a sacrifice to his daring spirit, at the instant when he was preparing to second the wild schemes of Alberoni, and in concurrence with Russia, to turn his arms against the Emperor, and the powers confederated by the quadruple alliance. His death was a fortunate event; for, although he had exhausted his country, and occasioned its dismemberment, yet being still adored by a people emulous of military glory, and animated with a recollection of their former deeds, his eccentric valour might have again turned the tide of success.

Dec. 11. 1718.

His death gave a new aspect to the affairs of Sweden; a party of the nobles having gained the army, excluded Charles Frederick duke of Holstein, nephew and heir of Charles, and conferred the sceptre on his youngest sister Ulrica Eleonora, on conditions which reduced the sovereign from the most despotic to the most limited monarch in Europe. Ulrica Eleonora accepted the crown only to resign it to her husband Frederic the First, who secured the concurrence of the nobles by ratifying the new form of government.

From this period Sweden became a prey to factions, and little more than a cypher in the political balance of Europe. The senate and states were swayed by the most open corruption; and the king was a mere puppet in the hands of the party which could gain the ascendancy in the diet. Hence the power by which the house of Austria had been first humbled, and which had uniformly joined with France

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

France and Turkey, lost all its nerve and vigour, and Charles the Sixth was relieved from all apprehensions of this antient rival of his family.

1721. The peace of Nystadt soon afterwards completed the humiliation of Sweden: Livonia, Esthonia, with part of Ingria and Finland were ceded to Russia; Bremen and Verden to George the First, as Elector of Hanover; the town and territory of Stettin to Prussia; and of all the provinces gained by the victorious arms of Gustavus Adolphus beyond the Baltic, nothing remained but part of Pomerania.

Peter the Great had made considerable progress in civilising his vast empire, and by creating a navy, disciplining his army, and concentrating his force on the side of the Baltic, had converted Russia from an Asiatic into an European power. He had consolidated his conquests from Sweden, and began to take an active part in the political transactions of Germany and the North. Although from a dread of the Turks he had courted the alliance of Austria, yet he was greatly displeased with the Emperor for supporting the nobles of Mecklenburgh against their sovereign Charles Leopold, who had espoused Catherine his niece; and he was still further irritated by his interference in the affairs of Sweden to the exclusion of the duke of Holstein, who was betrothed to his daughter the princess Anne. From these causes of disgust, Peter was readily induced to concur in the schemes of Alberoni, and to co-operate with his rival, Charles the Twelfth, in taking vengeance on the Emperor.

Jan. 5, 1719. Alarmed at the threatening aspect of Russia, Charles the Sixth had concluded a defensive alliance with the king of England as Elector of Hanover, and the king of Poland as elector of Saxony. Fortunately, however, the hostile designs of Russia were frustrated by the events which occasioned the disgrace of Alberoni, and by the death of Charles the Twelfth; but Peter still retained his dislike, and even after the peace of Nystadt prepared vast armaments by sea and land, to interfere in the affairs of Mecklenburgh, and to place his intended son-in-law on the throne of Sweden.

Frederic the Fourth reigned in Denmark; he was engaged in the war

war of the North against Charles the Twelfth, and had the happiness of restoring peace to his exhausted country. He had indeed made no territorial acquisitions, but he obtained the union of Schleswic to the crown of Denmark, and the guaranty of the Sound duties, which had been contested by Sweden and other nations. Although a prince of high spirit, he was fonder of peace than of war, and devoted his whole attention to promote the arts and sciences, and to form useful establishments for the advantage of his country. Embarrassed with the pretensions of the house of Holstein to the duchy of Schleswic, and jealous of a prince who possessed a sovereignty even in the heart of his dominions, he assisted in excluding the Duke from the throne of Sweden, and was alarmed at the ambitious projects of Peter the Great to acquire the dominion of the Baltic; but his principal aim was directed to maintain his country in peace, and to preserve the balance of the North. In case, however, of a general war, he was favourably inclined to take part with the house of Austria.

Since the establishment of an elective monarchy, Poland had fallen from her antient grandeur, and, except during the splendid reign of John Sobieski, had lost her preponderance in the North. Augustus the Second, Elector of Saxony, had been raised to the throne, principally by the influence of the house of Austria; and, although he experienced a temporary exclusion from the invasion of Charles the Twelfth, was restored after the battle of Pultawa. As king of Poland, he was a pageant without power in the hands of a turbulent aristocracy, scarcely able to repress internal factions; and though not without military talents, he could not direct the efforts of his brave but lawless subjects to any beneficial purpose. Poland was therefore of little consequence in the scale of Europe, except as a barrier between Austria and Russia, and as a curb to the Turks on the northern frontiers of Hungary.

The Turks, fallen from their former grandeur, and humbled by the peace of Passarovitz, were kept in continual alarm by their dread of the Russians, and the troubles of Persia; and Sultan Achmet the Third, who had exchanged the restless and baneful activity of his ancestors

Chapter 7. 1718—1742.

ancestors for the indolence of the Seraglio, was neither able nor willing to infringe the treaty of Passarovitz which he had recently concluded with the house of Austria.

At this period the influence of the Emperor seemed to preponderate in Italy; and its heterogeneous states were split and divided by different interests, and not likely to unite in one compact league against the House of Austria.

Those parts of Italy which did not acknowledge the sovereignty of the House of Austria, were the republics of Venice and Genoa, the dominions of the Pope, the territories of the king of Sardinia, and the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany.

The republic of Genoa, once the rival of Venice, in its commerce, fleet, and territories, was now reduced to a petty state, which existed only by the sufferance of the neighbouring powers. During the wars which ravaged Italy, from the dissolution of the Roman empire to the sixteenth century, Genoa experienced continual changes in its form of government, and in the extent of its dominion; it was sometimes an independent republic, torn by contending factions; at other times a province of the Milanese, or alternately possessed by Charles the Fifth, and France.

From this state of alternate humiliation and independence it was relieved by the courage and patriotism of Andrew Doria, from whom it received the aristocratical form of government which, with only a slight modification in 1574, remained unchanged till the present period *.

During the contests between France and Spain after the death of Charles the Fifth, as well as during the war for the Spanish succession, the republic maintained for the most part a wise neutrality, and purchased from the Emperor the marquisate of Finale, which was guaranteed by the Quadruple Alliance. But in 1715 the Genoese having offended Charles by arresting an Imperial officer who wore his sword, contrary to the ordinances of the state, a corps of Imperial troops marched to the gates of Genoa, and compelled the

* Revolutions of Genoa.—Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 24.

republic

republic to liberate the prisoner, to pay 300,000 dollars, and to depute a senator to Vienna for the purpose of expressing their regret, and requesting forgiveness. From their local situation the Genoese were attached to France, and jealous of the king of Sardinia, who had pretensions to the marquisate of Finale; but, deriving experience from their recent humiliation, they were afraid and unwilling to offend the Emperor.

Although the peace of Passarovitz deprived Venice of the Morea, which had long been an object of contention with the Turks, yet it secured her trade, and ensured to her the possession of the Dalmatian territory, and the valuable islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante and Cerigo. Since that pacification the republic relinquished its ambitious designs of making conquests in Greece, and preserved a state of uninterrupted neutrality in regard to the affairs of Europe. But although Venice ceased to be a preponderating power, yet, from the wisdom of her counsels, and the dignity of her government, she was still treated with a consideration rather derived to her former splendour, than her present state. From her position on the Adriatic, and the frontiers of the Milanese, as well as from dread of the Turks, Venice was closely united with the house of Austria, and was treated with the respect due to an antient ally by the Emperor, who looked forward to the assistance of her fleet, in case of a rupture with the Turks.

The thunders of the Vatican, which had long awed the princes of Europe, had lost their terrors; and the Pope, hemmed in between the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples, was of still less weight as a temporal power.

Clement the Eleventh, a prince of a weak and timid character, had acted an indecisive part during the war of the succession, and his dominions were occasionally overrun by each of the contending armies. In addition to the humiliations which he experienced from Joseph, he had received still further mortifications from Charles the Sixth, who, irritated at his delay in granting the investiture of Naples, and at his refusal to give subsidies for the prosecution of the war against the

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

Turks, drove his nuntios from Vienna*, Brussels, and Naples, and threatened to deprive him of his sovereign rights in the kingdom of Naples.

His successor Innocent the Thirteenth, who was chosen in 1721, though of a more crafty and enlightened disposition, was equally incapable of supporting the pretensions of the papal see, in opposition to the dictates of the Emperor, or to the power which should gain the preponderance in Italy.

Next to the Emperor the king of Sardinia was the most powerful prince in Italy, less from the extent than from the situation of his dominions, which formed a barrier on the side of France.

Victor Amadeus possessed the ambition, courage, and talents which had raised his predecessors from petty princes of Savoy to a secondary sovereignty in Europe, and had increased his dominions by a similar policy, in alternately swaying the balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon in Italy, and selling his service to the highest bidder. By the treaty of Utrecht he had obtained from France the forts of Exiles and Fenestrelles, the vallies of Oulx, Sezane, Bardonache, and Chateau Dauphin, and the confirmation of the territories in the Milanese, promised by Leopold as the price of his accession to the Quadruple Alliance, the greater part of which Charles had been reluctantly compelled to yield. These territories consisted of part of the duchy of Montferrat, the provinces of Alexandria and Valentia, with the district between the Po and the Tanaro, of the Lumellina and the valley of Sessia. But these acquisitions did not gratify his ambition; he aspired to the possession of the whole Milanese with the title of king of Lombardy, and was disgusted with the Emperor who refused to fulfil the promises made by Joseph of seconding his views, and withheld the Langhes and the Vigenvenasco which had been promised by Leopold. He was still more irritated at the compulsory exchange of Sicily for the barren island of Sardinia.

Victor Amadeus at this period had recovered his country from the calamities of war, had improved his finances, and possessed a well

* See Muratori Annali d'Italia, and Abrégé de l'Histoire des Papes, tom. ii. p. 486.

disciplined

disciplined army, by whom he was adored. Hence the house of Austria became deeply interested to secure his assistance, or at least his neutrality; but Charles had conceived a peculiar jealousy of the king of Sardinia. He was indignant that the reversion of the crown of Spain was entailed by the peace of Utrecht on the descendants of Victor Amadeus, in preference to his own line; and he beheld with the strongest aversion the attempts of the British cabinet to negotiate a marriage between the prince of Piedmont and one of the daughters of Joseph, which might render the House of Savoy a claimant of the Austrian succession *. He knew also that the assistance of Victor Amadeus could not be gained without sacrificing a part of Lombardy, and was not ignorant of his customary remark, "I must acquire the Milanese piece by piece, as I eat the leaves of an artichoke."

From its insignificance and weakness Parma would not deserve notice among the powers of Europe, had it not given a queen to Spain, and been distinguished by the disputes relative to its succession. The ducal throne was occupied by Francis, the seventh prince of the house of Farnese, who was without issue, and the presumptive heir was his brother Anthony, who was likewise childless. They were both of an inferior capacity, and wholly subservient to the counsels of Spain.

Tuscany, which under the first princes of the house of Medici had risen to such distinction and splendour, was sunk into a state of decline under Cosmo the Third, whose advanced age and extreme bigotry weakened every nerve of government. His only surviving son John Gaston was without any prospect of issue, and in character both indolent and licentious. Princes of such talents were incapable of supporting the claims of the princess Anna Maria Louisa, daughter of Cosmo the Third, and wife of the Elector Palatine, or of making any effectual resistance to the eventual disposal of Tuscany.

The small territory comprising the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, was principally remarkable for its position between Tuscany, Parma, Mantua, and the ecclesiastical state, which rendered its acquisition of importance during an Italian war. The

* Lord Bolingbroke's Correspondence.

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

sovereign Rinaldo d'Este was a prince of an enterprising spirit, and during the war of the succession had continued inflexible in his attachment to the house of Austria, although his dominions were overrun by the French. The battle of Turin having restored the preponderance of the Imperial arms in Italy, he recovered his possessions, and received in reward for his fidelity the investiture of Mirandola from the emperor Joseph. Gratitude and inclination bound him to the interests of the house of Austria, and he was a firm adherent to Charles the Sixth.

The relative situation of England and the house of Austria always depended on the connection of England with France. During the ambitious projects of Louis the Fourteenth, England courted the house of Austria as the great counterpoise to the house of Bourbon, and their interests were still more closely united in the war of the Spanish succession. Anne first tore asunder the bands of amity by deserting the principles of the Grand Alliance, and concluding a separate peace with France, which wrested the crown of Spain from Charles the Sixth and guarantied it to a prince of the house of Bourbon.

Although the breach occasioned by this desertion was in some measure healed by the accession of George the First; and the mutual interests of the two powers, to withstand the ambitious designs of Elizabeth Farnese, had renewed their connection; yet the coolness which had arisen was never wholly removed. Charles was offended with the recent alliance of England and France, because it rendered his cooperation of less value; he was displeased with the onerous terms of the Barrier Treaty; and his resentment was still further excited by the petty discussions relative to the German interests of the king of England as elector of Hanover. Long accustomed to blind complaisance from England, he expected that an elector of Hanover upon that throne should be still more subservient to his views and desires *, and was both disappointed and chagrined when the conduct of George the First dissipated the illusion. England, though willing to conciliate the head of the house of Austria, was more anxious not to lose the lucrative commerce with Spain, and was too attentive to her own inte-

* Mr. Walpole's Apology.

rests

rests not to enforce the strict execution of that part of the Quadruple Alliance which related to the eventual investiture of the duchies of Parma and Placentia in favour of Don Carlos, and which the Emperor was desirous to elude.

The republic of the United Provinces was in a state of weakness and disunion; the government was a confederacy of discordant states, without a Stadtholder, loaded with debts, and incapable of active exertion. After the death of pensionary Heinsius, whose influence had long been predominant, it was still more distracted by different parties, equally jealous of France and of the house of Austria. The States had been recently alienated by the prevarications of the Emperor, in concluding their favourite object the Barrier Treaty, and were chiefly swayed by the united influence of England and France.

The duke of Orleans, who held the reins of government in France, had already made one step towards a reconciliation with Spain, by affiancing Louis the Fifteenth with the infanta Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Philip and Elizabeth Farnese, and by the marriage of Elizabeth his fourth daughter with the prince of Asturias. This marriage however did not affect the union between France and England, or occasion any essential change in the situation of France with regard to the house of Austria; for the infanta Mary Anne being only four years of age, the consummation of her marriage with Louis the Fifteenth was distant, and the eventual succession to the crown of France still open.

Spain, though humbled by the loss of her fleet, and the defeat of her projects, retained a spirit of pride and boundless ambition. Philip the Fifth seemed to have relinquished his personal enmity to the duke of Orleans by the conclusion of the double marriages; but being reduced to a state of morbid melancholy, he was wholly governed by Elizabeth Farnese, who directed her ambitious views to secure the eventual succession to the crown of France for her descendants by Philip. This, however, being a distant contingency, she was still more anxious to procure the reversion of Tuscany, Placentia, and Parma, the hopes of which had alone induced her to accede to the Quadruple Alliance; well

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

well aware of the Emperor's repugnance to confirm the reversion, she employed her utmost efforts to extort his acquiescence by obtaining the concurrence of England and France.

Portugal was governed by John the Fifth, a prince of a violent and haughty disposition, but who possessed more talents than any of his predecessors of the line of Braganza. He was attached to the house of Austria as well from his enmity to France, and his rivalry to Spain, as from his marriage with Mary Anne, sister of Charles the Sixth.

Germany was at this period agitated by religious dissensions, which divided the empire into two parties, the catholics and the evangelical body, or protestants. Fruitless attempts had been made to terminate these dissensions by the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen; and the treaty of Ryswick, which concluded the war between the empire and France, furnished new motives of dissension, as by the influence and threats of France a clause was introduced in the fourth article, stipulating that the Roman catholic religion should be continued in the places restored by France as it was then exercised. This clause, which was contradictory to the treaty of Westphalia, was agreed to by the Emperor and the catholic states, but rejected by the protestants; and the treaty was ratified by the emperor Leopold without any reference to the remonstrances and claims of the protestants. Violent disputes accordingly arose in the diet; and, after much altercation, the protestants seem to have acquiesced, with the hopes that the treaty itself would be invalidated by the war which was on the point of breaking out for the Spanish succession. These disputes, though suspended by the war, were renewed after the peace of Baden, in which the obnoxious clause was not formally repealed. The protestants were persecuted by the Elector Palatine, and deprived of many of their churches; and reprisals were made on the catholics by the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover*.

* Puetter's Development of the Germanic Constitution—Pfeffel, passim.

In

In addition to these religious disputes the diet was agitated by the rival claims of the electors of Bavaria, Palatine, and Hanover.

The electorate of Bavaria had formerly been either jointly or alternately held by the two branches of Bavaria and Palatine; but when Charles the Fourth, by the golden bull, restricted the number of electors to seven, he adjudged the electoral dignity to the Palatine branch, with the office of high steward. These dignities continued in that line till Frederic the Fifth, incurring the displeasure of the emperor Ferdinand the Second, by accepting the crown of Bohemia, was 1665.
deprived of the electoral vote and high stewardship, which were transferred to Maximilian duke of Bavaria, for his support of the catholic league and the house of Austria. At the peace of Westphalia, an eighth electorate, together with the office of high treasurer, were erected in favour of Charles Louis, son of the deposed Frederick the Fifth, under the condition that the said electorate should be vacated whenever the two branches of Bavaria and Palatine were reunited by the extinction of either line. In 1706, Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, who had joined France against the allies, was put under the ban of the empire, and the Elector Palatine restored to the fifth place with the office of high steward. At the peace of Baden, however, the elector of Bavaria, being re-established in all his rights and privileges, the Elector Palatine reclaimed the eighth place, with the high treasurership, but was opposed by the elector of Hanover who had occupied that place, and who refused to yield the office of high treasurer, till he had received another equally suitable to his dignity. This contest even occasioned a suspension of the regular sittings of the diet, and, joined with the religious disputes, for a considerable time weakened and divided the efforts of the Germanic body, and baffled the views of the house of Austria to direct the affairs of the empire on one uniform and regular plan *.

The troubles of Mecklenburgh contributed also to divide the states of the empire, and embarrass the Emperor. Violent disputes arising

* Puetter's Development, b. x. ch. 1.—Pfeffel, tom. ii. p. 532.

between

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

between Charles Leopold the reigning sovereign, and the states and nobles, respecting the imposition of provincial taxes, the excise, and the right of garrison in the town of Rostock, the states appealed to the Emperor, and were warmly supported by the elector of Hanover. Letters of protection were accordingly granted to Rostock, and an Imperial decree of sequestration was issued against the duke, the execution of which was intrusted to the elector of Hanover and the duke of Brunswick. The duke, assisted by Peter the Great, whose niece * he had espoused, collected a considerable force, and prepared to resist the execution. At the same time the king of Prussia, who had claims on the eventual succession, complained that the decree had not been intrusted to him as director of the circle of Saxony, and the Czar declared that he would never suffer a prince who had married into his family to be oppressed.

These different claims and declarations greatly embarrassed the Emperor, and induced him to lay the affair before the diet. The duke, however, derived less advantage from the Czar than he expected from so powerful an ally, as the Russian troops only served to increase his enemies without enabling him to resist them. He therefore disbanded his forces, and retired to Dantzic; the army of execution overran the duchy, established an Imperial administration, sequestered the ducal revenues, and restored the privileges and possessions of the nobles. But this settlement was of temporary duration, the troubles were soon renewed; and the affairs of Mecklenburgh continued to embarrass the diet and the Emperor during a considerable part of his reign †.

The authority of the Emperor, which was thus thwarted by the contests of opposite parties, was still further controuled by the ascendancy which the elector of Hanover had acquired on his accession to the throne of Great Britain, and by the increasing strength of the house of Brandenburgh.

* He married for his second wife Catherine daughter of the Czar Ivan, elder brother of Peter the Great.

† Affaires de Mecklenburgh in Rousset, tom. vii.—Pfeffel, passim.—Memoires de Brandebourg—History of Mecklenburgh, p. 340.

The

The house of Brandenburgh is descended from the petty counts of Hohenzollern in Suabia, one of whom obtained, in 1200, the burgraviate or presidency of Nuremberg. Frederic the Second, or, according to some, the third burgrave, is distinguished in the History of Germany, as having greatly contributed to the election of his relation Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the Imperial throne; having partly by marriage, partly by purchase, and partly by investiture obtained an independent sovereignty in Franconia, he laid the foundation of the rising greatness of his family. His lineal descendant Frederic the Fourth possessed the principalities of Culmbach and Bareith, and the margraviate of Anspach, and contributed to the aggrandisement of his house by purchasing from the emperor Sigismond the mark or marquisate of Brandenburgh, with the electoral dignity. He received the investiture of his new dominions and dignity from the Emperor in 1417, at the city of Constance; and, from that period, his family was called the electoral house of Brandenburgh *. 1273.

Under the successors of Frederic, the margraviates of Anspach and Bareith were transferred to the younger branches; and the power of the reigning house did not rise into consequence till the beginning of the seventeenth century. The principal events which contributed to its aggrandisement were the introduction of the reformation, by which the bishoprics of Brandenburgh and Havelburgh were secularised and annexed to the electoral dominions; the acquisition of Prussia, which was originally a polish fief; and the succession to the counties of Marc and Ravenstein, as part of the inheritance of the house of Juliers, in virtue of the marriage of Sigismond elector of Brandenburgh with Anne eldest sister of John William the last duke.

The power of the house of Brandenburgh was augmented and consolidated by Frederic William, who for his distinguished civil and military talents was surnamed the Great Elector. His son and successor Frederic assumed the regal title, and though it did not add to his power, it contributed to the aggrandisement of his family, by rescuing it from that state of servitude in which the house of

* Memoires de la Maison de Brandebourg.

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

Austria had hitherto kept the princes of Germany. After much difficulty this title was acknowledged by the emperor Leopold, for the sake of securing the assistance of Frederic in the war for the Spanish succession, and the example of the Emperor was successively followed by the other powers of Europe. "This title," observes his grandson, the royal historian, "was a kind of lure which Frederic threw before "his posterity, and seemed to say, I have procured you a title, do you "now shew yourselves worthy of it; I have laid a foundation for your "future grandeur, do you complete the superstructure *."

Deformed in person, and feeble in constitution, Frederic was deficient in that energy of body and mind which distinguished the heroism of his father. He was fond of pomp and magnificence; yet these very foibles gave splendor to the rank which he had assumed, and with his attachment to and patronage of letters, contributed to raise his court in the estimation of Europe. His love of parade and etiquette indeed dissipated his revenues, and compelled him to have recourse to the subsidies of foreign powers; but he preserved the system of domestic administration and foreign policy planned by his father, and improved it by many essential regulations.

Frederic dying in 1713 was succeeded by his son Frederic William, who, instead of continuing the splendor and shew of his father's establishment, made œconomy the great basis of his administration. The first object of the new king was to suppress the numerous charges of his father's court, to sell his jewels, horses, and furniture; and by reducing the establishment almost to that of a private individual, he laid the foundation of that treasure which he bequeathed to his successor.

Frederic William next directed his attention to the improvement of his finances: he equalised the land tax, raised the excise, augmented the tolls, improved agriculture by suppressing the feudal tenures; and, by simplifying and improving the mode of collection, nearly doubled his annual revenues. He also established a more simple, though despotic form of government, suppressed the council of state, reduced

* Memoires de Brandebourg.

the

the ministers to mere clerks, and directed every department with the same ease and order as a colonel governs his regiment, or a steward regulates his accounts.

But the great political end of all his interior arrangements was to render himself formidable by the maintenance of a large army. He had learned from the example of his ancestor George William, that a prince without troops was liable to be oppressed both by his allies and enemies; from that of the great elector, that an effective and well-disciplined army had raised the house of Brandenburgh to a high degree of eminence among the powers of Europe. He had beheld with indignation his father receiving foreign subsidies, and the Prussian troops acting under the direction of the sovereigns by whom they were paid; and, in the campaign which he served in Flanders, had been heard to declare that, by a proper administration of the finances, a king of Prussia could maintain 40,000 men from his own resources alone. He proved the truth of his assertion, for, in the very first year of his reign, he increased his army from 28,000 to 50,000 men, notwithstanding he augmented the pay of his soldiers. He published military regulations for every officer, enforced subordination and regularity by the severest penalties, annually inspected every regiment, directed their evolutions in great reviews, acted the part of a non-commissioned officer at the ordinary parades, and, from his attention to the most trifling manœuvres, was sarcastically called the serjeant king.

But his love of detail did not fetter his genius, or draw him from weightier matters; for he formed a military system till then unknown in Europe. He first established that discipline which every other power has been striving to imitate, and that mechanism in the infantry by which the parts are firmly connected, and become one uniform and simple whole. He established warehouses and magazines of corn in all his provinces, which might supply his troops with immediate subsistence in time of war, or serve to ease his subjects in time of scarcity, and he furnished the magazines with large trains of artillery, and all sorts of military stores.

Chapter 7. 1718—1722.

In the prosecution of his military arrangements, Frederic William united all the companies or schools of cadets, which the great elector had founded for the children of the poor nobility, in different cities and towns, and formed them into a corps of cadets in the capital. In this academy, the cadets were instructed in all the arts and sciences with which an officer ought to be acquainted; and, being trained to military discipline, furnished never-failing supplies for the officers of the army. He also founded at Potsdam an hospital for 3,000 orphans of soldiers.

By means of his effective and well-disciplined army, Frederic William became the arbiter of Germany; and his alliance was warmly courted by the European powers. Hitherto, either from inclination or policy, he had generally concurred with George the First, whose daughter Sophia Dorothea he had espoused. With him he had zealously joined in supporting the Protestant interest in the empire, and, naturally jealous of the house of Austria, had evaded every connection which seemed likely to promote its aggrandisement in Germany *. But his capricious and unstable temper, agitated by every gust of passion, and his aversion to the reality, notwithstanding his love of the image of war, rendered him incapable of adopting any coherent system of policy.

* Memoires de la Maison de Brandebourg.

CHAPTER 8.

1718—1727.

Disputes relative to the Execution of the Quadruple Alliance—Repugnance of CHARLES *to grant the investiture of the Italian Duchies to Don Carlos—Unexpected Union of Austria and Spain—Mission of Ripperda—Treaties of Vienna and Hanover—Elevation and Disgrace of Ripperda—Embarrassments of* CHARLES*—Concludes the Preliminaries at Paris—Accession of Spain—Disgrace of the Duke of Bourbon, and Elevation of Fleury.*

Chapter 8. 1718—1727.

THE eagerness of Charles to obtain possession of Sicily had induced him to sign the Quadruple Alliance, and to agree to terminate his disputes with Spain at the congress of Cambray, under the mediation of England and France. But he had no sooner acquired Sicily, than he testified his repugnance to fulfil his engagements. The principal motive of his conduct was his aversion to bestow the succession to Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, on a prince of the house of Bourbon, which he foresaw would endanger the security of his dominions in Italy. In fact he had only signed this article with a resolution to evade it, and with the hope that England would be equally interested to prevent the execution. But when he found that George the First was unshaken in his fidelity to his engagements, he gave way to his indignation against England, and not only procrastinated the meeting and conclusion of the congress, but entered into desperate projects to injure the commerce of the maritime powers; and in direct contradiction to the spirit, as well as the letter of the Barrier Treaty, established the East India company at Ostend.

Dec. 19th, 1722.

Philip the Fifth was equally averse to fulfil the articles of the Quadruple Alliance, and from his accession to that treaty on the 25th of January 1720, nearly three years were passed in frivolous delays and ridiculous

Chapter 8. 1718—1727.

ridiculous discussions on the titles assumed by the two monarchs, before any progress was made in the business to be deliberated at the congress of Cambray. Count Sinzendorf, the Imperial plenipotentiary, successfully employed those arts of chicanery of which he was so consummate a master; he justified the delay of the Emperor in granting the investitures of Parma and Tuscany, from the opposition of the duke of Parma, who considered the interference of foreign powers as an infringement of his sovereign rights; of the Pope, who protested against the clause which declared Parma a fief of the Empire; and of the great duke John Gaston, who would not consent that Tuscany should be declared an Imperial fief, or acknowledge Don Carlos as his successor, in prejudice to the rights of his sister the Electress Palatine. But the pretensions of Philip being warmly supported by Great Britain and France, the Emperor could not withhold the act of investiture longer than the beginning of 1724, and the congress was at length formally opened in the beginning of April *.

In addition to the embarrassments arising from these contrary pretensions, and the captious disposition of the two sovereigns, the proceedings of the congress were now delayed by the sudden abdication of
1724. Philip the Fifth, who on the 10th of February 1724, resigned his crown to his son Don Louis, made a solemn vow never to resume it, and retired to St. Ildefonso.

It is needless to inquire into the motives of this extraordinary resolution, whether from constitutional melancholy, from religious scruples, or from the hope of succeeding to the crown of France on the death of Louis the Fifteenth, who had been recently attacked with a dangerous disorder. This sudden change gave birth to new difficulties, and divided the administration of Spain into two parties; for Philip in his retirement swayed the reins of government, and the orders, which were to convulse or pacify Europe, still issued from Elizabeth Farnese. The new king, though he at first bowed before paternal authority, was not equally submissive to the dictates of his step-mother;

* Rousset, tom. iii. p. 417.

he

he was therefore gradually wrought upon by his adherents, who urged him to emancipate himself from the shackles in which he was held by the court of St. Ildefonso, and to assume the real, as he possessed the nominal, power.

This motley species of divided government could not long subsist; derangements and delays took place in every part of the administration, and foreign affairs were neglected, even beyond the usual procrastination of the dilatory court of Madrid. The abdicated sovereign, instigated by his ambitious consort, was unwilling to relinquish his long established authority; Louis was disgusted with acting the part of a puppet on the throne; and these royal jealousies and discordant views, seemed likely to excite a convulsion, which must have ended in the deposition of the son, or the imprisonment of the father.

Fortunately for Spain this dreadful alternative was avoided by the sudden death of Louis. He was seized with the small-pox; and, being unskilfully treated by his physicians, was hurried to the grave in the eighteenth year of his age, and only the eighth month of a nominal reign. 31st August.

The queen was eager again to seize the reins of government, which seemed likely to be wrested from her grasp; and Philip himself after a few affected scruples, was easily induced to resume the crown *.

This event seemed to remove one of the principal obstacles which had embarrassed the proceedings of the congress, and the conferences were resumed with new spirit, under the mediation of Great Britain and France. Philip required the Emperor to renounce the title of king of Spain, and the great mastership of the Golden Fleece, to settle the disputes which still continued concerning the succession to Parma and Tuscany, and to restore to their rightful owners the states of Mantua, Mirandola, Montferat, and Sabionetta, which Joseph had of his own authority appropriated and conferred.

* Mr. Stanhope's (afterwards lord Harrington) dispatches, from January 16 to September 9, 1724, which contain an interesting account of the abdication of Philip, and his resumption of the crown.

The

Chapter 8. 1718—1727.

The Emperor on the contrary, insisted on retaining the title of king of Spain, though he demanded that Philip should renounce that of archduke of Austria; he claimed the sole right to the grand mastership of the Golden Fleece, as being founded by the antient dukes of Burgundy, of whom he himself was the lineal heir and descendant; and insisted that the pretensions of the duke of Parma, and of the other princes, had no relation to the objects treated of in the articles of the Quadruple Alliance, and should be referred to the Aulic council, or the diet of Ratisbon *.

In attempting to adjust these complicated objects of dispute, the mediating powers displeased both parties; the two monarchs privately made overtures to each other, and the baron de Ripperda was secretly dispatched to Madrid to negotiate with the court of Vienna.

This extraordinary man was a native of Groningen; and, having served as colonel in the Dutch army, during the war of the succession, was personally known to prince Eugene. At the peace of Utrecht, he was deputed as envoy from the States General to Spain; and having, by his talents and address, acquired the favour of Alberoni, embraced the Catholic religion, and settled at Madrid, where he was employed in affairs of a secret and delicate nature. Venal and rapacious, he, at the same time, received bribes from England and a pension from the court of Vienna, and seems, at an early period, to have formed the project of uniting Philip with the Emperor, and to have lured the queen of Spain with the hopes of an archduchess for one of her sons. During the latter part of Alberoni's administration, Ripperda excited the jealousy of that minister, and was disgraced; but again rose into favour on his fall. Being strongly recommended by the duchess of Parma, at the suggestion of the Imperial court he became the channel of communication between the queen and her mother, and, in the private audiences to which he was admitted, found means to dazzle the visionary imagination of Philip by splendid schemes for the improvement of the finances, the augmentation of the army, and the amelioration of commerce, and gained the implicit confidence of the

* Papers and dispatches in the Walpole Papers relative to the congress of Cambray.

queen, by his affected solicitude for the establishment of her sons in Italy.

At length he availed himself of the disgust and resentment entertained by Philip and his queen at the dilatory proceedings of the congress of Soissons, and offered to proceed to Vienna, and open a negotiation with the Emperor, which, from his intimacy with the ministers, and his knowledge of the court, he promised to bring to a speedy and successful termination. His offer was eagerly accepted; and he departed with great secresy to Vienna, and took up his residence in the suburbs, under the fictitious name of baron Pfaffenberg. For a considerable time his arrival was known only to the Emperor, the marquis de Realp, and to count Sinzendorf, who was intrusted with the negotiation. Their conferences were held by night, and the mystery was not even supected by the foreign ministers till the middle of February. 1724.

In these private meetings the claims of the respective sovereigns were agitated with scarcely less obstinacy and perseverance than at the congress of Soissons; and the negotiation was protracted for several months. Charles, anxious to separate the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and to secure the largesses of Spain, lured the queen with the hopes of bestowing the eldest archduchess on Don Carlos, and securing to the young prince a splendid establishment in Italy, and the reversion of the Austrian succession. He does not, however, seem to have been sincere in this proffer, and much time was passed in urgent demands on one side, and quibbling evasions on the other.

At length the conclusion of this tedious negotiation was accelerated by the dissolution of the temporary union which had been effected between Spain and France, under the administration of the duke of Orleans. During his life the Infanta was treated as the future queen; but his successor, the duke of Bourbon, actuated by different interests, and anxious to secure an heir to the crown of France, sent back the young princess to Spain, and married Louis the Fifteenth to Maria Letzinsky, daughter of Stanislaus titular king of Poland. This insult roused the proud and irritable court of Madrid almost to frenzy. In

Chapter 8. 1718—1727.

the first paroxysm of resentment the queen tore off a bracelet, ornamented with the portrait of the king of France, and trampled it under foot; and Philip exclaimed that Spain could never shed sufficient blood to avenge the indignity offered to his family. He declared his resolution to separate France and Spain for ever, and offered to submit the final settlement of his disputes with the Emperor to the sole mediation of England. This offer being declined by George the First, the Spanish monarch turned his resentment against England, broke up the congress of Cambray, and ordered Ripperda to conclude, on any terms, an immediate accommodation with the court of Vienna *.

But although the negotiation seemed now brought to a successful issue, the Emperor experienced the greatest difficulties from the repugnance of his family and ministers. Eugene and Staremberg were violent in their opposition; Eugene contemptuously stigmatized the petty intrigues of the Emperor with some of his ministers unknown to the others, and Staremberg petulantly observed, that the marquis de Realp would ruin his master with his visionary schemes, and expressed astonishment that Sinzendorf, who was by birth an Austrian, should wish to render Austria a province of Spain †. Count Windisgratz, president of the Aulic Council, inveighed against the partizans of the treaty as traitors; and the Empress herself, disappointed in her favourite object of bestowing the hand of her daughter Maria Theresa on the duke of Loraine, gave way to her indignation, and reproached count Sinzendorf with sacrificing her dearest hopes to an alliance with a foreign family.

Charles on this occasion laid aside his ungracious deportment and characteristic phlegm, and even condescended to employ artifice in order to extort the approbation of his own family and ministers. He paid unusual deference to the cold and formal Staremberg, solicited

* Memoires de Montgon, tom. i. passim.—Memoires de St. Philippe, tom. iv. p. 210—Account of the Rise and Fall of the duke of Ripperda, by two Sicilian abbots, in Walpole Papers—Relation Secrette de la Cour de Vienne, by St. Saphorin—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, chap. 35.

† St. Saphorin to lord Townshend, May 11, 1725.

Eugene

Eugene in person, and even bribed the countess of Bathiani to obtain his acquiescence; he lured the ostentation of count Windisgratz by representing that the subsidies of Spain would enable him to give law to the empire, and render the decrees of the Aulic Council irresistible. He reconciled the Empress by the prospect of a brilliant establishment for their daughters, whose posterity he urged, in addition to the empire and the Austrian dominions, might wear the crowns of France and Spain. Proud of the success of his petty intrigues, Charles could not refrain from expressing a childish exultation, and boasted that he had now overcome the repugnance of all his ministers, and matured a plan which was to revive in his person the antient splendour and power of the house of Austria *.

The alliance, concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and Spain, consisted of three separate treaties. The first, signed on the 30th of April 1725, confirmed the articles of the Quadruple Alliance: the Emperor renounced his pretensions to the crown of Spain, and Philip acknowledged his right to the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; Charles also obtained his favourite object, the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction. Both sovereigns agreed to retain the titles which they had assumed; and stipulated that the honours conferred on their respective subjects, during the war, should be confirmed: an article which highly gratified the Spanish and Italian favourites of the Emperor, many of whom had been created grandees of Spain and knights of the Golden Fleece. 1725.

The second and third treaties were signed on the first of May. The second was a treaty of commerce, which opened the ports of Spain to the subjects of the Emperor, sanctioned the establishment of the Ostend company, and gave to the Hanseatic towns, the same privileges of trade as were enjoyed by the English and Dutch. The third was a treaty of mutual defence, by which the emperor promised his good offices for the recovery of Gibraltar, and the two sovereigns specified

* St. Saphorin Relation Secrette de la Cour de Vienne.

Chapter 8. 1718—1727.

their respective contingents, and agreed to support each other with their whole force if necessary *.

In addition to these treaties, secret articles were also supposed to be arranged, though not formally executed, relative to the marriage of the two archduchesses with Don Carlos and Don Philip, the support of the Ostend company, the recovery of Gibraltar by force, and the restoration of the Pretender to the throne of Great Britain, should George the First refuse to accede to the treaties of Vienna.

The first treaty alone was soon communicated to the public, the others were gradually made known; but the secret articles were never formally divulged, and were solemnly denied by the Emperor and his ministers; although the conduct of the two courts, and the subsequent avowal of the king of Spain fully established the proofs of their existence †.

The Emperor, deluded with visionary hopes of governing the counsels of Spain, and commanding the wealth of the Indies, expected that the other powers of Europe would be awed by this alliance. His illusion was increased by the ready accession of the empress Catharine, who, anxious to place her son-in-law the duke of Holstein on the throne of Sweden, received large remittances from Spain, and made vast preparations by sea and land, to co-operate with the allies of Vienna against England. Charles also expected that France, torn by factions, loaded with debt, and under the weak administration of the duke of Bourbon, could not engage in hostilities, when awed on one side by Spain, and on the other by the whole German empire, which he hoped to unite in his cause. He flattered himself that England, for the sake of her commerce, would deprecate a war with Spain, relinquish Gibraltar and Minorca, and acquiesce in the establishment of the Ostend Company; and he entertained no dread from the opposition of the United Provinces, who were in too feeble and disordered a state to act without the impulse of France and England.

The

* Dumont, Rousset, Koch.

† For the proof of these facts the reader is referred to the Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 27. and of lord Walpole, p. 139.

The demand of Gibraltar, made by the king of Spain, was the signal of hostile preparations; and England, against which the force of the confederacy was principally directed, made exertions equal to the magnitude of the danger. George the First, having obtained the aid of his parliament, and the co-operation of France, hastened to Hanover, where he baffled the schemes of the Emperor in Germany and the north; he detached Sweden and Denmark, gained the king of Prussia, and other princes of the German empire, and concluded a defensive alliance between England, France, and Prussia, which was called the treaty of Hanover, and to which the United Provinces, Sweden, and Denmark afterwards acceded.

But Charles was not daunted by this powerful confederacy; his hopes were excited by the liberal remittances at first made by Philip, and his pride was inflamed by the reception of his minister count Konigsegg, whose arrival at Madrid was hailed with acclamations of unbounded joy, and who swayed without controul the counsels of Spain.

He therefore treated the preparations of the allies with the utmost contempt; he boasted that he would crush the protestant interest in Germany, and raise a new house of Burgundy from the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, which should again humble the pride of the elder branch. He styled the government of the United Provinces a company of pedlars and merchants, and declared that unless George the First would restore Gibraltar and Minorca to Spain, he would sow such dissensions between him and his parliament as should end in his expulsion from the throne *.

The conduct of the Emperor was conformable to these declarations; he treated the British minister at Vienna with scorn and neglect, gave continual audiences to the duke of Wharton, who was deputed by the Pretender; he caballed with the opposition in England, and ordered his minister count Palm to present a memorial to George the First, reflecting on the speech from the throne, and denying the existence

* St. Saphorin.

of

Chapter 8. 1718—1727.

of the secret articles with which he was charged, and to publish it as an appeal to the nation at large, against the conduct of the king.

While the Emperor thus insulted the king and the nation, he made the most active exertions to form a confederacy against the allies of Hanover. He had concluded with the king of Portugal a commercial treaty, by which he obtained the freedom of trade to the Brazils in preference to all other nations. He entered into a defensive alliance with Catharine empress of Russia, in virtue of which, both the contracting parties agreed to furnish 30,000 men in case of an attack, and he secured her accession to the treaty of Vienna, and her guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction. He gained the Electors of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and Palatine, extorted the neutrality of Saxony, and prevailed on the duke of Wolfembuttel to consent to the introduction of an Austrian garrison into Brunswick, which would open to his arms the Electorate of Hanover.

But the circumstance which most distressed the allies of Hanover and strengthened the party of the Emperor, was the defection of the king of Prussia. The petty disputes relative to recruiting parties, and the claims to some inconsiderable districts on the frontiers of Hanover, had long agitated the irritable mind of Frederic William; and the superiority which George the First assumed over him, aggravated his disgust. To these motives were added his apprehensions of being exposed to an attack from the Russians for his adherence to the Hanover alliance. Charles availed himself of this change in his disposition, and lured him with the promise of supporting his pretensions to the remainder of the succession of the house of Juliers* on the death

* John William duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, dying in 1609, without issue, his dominions were claimed by the houses of Saxony, Brandenburgh, and Palatine Newburgh. After a long contest, the disputed succession was regulated by a family compact, and divided between the great elector Frederic William, who was descended from Maria Eleonora the eldest sister of John William, and Philip William duke of Newburgh, afterwards Elector Palatine, who was descended from Anne the second sister. Frederic William obtained Cleves, Marc, and Ravenstein; Philip William, Juliers and Berg. By the family compact it was stipulated that should the male issue of

death of the Elector Palatine, or of investing him with an equivalent, should that inheritance fall to the collateral branch of Sultzbach. Count Seckendorf, who had served in Flanders with Frederic William, was privately dispatched to Berlin, and by humouring the temper, and flattering the prejudices of the capricious sovereign, secured his concurrence, and concluded the treaty of Wosterhausen. The king of Prussia guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, the Emperor agreed to secure the succession of Juliers, Berg, and Ravenstein, or an equivalent, to the house of Brandenburgh; and both parties promised a reciprocal succour of 10,000 or 12,000 men in case of an attack *.

Oct. 12, 1726.

Encouraged by this success, the allies of Vienna prepared to execute their projects. Spain commenced hostilities by the siege of Gibraltar; the Czarina assembled her forces by sea and land, and Charles collected a formidable army in the Netherlands, for the invasion of Holland. A combination of unfavourable circumstances, however, prevented the Emperor from fulfilling his designs. In vain he attempted to reconcile the discordant interests of the German States, and to draw the empire into the quarrel; he was only able to obtain the renewal of the defensive association from the circles of Austria, Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine, but they refused to take part in the great disputes which were then pending between the allies of Hanover and Vienna †.

Feb. 22, 1727.

In England all parties were indignant at the insults of the Emperor; the parliament supported the king in all his engagements; a British

of either branch become extinct, the other should inherit the whole succession.

At this period, Charles son of Philip William had no issue, and was advanced in years, and the succession was disputed by Frederic William king of Prussia, and Charles Theodore prince palatine of Sultzbach, of the collateral line of the house of Palatine Newburgh, who was also lineally descended from Anne second sister of William last duke of Juliers and Cleves.

History of the succession of the duchies of Juliers and Berg—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, c. 46—Affaires de la Succession de Bergue et Juliers—Rousset, tom. vii. p. 224.

* Memoires de Brandebourg—Leben beschreibung des Gr. von Seckendorf, vol. iii. p. 4—Rousset, tom. iii. p. 187.

† Pfeffel, tom. ii. p. 556.

squadron

Chapter 8. 1718—1727.

squadron in the Baltic awed the Empress of Russia; another in the Mediterranean threatened the coasts of Spain, and a third blocked up the galleons in the ports of the Indies. A subsidiary army of Danes, Swedes, and Hessians, to the number of 42,000 men was taken into British pay, and France collected a numerous force on the frontiers of Spain and Germany.

1727. The death of the Czarina, frustrated the expectations of the Emperor in the north; the irresolute spirit of the king of Prussia began to waver; and many of the German states, awed by the formidable aspect of the Hanover allies, deserted the cause of the house of Austria. The detention of the galleons in America, prevented the court of Madrid from remitting such vast supplies as the unbounded promises of Ripperda had led him to expect; his own revenues were in too scanty and in too disordered a state to maintain a force sufficient to resist his enemies, and his hereditary dominions were threatened with an immediate attack.

Even in his own court, and among his own ministers, he found the strongest opposition to his favourite measures. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could not succeed in reconciling his consort and ministers to the union with Spain; count Windisgratz was the only ardent supporter of it; and Eugene and Staremberg did not affect to conceal their disapprobation, declared that they only signed it in obedience to the Emperor *, and, from a jealousy of count Sinzendorf, endeavoured to retard its execution.

The empress also, when the first illusion was dissipated, turned again with affection to the prince of Loraine, and saw with displeasure the estrangement between the houses of Austria and Brunswick. Even Sinzendorf, though he durst not openly disavow the work of his own hands, was alarmed at the difficulties in which his master was involved, and was anxious to relieve him from his embarrassments, by secretly thwarting that alliance which he had been so anxious to conclude †.

* Lord Waldegrave to lord Townshend, December 21, 1729. Waldegrave papers.
† St. Saphorin.

At

At this juncture an important change took place in the court of Spain. Ripperda, after concluding his negotiations at Vienna, and prodigally distributing the Spanish largesses to the Emperor and his ministers, departed on the 9th of November 1725, and passing through Italy, embarked at Genoa and landed at Barcelona. At this place, with that presumption and violence which marked his character, he boasted of his transactions at Vienna; and declared that Spain and the Emperor united would give law to Europe. "The Emperor," he said, "had 150,000 troops under arms, and in six months could bring as "many more into the field; France shall be pillaged, the king of "Prussia crushed in one campaign, and George the First, driven from "his German and British territories *."

On his arrival at Madrid he was instantly appointed minister and secretary of state, and vested with uncontrouled authority. But his talents and character soon appeared unequal to his elevated situation. His caprice and vanity disgusted all parties, and being unable to fulfil his promise of supplying the court of Vienna with the expected subsidies, he alienated the Imperial embassador count Konigseg, by his indiscretion and arrogance, and even paid assiduous court to the English and Dutch ministers. Having thus lost the favour of the queen, who was governed by Konigseg, he was disgracefully dismissed within four months after his elevation, and succeeded by Patinho, who engaged to fulfil the treaty of Vienna, and to supply the promised subsidies.

Aware of the general indignation, and apprehensive of being imprisoned, Ripperda took refuge in the house of the British embassador Mr. Stanhope, to whom he disclosed the secret engagements between the king of Spain and the Emperor; and to ingratiate himself with the king of England, developed their plans and magnified the danger to which Europe was exposed by the union of Spain and Austria. He was, however, forcibly taken from the house of the British embassador, and transferred to the castle of Segovia †.

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chapter 35.—Memoires de Montgon, tom. i.

† For the rise, fall, and subsequent adventures of Ripperda, see the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chapter 25.

Chapter 8. 1718—1727.

Although the dismission of Ripperda was principally owing to the intrigues of the Imperial cabinet; yet the protection which he received from the British embassador filled the court of Vienna with alarm and consternation, and the disclosure of the secret articles, compelled the Emperor to have recourse to the meanest subterfuges. The character and abilities of Ripperda were now as much decried as they had been before exalted, and the Emperor and his ministers affected surprise at being accused of placing their confidence in so indiscreet and contemptible a man.

The disclosure of the engagement for the proposed marriages involved the Imperial court in the greatest embarrassment. Hitherto the report was only founded on conjecture; but from this time it seemed to be confirmed: a general dissatisfaction prevailed, and the danger of uniting the Spanish and Austrian dominions in one family was re-echoed from one quarter of Europe to the other. Charles was therefore obliged to tranquillise the king of Prussia, the Elector of Bavaria, and the other princes of the empire, who were alarmed at the prospect of a Spanish successor on the Imperial throne, by a public denial of his supposed engagements, and yet he was to continue to lure the queen of Spain with the prospect of the marriages, by which alone he could secure her support *.

The scandalous venality of the Imperial court was also publicly exposed. In the account of the money which he had distributed at Vienna, Ripperda had stated 400,000 florins as given to the Imperial ministers. Philip justly surprised at the magnitude of the sum, appealed for the truth of the statement to the court of Vienna, who acknowledged the receipt, but avoided an explanation of the particulars, because the Emperor had shared in the gratification †.

* From a candid review of the numerous documents relative to these engagements, it appears probable that Charles had no other intention than to lure the queen of Spain, and render her the dupe of his schemes; he therefore never gave a written promise, though he did not scruple through the medium of his ministers, counts Sinzendorf and Konigseg, to make the most solemn assurances of his intention to gratify her wishes. Mr. Robinson's dispatches.

† Lord Waldegrave to lord Townshend, Vienna, October 9, 1728—Waldegrave Papers—St. Saphorin Relation Secrette de la Cour de Vienne.

These transactions greatly affected the credit of the court of Vienna; and no event in the reign of Charles involved him in more embarrassment and disgrace. In the subsequent negotiations he was compelled to have recourse to prevarication and duplicity, and to affirm on one side what he as positively denied on the other.

Thus humbled and disappointed, Charles sacrificed Spain to his own safety; and his plenipotentiary signed at Paris, on the 31st of May 1727, the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and the United Provinces. A general armistice was concluded for seven years, the charter of the Ostend company was suspended for the same term; and the disputes subsisting between the allies of Vienna and Hanover were to be settled by a general congress. The king of Spain thus deserted by Austria, acceded to the preliminaries on the 31st of June, and peace again appeared on the eve of being restored to Europe *. 1727.

In the midst of these events a material change had taken place in the administration of France. The duke of Bourbon had flattered himself with the hopes of governing the young king by the influence of the queen; but he was disappointed: Fleury, the king's preceptor, had silently and gradually gained the full confidence of the sovereign; and a struggle for power ensued, which terminated in the dismission of the duke, and the elevation of Fleury to the helm of state †. Although this event occasioned no immediate change in regard to the house of Austria; yet it ultimately led to the re-establishment of the connection between France and Spain, and the re-union of the house of Austria with England.

* St. Saphorin Relation Secrette de la Cour de Vienne—Lord Waldegrave's Dispatches—Dumont—Rousset—Memoires de Montgon—Lamberti—Memoirs of Sir Robert and of lord Walpole.

† For the account of this change of administration, see Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. xii.

CHAPTER 9.

1727—1731.

*Delays in the Execution of the Preliminaries of Paris in consequence of the Death of George the First—Efforts of the Allies of Hanover—Spain accedes to the Preliminaries by the Act of the Pardo—Congress of Soissons—Attempts of the Emperor to embarrass the Negotiations—Disagrement between Spain and the Emperor—Treaty of Seville—Resentment and hostile Preparations of the Imperial Court—*CHARLES *succeeds in detaching England from France, and renews his connection with the Maritime Powers—Second Treaty of Vienna—Death of the Duke of Parma—Ineffectual attempts of* CHARLES *to form a Naval Establishment in the Mediterranean—Renewal of the Disputes relative to the Investiture of Parma and Tuscany.*

Chapter 29. 1727—1731.

AS the Emperor and the king of Spain had finally arranged their disputes by the treaties of Vienna, and signed the preliminaries with England, France, and the United Provinces, on the basis of the Quadruple Alliance, it was expected that Spain would instantly raise the siege of Gibraltar, and that the Emperor would grant the investiture of Parma and Tuscany to Don Carlos, and suppress the Ostend company. But these hopes were disappointed, by the death of George the First, who suddenly expired on his journey to Hanover on the 22d of June 1727.

This event revived the visionary hopes of the Emperor; he expected that George the Second would be embarrassed with the attempts of the Jacobites, who would be supported by cardinal Fleury; or at all events that lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he attributed the alienation of England, would be driven from the helm, and succeeded by a new administration more favourable to the house of Austria. The counsels of Spain were actuated by the same motives; Philip delayed, under various pretences, to raise the siege of Gibraltar, and

and both sovereigns resumed their warlike preparations with increasing vigour. But the accession of George the Second was undisturbed; Cardinal Fleury refused to support the Jacobites, and, by means of his friend Mr. Walpole *, the British embassador at Paris, strongly recommended to the king of England the continuance of the ministry, and expressed the resolution of his master to cultivate the union between the two crowns. This disappointment did not produce any material change in the disposition of Spain and the Emperor; and the allies of Hanover were reduced to the same state of uncertainty, with respect to peace or war, as before the signature of the preliminaries.

Irritated by this equivocal and hostile conduct, France and England determined to anticipate the intended aggressions of the Emperor, on the side of Hanover and Holland, by attacking him in Germany. As a prelude to this aggression, George the Second, by a subsidiary treaty, detached the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, and secured the possession of Brunswick, which frustrated the plan of the Emperor to invade the Hanoverian dominions †. Charles was thus reduced to a state of inaction, and Spain, unable to cope with France and England, ratified the preliminaries by an act signed at the Pardo, a royal palace near Madrid, and a congress was opened at Soissons on the 14th of June. At this place the ministers of the empire, Spain, and the Hanover allies assembled, and the negotiations were conducted under the management of cardinal Fleury, who occasionally repaired thither from Paris.

Nov. 25, 1727.

March 5, 1728.

During the continuance of the congress the Emperor threw fresh difficulties on the suppression of the Ostend company, and on the investiture of the Italian duchies, that he might attain his favourite object, the formal guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, from the European powers. Cardinal Fleury opposed this guaranty, and succeeded in preventing the other plenipotentiaries from accepting it as the basis of the definitive

* Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. xv.

† Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. xxxiii.

treaty;

Chapter 9. 1727—1731.

treaty; and this opposition increased the obstinacy of the Emperor.

Under these circumstances the conduct of the Austrian cabinet was involved in contradictions and inconsistencies. When the Emperor flattered himself with hopes of the arrival of the galleons, and the receipt of Spanish subsidies, he was anxious not to offend the queen of Spain, and affected to abide by his engagements. But when France and Great Britain threatened hostilities, and particularly when his hopes of Spanish gold were less sanguine, his demeanour became as meek as it was before haughty and imperious. During the delays which were derived from this fluctuating state of mind, the mistrust and diffidence, which had been gradually increasing between the courts of Madrid and Vienna, were revived; and the queen of Spain, as a proof of the Emperor's sincerity to secure the succession of Parma and Tuscany for Don Carlos, insisted that the article of the Quadruple Alliance, relative to the neutral garrisons, should be changed, and Spanish troops substituted in their stead. This proposition, to which the court of Madrid obstinately adhered, became the principal object of the negotiation, which the Emperor, by every species of artifice and chicanery, endeavoured to evade, or to make the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction the price of his assent.

Finding the queen of Spain obstinate in her resolution, the Emperor redoubled his efforts to divide the allies of Hanover, by secret and insidious propositions made to each; and count Sinzendorf even suggested the plan of a provisional treaty, on the basis of the preliminaries, to settle the objects in dispute without the intervention of Spain. This plan being digested, was signed by Sinzendorf, and transmitted to Madrid by the allies of Hanover for the accession of Spain, but rejected by the queen who was determined not to recede from the demand of Spanish garrisons.

In this interval the provisional treaty being dispatched to the Emperor, who was making a progress through his dominions, Eugene, Staremberg, and even Realp joined in opposing it. Charles, on his return,

return, lured by new overtures from Spain, disavowed it, recalled Sinzendorf from the congress, and a general opinion prevailed at Vienna, that the plenipotentiary would be disgraced. The Emperor, however, received him with marks of the greatest cordiality, apologized for his apparent disapprobation, and Sinzendorf even joined in decrying the treaty which he had himself concluded *.

But the Emperor still avoided any positive engagement, either with Spain or the allies, although he did not desist from his private overtures. The suspicions of the queen of Spain being artfully fomented by France and England, she at length demanded a specific declaration of his intention, in regard to the marriage of an archduchess with don Carlos. Irritated by his equivocal answer, she prevailed on the king to conclude a separate treaty with England and France, which was signed at Seville on the 9th of November 1729, and acceded to on the 21st by the United Provinces †.

Thus terminated the frail connection between the house of Austria and Spain, from which the Emperor had reaped nothing but chimerical hopes, and continual disappointments, and in consequence of which, notwithstanding the largesses of Ripperda, and the subsidies of Spain, he incurred an additional debt of not less than sixteen millions of florins ‡.

By the alliance of Seville, the contracting powers confirmed the treaty of Utrecht; guarantied each others possessions in all quarters of the globe; settled their respective contingents for mutual defence in case of an attack, for securing the succession of Parma and Tuscany to don Carlos, and defeuding him in his possession against any power who might attempt to disturb him; they also agreed to support the introduction of 6,000 Spanish, instead of neutral troops, into the fortresses of Leghorn, Porto Ferraio, Parma, and Placentia, within six months from the signature of the treaty.

* Lord Waldegrave to lord Townshend, December 26, 1728, and January 1, 1729. Waldegrave papers.

† Rousset—Tindal—Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch xxxiii.

‡ Lord Waldegrave, from the information of prince Eugene.

This

Chapter 9. 1727—1731.

This compulsory clause, which in the public treaty only alluded to the Emperor, without mentioning his name, formed the subject of a secret article, wherein the contracting parties bound themselves to make war in case of opposition from the Emperor, and not to lay down their arms till the whole was executed. The king of Spain also revoked the privileges of trade granted to the subjects of the Emperor by the treaties of Vienna, restored the exclusive rights enjoyed by the English and Dutch, in consequence of the fifth article of the treaty of Munster, and relinquished his claims on Gibraltar and Minorca *.

Charles was highly indignant at the conclusion of this treaty; not only because he was made the dupe of Spain, and disappointed in the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction; but because he considered the engagements of the allies of Seville, for the abolition of the Ostend company, and the compulsory admission of Spanish troops into Italy, as violating his rights of sovereignty in the Low Countries, and infringing his Imperial authority. His pride was still more wounded by the contemptuous silence with which his person and rights were passed over in the treaty, and the peremptory manner in which he was required to give a prompt and speedy accession without negotiation. He upbraided the allies with omitting even his very name; and his ministers, with their usual captiousness, asked how the Emperor could give an answer when no proposal was made, or how his concurrence could be required, without specifying with what he was to concur? Count Sinzendorf stigmatized the manner in which the treaty was concluded, as an unheard-of affront, of which no instance could be adduced even among barbarians †. The Emperor accordingly gave no

* For these facts have been principally consulted, besides the dispatches to and from earl Waldegrave, A State of the Negotiations between the Allies of Hanover and those of Vienna, jointly or separately, from the Opening of the Congress of Soissons in June 1728 to June 1733, in the Grantham papers—Abstract of the Several Transactions and Treaties in Europe that have any Connection with the present War (1733) in the Walpole papers—Also Dumont—Rousset—Lamberti—Struvius—Pfeffel and the biographers of Charles the Sixth.

† From an interesting dispatch of lord Waldegrave to lord Townshend, dated January 1, 1730, in which he relates the effects produced by the communication of the treaty on the Imperial court and ministers.

other

other answer than that he would abide by his treaties, and would send instructions to his plenipotentiaries at the congress of Soissons; he at the same time issued instant orders for his troops to hold themselves in readiness to march.

In a paroxysm of despair Charles declared his resolution rather to risk a general war, and stand singly against the united powers of Europe, than agree to the humiliating conditions imposed on him. If driven to extremities he could, he said, effect a reconciliation with Spain, by giving his daughter in marriage to Don Carlos; the queen would purchase that object on any condition. It would be far more honourable to make concessions by an act of his own, than to have them extorted by compulsion. He would break off all connection with England and Holland, and leave them to regret their own folly, in having contributed to the preponderance of the house of Bourbon in Europe. He threatened to evacuate the Low Countries, to inundate Italy with troops, and to bring into the field an army of 165,000 men; he demanded the contingent of Russia, drew from the king of Prussia a promise of 10,000 men, and appealed to the diet of the Empire against the infraction of his prerogative, and the infringement of their privileges, by alienating the feodality of Tuscany and Parma without the concurrence of the Empire and its head. He employed his usual artifices to divide the allies, and, notwithstanding his recent disappointment, still flattered himself with the hopes that the British nation would not support the king in a German quarrel.

But he found both his threats and allurements ineffectual: the British nation, pleased with the renewal of their lucrative commerce with Spain, warmly supported the treaty of Seville; the allies were active in forming a plan of hostile operations, and meditated a descent on Sicily, which was ill provided for defence. Charles was coldly supported by the States of the Empire, and deserted by the king of Sardinia, who entered into engagements with the allies of Seville; the king of Prussia shrunk from the contest, and Russia, in the beginning of a new reign, was unwilling to engage in a war. Thus abandoned by his allies, his finances exhausted, his countries impoverished, and his

Chapter 9. 1727—1731.

army inefficient and dispirited, Charles was unable to support the contest alone. He therefore yielded to the necessity of his affairs; but availing himself of the rising misintelligence among the allies of Seville, succeeded in detaching the maritime powers from France.

Fortunately for the house of Austria, England had already testified a disposition to renew the antient confidence, by the mission of Earl Waldegrave to Vienna. From the accession of George the First, except during the temporary missions of lords Stanhope, Cadogan, and Cobham, no regular minister had resided at Vienna; and the British affairs were principally conducted by St. Saphorin, a native of Switzerland, who, though a man of abilities and integrity, was of a caustic and presumptuous temper, and had contributed, by his exaggerated discourses, to aggravate the discontents subsisting between the courts of London and Vienna *.

The mild and insinuating manners of lord Waldegrave were well calculated to heal the breach; he found the Emperor and his ministry highly prejudiced against the British administration, and jealous of the king's ascendancy in the German empire; and although he was treated by Charles with extreme coldness, yet he conciliated the reserve of prince Eugene, the blunt and honest frankness of Staremberg, and the caprice of Sinzendorf. He was no less successful with the Spanish favourites, particularly the marquis de Realp, and thus laid the foundation of the new union with England, which was completed by Mr. Robinson †.

The allies of Seville were at this period divided in their views and interests, and the bonds of amity which had connected England and France were relaxed.

The house of Brunswick, firmly established on the throne of Great Britain, no longer felt the necessity of cultivating a strict union with France to check the hopes of the disaffected, and prevent internal commotions. In France the birth of a dauphin having annihilated the hopes of Philip the Fifth, Cardinal Fleury had effected a reconcilia-

* Lord Waldegrave's and Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

† For an account of lord Waldegrave, see Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. xxxviii.

tion

tion with Spain; and, though from his pacific principles, he was inclined to maintain the system of Europe according to the Quadruple Alliance, he now directed his views to alienate Spain from England, and to reunite the two branches of the house of Bourbon. Hence a spirit of delay and irresolution was infused into the counsels of the allies; Spain, from disappointment and revenge, urged the necessity of an immediate breach with the Emperor, and was eager to dismember Parma and Tuscany from the Empire, and France was desirous of carrying the war into Flanders, to which England and Holland were averse. Fleury availed himself of these discordant views, thwarted every scheme of hostility, and insinuated to the queen of Spain, that the difficulties and delays in carrying the treaty of Seville into execution by force arose from the English and Dutch.

The Emperor was not unacquainted with this growing disunion among the allies; and his ministers, with the connivance, though without the avowal of their Master, made secret overtures to England. In a tone of unusual humility they adverted to the former friendship between the two powers, and trusted that England would not concur in the ruin of an antient ally, to raise the house of Bourbon to a preeminence in Europe. They insinuated that the Emperor would sacrifice the Ostend Company, and permit the introduction of Spanish garrisons, provided England would guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction, which was necessary for the preservation of the balance of Europe.

At this crisis Spain, impatient of delay, declared herself free from all engagements contracted by the treaty of Seville; and England, apprehensive of losing the commercial advantages which she had recently obtained, accepted the overtures of the Emperor, and opened a negotiation to renew her antient connection with the house of Austria. Although the Imperial ministers were unanimous* for this recon-

* Lord Waldegrave has recorded an anecdote of prince Eugene's extreme aversion to this war, in a letter to lord Townshend, Vienna, March 18, 1730. "The prince, after having won a game of picquet of me, and was saying that what I had lost would

Chapter 9. 1727—1731.

reconciliation, the conclusion was delayed by the pride and obstinacy of the Emperor, who, from his jealousy of the house of Hanover, was averse to allow the claims of George the Second in Germany. But his reluctant consent was at length obtained by postponing the German affairs to a future discussion; and a treaty was concluded on the 16th of March, between the king of England and the Emperor, which is denominated the second treaty of Vienna *. By this treaty the Emperor engaged not to oppose the introduction of 6,000 Spaniards into the fortresses of Tuscany and Parma, and to abolish the Ostend Company. In return, England guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, on the condition that the archduchess, who succeeded to the Austrian dominions, should not be married to a prince of the house of Bourbon †, or to a prince so powerful as to endanger the balance of Europe.

Anthony Farnese dying on the 20th of January 1731, in the midst of the negotiation, the Emperor had taken instant possession of Parma, under the pretence of securing that duchy to his heir, should the duchess, who declared herself pregnant, be delivered of a posthumous son. But on the conclusion of the treaty, he declared, that he had only adopted this measure to secure the peace of Italy, and would give immediate possession to Don Carlos, should the duchess be delivered of a daughter, or prove not pregnant.

would help to pay for the foils that were brought home to him the same morning, and that in the summer I should have my share of the diversion he proposed by them, "Si cette fichüe guerre ne nous empêche pas," he added, "Je n'ai jamais en si peu de plaisir de ma vie dans les apparences d'une guerre, c'est l'unique dans les arrangemens de laquelle je ne puis prendre plaisir. Il n'y a point d'object, il n'y a pas assez de sujet pour faire tuer une poulet." This he spoke aloud, and repeated his words. There were ten or a dozen men and women standing round the table, and our game was going on; so that there was no laying hold of any thing he had said to carry the discourse farther.

* Letter from lord Harrington to Mr. Robinson, September 25, 1730, containing instructions to open a new negotiation with the court of Vienna, and Mr. Robinson's dispatches on the progress and conclusion of the treaty in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. ii. p. 33—101.

† Rousset—Koch.

Spain

Spain having revoked her declaration against the peace of Seville, acceded to the new treaty on the 6th of June, and on the 22d of July, the Emperor concluded another treaty at Vienna with Great Britain, Spain, and the United Provinces, which terminated the disputes concerning the Spanish succession. And thus, at the close of these negotiations, Charles derived no other advantage from his complicated intrigues, and mighty preparations, than the single guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, and a reconciliation with the maritime powers; both of which he might have acquired at an easier rate, and with greater advantages, had he yielded to the urgent instances of Great Britain to accede to the treaty of Seville.

During the progress of these disputes, Charles, irritated against the maritime powers for their attempts to suppress the Ostend Company, and for annihilating the commerce of the Low Countries, had formed a great but chimerical project to increase the trade of his hereditary dominions, and create a naval force in the Mediterranean. With this view he made a progress through those parts of his dominions which lay contiguous to the Adriatic, examined the ports of Fiume and Triest, and fixed on Rhe near Fiume, as the station of his future navy. This port had been examined by the orders of Sir George Rook, during his cruize in the Mediterranean, in the war of the Succession, and was reported to be a commodious harbour, both by its situation and depth of water, capable of receiving ships of any bulk, and defended against all winds by surrounding mountains.

In forming this naval establishment, the Emperor hoped to transport the timber and iron of his hereditary countries to Spain, and to procure a vent for some manufactures which he intended to introduce. He also entertained sanguine expectations of raising a navy sufficient to awe the powers of Italy, and to transport his troops to his ports in the Mediterranean without depending on the assistance of the maritime powers.

With this view he expended considerable sums in forming roads to the shores of the Adriatic, and in constructing spacious magazines and magnificent

Chapter 9. 1727—1731.

magnificent lazarettos; he at the same time ordered a survey to be made of the fleet of Naples, on which he had disbursed, during the twelve preceding years, no less than 4,500,000 ducats.

But his sanguine expectations were sadly disappointed; the country in which he purposed to establish his manufactures was wild and barren; the inhabitants ignorant and impoverished; and the fleet of Naples, without experienced seamen, was in a ruinous state, wholly unfit for service. Charles, however, persevered in his scheme, which only tended to increase the embarrassment of his finances, and to excite the jealousy of the maritime powers. On his reconciliation with England, however, he relinquished his scheme, declaring, with renewed confidence, that a navy would be useless in the Mediterranean while he could rely on the maritime powers, whose friendship he knew to be as dear to him as their enmity was dangerous *.

Notwithstanding the specific arrangements concerning Parma and Tuscany in the treaties of Seville and Vienna, which seemed to obviate all future disputes, the courts of Vienna and Madrid relapsed into their former jealousies and suspicions. Spain affected great displeasure at the tardiness of the Emperor in expediting the investitures, and the Emperor was justly alarmed with the conduct of Philip, who dispatched 7,500 men, with ammunition for 20,000, to Leghorn. Don Carlos also assumed the style and title of Grand Prince of Tuscany, and insisted on a dispensation in regard to his minority, and an immediate investiture of Parma and Placentia in his own person, instead of his guardians.

England in vain attempted to reconcile these disputes, which were fomented by France; the Emperor could not be diverted from his punctilious adherence to forms, and the queen of Spain captiously rejected every expedient to modify her demands.

* Lord Waldegrave's Dispatches to lord Townshend, in August, September, and October 1728—Waldegrave Papers, and Mr. Robinson to lord Chesterfield, April 11, N. S. 1731—Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. ii. p. 106.

Such was the uncertain situation of the principal powers of Europe, when the death of Augustus the Second became the signal of a war between the houses of Austria and Bourbon *.

* Deduction of Transactions relating to Don Carlos's establishment in Italy, from the arrival of the English and Spanish fleets at Leghorn in October 1731 to the breaking out of the war in November 1733.—Walpole papers—Rousset, tom. iv. p. 18—109.

CHAPTER 10.

1731—1733.

Anxiety of the Emperor to obtain the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction from the other Powers of Europe, particularly from the German Empire—Difficulties arising from the Religious Disputes—Gains the Elector of Hanover and the King of Prussia—Ratification of the Pragmatic Sanction—Opposition of the Electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and Palatine—State of Europe on the Death of Augustus the Second—Poland—Denmark—Sweden—Russia—Turkey—France—Spain—Portugal—Sardinia; Abdication of Victor Amadeus, and Accession of Charles Emanuel—United Provinces—England.

Chapter 10. 1731—1733.

HAVING obtained the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction from Spain, Prussia, Russia, England, and Holland, the Emperor directed all his efforts to procure the accession of the other European powers, particularly the states of the German empire. In pursuing this object he experienced extreme difficulty, from the religious disputes between the catholic and protestant bodies, and from the discordant views of the German princes.

The religious disputes, which arose from the obnoxious clause in the treaty of Ryswick, still continued undiminished. At length the Emperor, though inclined to favour the catholics, was induced to yield to the just remonstrances of the protestants, and in consequence of a convention between the catholics and protestants, issued an edict, enjoining the Elector Palatine, who had persecuted the calvinists, to redress their grievances, and to restore them to the same situation in which they stood on the conclusion of the peace of Baden. By this convention it was also proposed to reinstate the protestants in the privileges secured to them by the peace of Westphalia.

Nov. 14, 1720.

The catholics, however, not only evaded the performance of the convention, but insisted that it established the clause in the treaty of Ryswick; because the edict only enjoined the restoration of the privileges

leges possessed by the protestants at the peace of Baden; and had no retrospect to the rights of which they had been deprived between the treaties of Ryswick and Baden.

This disunion was augmented by disputes concerning an article in the treaty of Westphalia, stipulating, that in case of a division between the two religions, the point should be amicably decided, and not carried by a majority of voices.

Three disputes of this kind had already occurred during the reign of Charles the Sixth. The first, for the mediation of the Empire in the war of the Tockenburgh, between the catholic and protestant cantons of Switzerland. The second on the proposal to moderate the assessment of the Imperial city of Cologne, on account of the decline of its trade, which was strenously supported by the Emperor and catholics, and as vehemently opposed by the protestants; who urged that the loss of the trade was derived from the oppression of the protestant inhabitants. The third was relative to the reinstatement of a protestant family in the seignory of Zingenberg, which the Elector Palatine had conferred on a catholic. In each of these instances the catholics decided by a majority of voices, on the ground that the subjects in discussion were not affairs of religion; while the protestants urged that they were included in the meaning of the article, and seceded from the diet, to prevent the majority of votes from forming a decree *.

1717.

1727.

The Emperor having always favoured the cause of the catholics, was secure of the majority of that body in support of the Pragmatic Sanction; but he experienced great difficulty in his attempts to gain the concurrence of the protestants; because he had offended them by not obtaining the repeal of the obnoxious clause in the treaty of Ryswick; and because he had been opposed by the Elector of Hanover, who possessed the chief influence in the protestant body. By his recent alliance with the king of England, Charles had gained the support of Hanover; and he had found means to conciliate the king of Prussia, by yielding to his representations in regard to the affairs of Meck-

* Puetter's Constitution of the German Empire, book x. ch. 2 and 3.

Chapter 10. 1731—1733.

lenburgh, and by affecting to promote his views on the inheritance of Juliers and Berg.

Since the establishment of an Imperial commission in Mecklenburgh, the troubles of that country had again broke out with increasing violence. The Duke braved the multiplied decrees of the Aulic Council, regained possession of part of the duchy, and renewed his exactions on his subjects. He was accordingly deposed by a provisional rescript; the administration was given to his brother Christian Louis, and the king of Prussia, as conservator of the circle of Lower Saxony, was joined in the commission. The opposition of the princes of the Empire, supported by France, Sweden, and England, compelled the Emperor to revoke his provisional rescript; but he still continued the government in Christian Louis, by investing him with the office of Imperial commissary. The Duke was soon afterwards driven from his dominions by the Hanoverian forces; and the king of Prussia availed himself of these contests to introduce his troops into the duchy*. The Emperor also renewed his promises of favouring the claims of Frederic William on the succession of Juliers, which, in consequence of the advanced age of Philip William, Elector Palatine, seemed likely to become vacant. Having thus succeeded in conciliating the elector of Hanover and the king of Prussia, he obtained the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction by the suffrages of the whole Germanic body, except the electors of Bavaria, Palatine, and Saxony. In consequence of their claims to the Austrian inheritance, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria were induced to protest against this act, and the Elector Palatine, from a suspicion that the Emperor had guarantied the succession of Berg and Juliers to the king of Prussia. This opposition was fomented by France, who encouraged the elector of Bavaria to submit his pretensions to the princes and states of the Empire, and promoted a league between the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, which was concluded on the 4th of July 1733, in support of their respective rights and prerogatives.

Jan. 11, 1732.

* Affaires de Mecklenbourg in Rousset, vol. vii—Pfeffel, passim.

This

This opposition to the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, joined to the disputes relative to Parma and Placentia, portended the renewal of hostilities between the houses of Austria and Bourbon. Charles, alarmed at the intrigues of France in the Empire, and apprehensive of her growing influence at the court of Dresden, strained every nerve to procure the guaranty from the protesting electors, and to form alliances, as if on the eve of a general war, and was warmly supported in his views by the king of England.

Augustus the Second persisting in his refusal of the guaranty, the Emperor warmly opposed his views of rendering the crown of Poland hereditary in his family; and with this intention renewed the antient alliance of the house of Austria with Poland, which furnished a pretext for his interference in the affairs of the Republic. As Augustus was rapidly declining in health, Charles was no less interested to exclude any competitor, who might be supported by France in the expected vacancy. He therefore entered into negotiations with Russia and Prussia, and a formal treaty was drawn up, by which the succession of Berg and Dusseldorf were to be guarantied to the king of Prussia, and the duchy of Courland to be secured to a Prussian prince. With a view to the establishment of an hereditary monarchy in Poland, as well as to exclude Stanislaus, or any prince dependent on France, the contracting powers agreed to concur in placing Emanuel prince of Portugal on the throne, and to support his election with troops and money*. But the death of Augustus prevented the signature and execution of this engagement.

At this period Poland was in a state of confusion and anarchy. In consequence of the numerous employments which Augustus had filled with his Saxon adherents, he had become extremely unpopular; the diet had even annulled the election of his natural son, Maurice count of Saxe, to succeed to Courland on the death of Ferdinand the reigning duke, without issue; declared that duchy a fief of the republic; and proposed, on the death of Ferdinand, to incorporate it with the possessions of the crown. The opposite party had also thwarted the at-

* Lebenbeschreibung des Graf. v. Seckendorf, vol. iv. p. 75.

Chapter 10. 1731—1733.

tempts of the king to fill the vacant offices of Great General and Great Chancellor, and even prevented the meeting of a diet.

1733.

Augustus having at length succeeded in conciliating many of his opponents, summoned a diet in January; and with a view to complete his design of rendering the crown hereditary in his family, hastened from Dresden in the midst of a severe winter, and in an infirm state of health. In answer to the advice of his physicians, and the remonstrances of his friends, he replied, "I am aware of my danger, but I owe more to my subjects than to myself." Soon after his arrival at Warsaw, the fatigues of the journey, and a gangrene in his foot, hurried him to the grave on the first of February, in the sixty-fourth year of his age*.

This event hastened the bursting of that storm which the lowering aspect of affairs seemed to portend, and, from the disposition and connections of the other powers of Europe, placed the house of Austria in a new and dangerous situation.

Denmark was governed by Christian the Sixth, a prince devoted to the arts and sciences, and distinguished by his aversion to war, and his taste for splendour and magnificence. His eagerness, however, to secure the possession of Sleswick had induced him to enter into a defensive alliance with the Emperor and Russia on the 26th of May 1732, which was renewed and modified in December. By this alliance he had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction, and engaged to furnish his contingent of 4,000 infantry and 2,000 horse; or, if necessary, to support his allies with his whole force. In return the Emperor and Russia agreed to break their engagements with the duke of Holstein, should he not within two years accept a million of rix-dollars to be paid by Denmark, as a compensation for the duchy of Sleswick.

Sweden continued under the reign of Frederic, a prey to factions, and of too little weight in the balance of Europe to render her accession or opposition an object of much importance.

Russia had changed her line of sovereigns; but her internal state and external relations continued the same. In consequence of her vi-

* Lengnich Historie Poloniæ, p. 373—and Geschichta von August II, p. 395.

cinity,

cinity, and contests with the Turks, her interests were inseparably united with those of the house of Austria; and in every instance, since the death of Catharine the First, Charles found Russia his most stable ally. Peter the Second, who was nearly related to the empress of Germany *, had succeeded to the throne, and his short reign was principally distinguished by the fall of Mentchikof and the favour of the Dolgoruckies. On the demise of Peter, in 1730, the crown was transferred to Anne, youngest daughter of Ivan, and niece of Peter the Great. She was raised to the throne by the council of state, in preference to her eldest sister Catharine, duchess of Mecklenburgh, on the condition of consenting to the limitation of the royal prerogative, which she broke, by the assistance of the guards, and resumed the unlimited authority of her predecessors.

In the alliance which Charles had concluded with Catharine in 1726, he obtained the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, on condition that he should assist in procuring the restitution of Sleswick to the duke of Holstein †. Peter the Second, being less inclined to favour the claims of the duke of Holstein, the article relative to the restitution of Sleswick was annulled, and a new one substituted, by which the Emperor, the Czar, and Spain, agreed to pay an annual pension of 300,000 florins to the duke of Holstein, until he received an equivalent for his pretensions. Anne was jealous of the duke, and careless of his interests; and therefore only promised in general to fulfil the engagements of her predecessors, in regard to the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Emperor was satisfied with this declaration, without proposing a new treaty ‡.

On the side of Europe the Turks were disposed to maintain the same state of peace and tranquillity, and were wholly occupied with

* Elizabeth Christina princess of Brunswick Blankenburgh, wife of Charles the Sixth, was sister of Charlotte Christina, mother of Peter the Second.

† In the second article the Czarina accedes to the Emperor's treaty with Spain, April 30, 1723, and guaranties the Emperor's possessions according to the tenor of the 12th article of the Pragmatic Sanction; and the court of Vienna did not consider the subsequent defection of Spain as annulling the obligation. Mr. Robinson to Mr. Walpole, September 8, 1736.

‡ Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

the

Chapter 10. 1731—1733.

the progress of Kouli Khan, who had taken Bassora, and invested Babylon.

Louis the Fifteenth was at this period devoted to his pleasures, and wholly governed by cardinal Fleury, under whose wise administration France had recovered from her dependent and exhausted condition. The nation, pleased with the renewal of the connection with Spain, began to resume their antient schemes of conquest; and the ardent spirit of the nobles looked forward to a new war, to retrieve the honour of the country, which they considered as sullied by the subordinate part it had acted since the death of Louis the Fourteenth. France was the head of the league in opposition to the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, and agitated every court of Europe with her intrigues, under the secret direction of Chauvelin Garde des Sçeaux and secretary of state for foreign affairs, who, by his ascendancy over the aged minister, principally swayed the counsels of France at this momentous period *.

Philip the Fifth still continued in the same state of hypochondriac melancholy, from which he could only be roused by the bustle and occupations of war. He had renounced all hopes of succeeding to the crown of France, and directed his whole views to gratify his queen, who was eager for the renewal of a contest with the house of Austria, that she might gain a settlement for another of her sons in Italy. France and Spain were engaged in warlike preparations both by sea and land, and seemed only to wait for a pretext to commence hostilities.

Jan. 19, 1729.

Spain and Portugal had apparently renounced their antient enmity, by the double marriages of Joseph prince of Brazil and Mary Anne, Infanta of Spain, and Mary Barbara, princess of Portugal with Ferdinand prince of Asturias. But this connection did not remove the spirit of national antipathy; and the proud and captious tempers of John the Fifth, and Philip, were ill calculated to promote their union. John, who was brother-in-law of Charles, still retained his partiality for the house of Austria, and fostered an equal aversion to the house of Bourbon.

* Memoirs of Sir Robert and Lord Walpole, passim.

During

During the disputes concerning the succession of Tuscany and Parma, the king of Sardinia was courted by the houses of Bourbon and Austria. Lured by the offer of part of the Milanese, Victor Amadeus concluded, in June 1730, a treaty with the Emperor; but he had scarcely signed it before he was induced to enter into an alliance with Spain on more advantageous conditions. Soon after this event, this ambitious monarch astonished Europe by a voluntary abdication of his dignity. The motives which occasioned this unexpected resolution have never been ascertained; it was attributed to the embarrassments arising from his contradictory engagements, to the decline of his health, and a fit of devotion, or to a desire of recognising his marriage with the countess of St. Sebastian, who had long been his mistress, and whom he had recently espoused.

Sept. 3, 1730.

He performed the ceremony of his abdication at his favourite palace of Rivoli, and after an eloquent and affecting discourse, in which he represented the decline of his age, the infirm state of his health, and his desire to pass the remainder of his days in retirement and devotion, he expressed his satisfaction in being able to resign the crown to a son, who, from his age and capacity, was equal to the cares of government. On the ensuing day he repaired to Chambery, where he passed several months with apparent satisfaction, in company with the countess of St. Sebastian, who was created marchioness of Sphingy, and whom he avowed as his wife. The abdicated monarch, however, soon regretted the loss of power; his discontent was fomented by his wife, and his intellects being affected by a stroke of apoplexy, he was instigated to attempt the resumption of the crown.

The mode in which he endeavoured to reascend the throne seemed rather the project of a madman, than the act of a sovereign grown grey in the affairs of state. Under pretence of change of air he returned to Montcallier, a royal palace near Turin, and was received by his son with great marks of respect and deference. Soon after his arrival he sent for the marquis del Borgo, the prime minister, and

Chapter 10. 1731—1733.

ordered him in a high tone of authority to bring the paper, by which he meant the act of abdication. After the departure of the marquis he became greatly agitated. Starting up at midnight, he exclaimed, "My resolution is taken!" and mounting his horse, accompanied by a single attendant, rode to the gate of the citadel of Turin, and demanded admittance, which being refused by the governor, he returned to Montcallier in a state of fury and despair.

Meanwhile, a privy council being held before the king, the ministers unanimously urged the necessity of securing the person of the abdicated monarch, and extorted from Charles Emanuel his reluctant consent to the arrest of his father.

Victor Amadeus had retired to rest, and, exhausted with his efforts, fell into so profound a sleep, that he did not awake when the doors of his apartment were forced open. After much ineffectual resistance he was separated from his wife, and conducted to Rivoli, under a military escort. During his conveyance he descended from the carriage, under various pretences, and ineffectually endeavoured to excite the compassion of the soldiers, by reminding them of the dangers they had mutually shared, and the victories which they had gained under his command.

He was deeply affected with the view of apartments which had been the scene of his former grandeur, and where he had signed his abdication, which he never recollected without the most violent emotions. Notwithstanding his wife was permitted to reside with him, the natural violence of his temper, irritated by confinement, overpowered his reason; and, at his own request, he was again removed to Montcallier, where he died on the 20th of October 1732*.

Charles Emanuel was thirty years of age when he succeeded to the crown. His education had been much neglected, and he had been assiduously removed from all share in the administration of affairs; but he soon proved that he possessed the talents, though not the spirit of his father. Finding an excellent minister in the marquis d'Ormea, the Richelieu of Savoy, he pursued with equal address and judgment

* Mr. Allen's Dispatches from Turin, from Sept. 29, 1730 to Oct. 31, 1732.

the

the system of aggrandisement which had been adopted by his predecessors, and held the balance of power in Italy, by taking advantage of the disputes between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, and adding his weight to the side from which he hoped to reap the greatest advantage. During the short time in which he had held the reins of government, he had considerably improved the revenue; his army was in a high state of order and discipline; and, trained in the military school of his illustrious father, he was ambitious to signalize his arms, and emulate the glory of his predecessors.

As the accession of the king of Sardinia was of the highest importance to the Emperor, either to prevent a war in Italy, or to give the preponderance to the Austrian force; and as the two sovereigns were jealous of each other, England endeavoured to allay their mutual animosities, and promote their union. The king of Sardinia, as the price of his assistance, and in return for the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, which would expose him to the vengeance of France and Spain, demanded, among other particulars, the payment of the arrears due for the subsistence of the Imperial troops in Italy in 1703; the right of erecting fortifications in the countries that had been ceded to him; and the cession of the Langhes and other districts in the Milanese, together with the marquisate of Finale. In case of a war he required also Parma and Placentia should the Infant be obliged to quit his Italian territories, and a part of the Milanese, such as the provinces of Novarra, Tortona, and the Vigenevasco, should Don Carlos retain those duchies.

These proposals were delivered to the Imperial ministers by Mr. Robinson, in December 1732; he urged the necessity of a speedy answer, on account of the delicate situation of the king of Sardinia, the apprehensions of an immediate rupture from the disputes relative to the boundaries of the Milanese and the duchy of Parma, and the intrigues of France with Augustus the Second. But in consequence of the dilatory spirit of the house of Austria, the jealousy of the Emperor, and the tenure of the Langhes which formed a fief of the empire, the answer was delayed; and no effectual endeavour made to counteract

Chapter 10. 1731—1733.

the offers and intrigues of France, and to secure so important an ally *.

The United Provinces, sunk into the lowest state of weakness and imbecility, were the prey of contending factions. The views of the States were principally directed to the preservation of their commercial advantages; and although guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction, were indifferent to the safety of any part of the Austrian dominions, except the Low Countries. They were alienated from the Emperor by the disputes relative to the Barrier Treaty, and by the haughty conduct of the Austrian ministers; and suspiciously regarded the connection between the Emperor and England as likely to involve them in a war with France.

Since the accession of the house of Brunswick, England had increased in wealth and commerce, and enjoyed a greater degree of tranquillity at home, and a longer duration of peace abroad, than during any period since the reign of queen Elizabeth. This prosperous state of affairs was derived from the establishment of septennial parliaments, which enabled the crown to pursue a permanent system of policy, and from the judicious measures and pacific principles of the British administration.

George the Second was in the fiftieth year of his age, and was a prince of high integrity, honour, and veracity. He possessed good sense and a sound judgment; but was of a warm and irritable temper not easily appeased, and impatient of remonstrance. He was no less rigidly attached to etiquette and punctilious forms than Charles himself, and was of a warlike disposition, and fond of military parade. In regard to the general interests of Europe, his views were enlarged and correct; but, from an attachment to his German dominions, he often suffered the prejudices of an Elector to bias his judgment, and did not sufficiently appreciate the great commercial and naval principles of the English government. On his accession to the crown, he found England in amity with France, and at variance with the house of

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches—Muratori, 1732—1733—Denina Revolutions d'Italie.

Austria; and, from principles of prudence and policy, acquiesced in a system which secured the tranquillity of his British dominions. He was, however, aware that the house of Austria was the natural ally of England, and hastened the conclusion of the treaty of Vienna, as soon as the Emperor had promised to gratify him in his electoral claims. From that moment he steadily adhered to the Emperor, and beheld with indignation the efforts of France to humiliate the house of Austria.

Although impatient of controul, and jealous of being governed, yet he was greatly influenced by queen Caroline, whose mild, prudent, and conciliating manners, were more congenial to the character of the English nation. She maintained a correspondence with the Empress *, to whom she was distantly related, and constantly expressed her own wishes, and the desire of the king, to cement the union between the two nations. Her views, however, being principally directed to maintain the prosperity and peace of England, she was swayed by the advice of Sir Robert Walpole, whose dismission she had prevented, on the accession of her husband, and whom she continued to support with all her influence.

Sir Robert Walpole, who was now considered as prime minister, had risen from a private station by his abilities as a parliamentary orator, and knowledge of finance. He commenced his political career at an early period, and distinguished himself during the whole reign of queen Anne, as well in a public as in a private station, by his strenuous support of the cause of the house of Austria in the war of the Succession, and by his aversion to the house of Bourbon. He signalized himself by his opposition to the peace of Utrecht, as well as by his zeal for the Hanover succession, and soon after the accession of George the First was placed at the head of the treasury. On the schism of the Whig ministry in 1717, he resigned his post, and continued in opposition until, on the failure of the South Sea scheme, the inclinations of the king and the voice of the nation recalled him to his former station.

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 44.

Chapter 10. 1731—1733.

From this time the interior administration of the kingdom was entrusted to his care; and the foreign affairs were principally managed by his brother-in-law, lord Townshend, who was secretary of state; but in consequence of a disagreement, lord Townshend having resigned in 1730, Sir Robert Walpole became the chief minister, and had the principal share in directing the counsels of England, both in domestic and foreign transactions.

From his early youth he had imbibed the principles of the Revolution, and continued invariable in his aversion to the Stuarts, and in his zeal for the Hanover line. To support that succession, and to promote the commerce of his country, were the great objects of his policy; and to attain those objects, he adopted a system of pacific and preventive measures, from which he never swerved. With this view he had promoted the alliance with France, in order to prevent her interference in the cause of the Pretender; and when the Emperor, in league with Spain, threatened to support the dethroned family, and, in opposition to the commercial interests of England, established the Company of Ostend, he did not hesitate to break off the connection which had long subsisted between the Maritime Powers and the house of Austria. On the rupture between Spain and the Emperor, and the change in the political situation of Europe, he was one of the earliest advocates for renewing the union with the house of Austria, and for securing the indivisibility of that succession, as a counterpoise to the house of Bourbon. To his counsels, therefore, was principally owing the treaty of Vienna in 1731; and though he fully appreciated the danger of admitting a prince of the house of Bourbon into Italy, yet he was bound to support the Quadruple Alliance, though made in opposition to his sentiments, as well for the honour of his country, as from the fear of losing the commerce with Spain.

The minister felt the beneficial consequences which resulted from the general tenor of his administration: "The protestant succession "was established, the Jacobite faction suppressed; the government "acquired energy on a constitutional basis; and, by the prevention "of

" of foreign war, domestic tranquillity was secured. Under the calm " stability of such a government, public credit flourished, commerce " increased, manufactures were improved, and agriculture ame- " liorated *." He therefore maintained his pacific system with unabating perseverance, and deprecated a war with France, from a conviction that the British crown would then be fought for on British ground. Hence the conduct of foreign affairs was occasionally weak and fluctuating, and his extreme unwillingness to assume a posture of defiance towards foreign powers, except in imminent danger, exposed him to the censure both of friends and enemies; hence he experienced great difficulty in maintaining his system, from the disinclination of the King, and the discordant views of a divided cabinet.

The foreign affairs were ostensibly directed by the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the southern, and lord Harrington for the northern department. The duke of Newcastle was little more than a cypher in the administration, and he derived his principal consequence from his ascendency among the Whigs, and his attachment to Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he owed his official situation.

Lord Harrington, on the contrary, was personally attached to the king, and had imbibed his notions of war and glory, and deemed it for the honour and interest of England to support the house of Austria, even at the hazard of a rupture with France. As he usually accompanied the king to Hanover, he had great influence in the conduct of foreign transactions, particularly in the negotiations with the court of Vienna, which belonged to his department; and both at home and abroad he warmly exerted himself to rouse the spirit of the British cabinet.

Walpole was also thwarted by a strong and violent party in the kingdom, who reprobated his pacific measures, as a temporising system, and a dereliction of the national honour, calculated to ag-

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 63.

grandise

Chapter 10. 1731—1733.

grandise the house of Bourbon, the natural enemy, and to depress the house of Austria, the natural ally of England. These clamours were supported by men of the highest character for wit and eloquence, some of whom maintained an intimate union with the Imperial embassador in England, and corresponded with the Emperor or his ministers abroad *.

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 24.

CHAPTER II.

1733—1734.

Competitors for the Throne of Poland—Account of Stanislaus Letzinski—Supported by France—The Emperor espouses the Cause of Augustus Elector of Saxony, in conjunction with Russia—Election of Stanislaus, and Counter-Election of Augustus—Stanislaus driven from Poland—Augustus acknowledged King—The Emperor deserted by all his Allies except Russia—Attacked by France, Spain, and Sardinia—Loses the Milanese—Obtains the Support of the Empire—Campaign of 1734 in Italy—Conquest of Naples by Don Carlos—Campaign in Germany—Spirited Letter of Prince Eugene to the King of England.

Chapter II. 1733—1734.

SEVERAL competitors started up for the vacant throne of Poland, but they were soon reduced to two; Stanislaus Letzinski, and Augustus elector of Saxony, son of the deceased monarch.

Stanislaus Letzinski, son of the great treasurer of Poland, was born in 1677, and had been placed on the throne by Charles the Twelfth, on the forced abdication of Augustus the Second; but being deprived of his dignity soon after the battle of Pultawa, he retired into Swedish Pomerania, exerted himself in favour of his benefactor, and headed the Swedish troops in that province. The progress of the Russians having alarmed Frederic the First, king of Prussia, he formed the plan of a league between Charles the Twelfth and Augustus the Second, which was to be cemented by the abdication of Stanislaus. The exiled monarch himself consented; but having failed in obtaining by letters the acquiescence of Charles, quitted the army, and proceeded towards Bender, with the hopes of softening his inflexible spirit. Being arrested on the confines of Moldavia, he was conducted to Bender, and received a message from Charles, enjoining him never to make peace with Augustus. Stanislaus was soon afterwards restored to liberty, and repaired to Deux Ponts, which Charles assigned to him

Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

him as the place of his residence, with the whole revenue of the duchy *.

On the death of Charles the Twelfth, the duchy was transferred to another branch, and Stanislaus, compelled to seek a new asylum, took up his abode at Weissemburgh in Alsace, where he resided in humble circumstances, but with the title of king, till the marriage of his daughter with Louis the Fifteenth. On that event he was gratified with a considerable pension, maintained a brilliant court, and received all the honours due to a sovereign. When the death of Augustus again vacated the throne of Poland, Stanislaus became a candidate for the crown, and was supported by a strong party in the kingdom, and by all the influence of France.

The death of Augustus changed the sentiments of the Emperor. His son and successor Augustus testifying a readiness to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction, Charles warmly espoused his pretensions to the throne of Poland, and gained the concurrence of Russia, who was equally interested in excluding Stanislaus Letzinski, the dependant of France. Charles therefore declared his intention to promote a new and free election, according to the constitution of Poland, which he had guarantied, and to support such a candidate as might be unexceptionable both to the republic and the neighbouring powers. In this declaration, which was a virtual exclusion of Stanislaus, he mentioned the concurrence of the Czarina and the king of Prussia, in consequence of their mutual engagements for the support of the constitution and liberty of Poland. He at the same time dispatched additional troops into Silesia, and displayed his resolution of concurring with Russia and Prussia in the exclusion of Stanislaus by force.

In consequence of these movements, and the language held by the Imperial ministers in every court of Europe, the king of France announced his intention, as guarantee of the treaty of Oliva, to oppose the intervention of foreign powers in the choice of a king; while his agents in Poland exerted the influence, and lavished the treasure of

* Lengvich Historia Polonix—Voltaire Histoire de Charles XII.

France

France to secure the election of Stanislaus. The Emperor, however, was not intimidated by these threats. Relying on the support of Russia, Prussia, and the Maritime Powers, he issued a counter-memorial, in which he inveighed against the conduct of France, as endeavouring to limit the choice of the Poles to a single person, and stigmatised the French declaration as couched in unbecoming terms, and dispersed throughout Europe with indecent affectation. Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

In this interval, the diet having assembled under the auspices of the primate, who was gained by France, entered into a confederacy to elect none but a native of Poland; and the majority testified a decided resolution in favour of Stanislaus. In opposition to this powerful party, the Emperor concerted with the Czarina and the king of Prussia, a plan for the march of their respective armies into Poland. Being, however, deterred by the lukewarmness of England, the defection of the United Provinces, and the wavering conduct of the king of Prussia, he suddenly changed his intentions, recalled the greater part of his troops from Silesia, and declared that he would not influence the Diet of Election by an armed force. But in consequence of the earnest representations of Russia, and his desire to assist the Elector of Saxony, he soon afterwards ordered 6,000 men to reinforce the camp in Silesia; and although the king of Prussia declared his intention to remain neutral, the Imperial embassador accompanied the Russian minister at Warsaw when he notified to the Grand Marshal of the Diet the resolution of his Mistress to exclude Stanislaus by force. 1733. May 24. Aug. 30.

These threats, and the approach of a Russian army, roused instead of intimidating the Poles; the Diet of Election assembled in the Plain of Wola, and chose Stanislaus king on the 12th of September. The new sovereign, accompanied by a single adherent, after escaping a series of imminent dangers in his passage through Germany, had arrived on the 9th at Warsaw, made his appearance in the field of election, and was received with loud acclamations.

According to the custom of Polish elections, a party, headed by prince Viesnovitzki, seceded from the diet, and crossing the Vistula,

Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

joined the Russian army, which was in full march to the gates of Warsaw. Under the protection of these troops the seceders, with other parties, formed a new diet of election at Kamien *, in the vicinity of Prague; and on the 5th of October chose the Elector of Saxony, who assumed the title of Augustus the Third. Meanwhile Stanislaus had retired from Warsaw, and taken refuge in Dantzick, where he sustained a siege against the Russian and Saxon troops. The remaining part of Poland submitted with little opposition to the Russian arms, Augustus was crowned on the 25th of December at Cracow, and took quiet possession of the throne †.

Thus the Emperor succeeded in placing Augustus on the throne, and securing his guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction. Although he did not send a single soldier into Poland, and left the whole management of the election to the Czarina, yet the declarations of his ministers, his treaty with the Elector of Saxony, and decided opposition to Stanislaus, involved him in a war with France, Spain, and Sardinia, in which, notwithstanding the solemn guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction by the principal powers of Europe, he was left with no other ally than Russia, and the feeble support of the German empire.

Charles had flattered himself, that the timid and cautious Fleury would not venture to attack the house of Austria in defiance of numerous guaranties and formidable alliances; and, at all events, deemed himself secure of a cordial support from the Maritime Powers, Russia, Denmark, Prussia, and the king of Sardinia. But he was disappointed in his expectations. Sir Robert Walpole would not involve England in a war on the eve of a general election, and in the midst of the discontents arising from the excise; and Holland, gained by France, refused to arm in defence of the house of Austria for the sake of a Polish election. The king of Prussia, induced by personal aversion to Augustus the Third, by the dread of

* Prague is the suburb of Warsaw, and Kamien is a village distinguished by the election of Henry of Valois.

† Lengnich Historia Poloniæ.

seeing

seeing his dominions in Westphalia overrun by the French, and by his suspicions of the insincerity of the Emperor, in his promise to guaranty the inheritance of Juliers, seceded from the alliance, and continued neutral. Russia was sufficiently occupied with keeping the Poles in subjection, and guarding against the inroads of the Turks; and Denmark was unable to send a sufficient force in support of her ally.

Notwithstanding these disappointments, Charles still relied on the co-operation of the king of Sardinia for the safety of his dominions in Italy. But France had now matured her great scheme of humbling the house of Austria; and having secured the concurrence of Spain, and entered into a negotiation with the king of Sardinia, issued a declaration of war, and prepared to attack the Austrian dominions in Germany and Italy.

The Emperor, jealous of the king of Sardinia, was unwilling to purchase his alliance by yielding to demands which he considered as exorbitant. He therefore resisted the urgent representations of the British cabinet, and, under pretence of consulting the Aulic Council and the Senate of Milan, gave evasive and unsatisfactory answers. Meanwhile the courts of France and Spain lured Charles Emanuel, who was indignant at these delays, with more specific and advantageous conditions than he had even demanded from the Emperor. They engaged to assist him in conquering the Milanese, which he was to possess with the title of King of Lombardy, and to entrust him with the command of the combined armies in Italy. With such impenetrable secrecy was this intrigue conducted, that the court of Vienna viewed with satisfaction the military preparations of Charles Emanuel, and count Daun, governor of Milan, supplied him with grain and implements of war. Even while the king of Sardinia arranged the plan of operations with France and Spain, he deceived the Imperial minister at Turin; and when the French army under marshal Villars crossed the Alps, the governor of Milan offered to assist him with a corps of troops in impeding their march. Nor was the Imperial court undeceived till Charles Emanuel, having joined his army to the French

Chapter 11. 1733—1734. Oct. 1733.

and Spaniards, assumed the command, and burst into the Milanese *. From the suddenness of his attack, and the weakness of the Imperial force, he overran Austrian Lombardy in less than three months, seized the magazines and artillery, and Mantua was the only place in that part of Italy which remained to the Emperor at the close of the campaign.

The Emperor was taken unawares in Italy by this unexpected defection of the king of Sardinia, and the want of an efficient force; but on the side of Germany he had time to prepare for resistance, and to oppose the arms and intrigues of the house of Bourbon. France had succeeded in isolating the house of Austria from the other powers of Europe, for the purpose of attacking the distant parts of her extensive dominions at one and the same moment; and now exerted all her efforts either to divide the German empire, or to obtain its neutrality. At the same instant in which the French troops passed the Alps to join the Sardinians, another army occupied Lor-

October 29.

raine, and took possession of the fort of Kehl. But to calm the apprehensions of the empire, and to palliate these acts of hostility, the French minister declared to the diet, that his Master would molest no prince who did not enter into hostile engagements against France; and that the seizure of the fort of Kehl was no less directed to secure the empire against the oppressions of their chief, than to attack the house of Austria, with whom alone the king of France was at enmity.

The approach of winter preventing the march of the enemy into Germany, the Emperor availed himself of this respite to form the lines of Etlingen, which covered Philipsburgh and defended the passage of the Rhine. He also made the strongest representations to the diet against the aggression of France. He easily gained the majority of the catholics, and secured the protestant party, by promising to obtain the repeal of the obnoxious clause in the treaty of Ryswick. The diet accordingly voted a considerable supply of money, and an army of 120,000 men, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the electors of Co-

* Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. P. 1. p. 247.

logne,

logne, Bavaria, and Palatine, who declared their intention of adopting an exact neutrality. Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

Charles was deeply affected with the disastrous state of his affairs in Italy, and directed his first and principal efforts to preserve the important fortress of Mantua. He therefore sent into Lombardy the greater part of the levies drawn from his hereditary dominions, and gave the supreme command to count Merci, the most enterprising of his generals, with positive orders to undertake offensive operations. Feb. 1734. Merci at the head of 6,000 men hastened to Mantua, and having reconnoitred the position of the allies, returned to Roveredo, to press the march of the troops who were assembled in the Tyrol and the bishopric of Trent. At this critical juncture he was seized with an inflammation in his eyes, which was followed by a stroke of apoplexy, and was reduced to a state of almost total blindness. His intended operations were thus retarded till the beginning of May, when, being convalescent, he put himself at the head of 60,000 men, and drew towards the Oglio and the Po.

The Sardinian troops were posted on both sides of the Oglio, and the French on the southern bank of the Po, from Guastalla beyond Revere. Merci reached the northern bank of the Po, and by a bold and skilful manœuvre, effecting a passage near St. Benedetto, surprised the French troops, drove them, with the loss of their magazines and baggage, to Parma, and occupied the cities of Guastalla, Novellara, Mirandola, and Reggio. But in the midst of this success he was seized with a return of his complaint, and retired for a short time to Padua, to obtain relief from the physicians of that place *.

During his absence the Austrian generals attempted to drive the French from the strong post of Colorno, and to cut off their communication with the Sardinian forces. After a bloody engagement they succeeded, but were again driven back by the king of Sardinia with considerable loss. The ill success of this enterprise, undertaken without orders, roused the indignation of the commander in chief, and he

* Muratori Annali d'Italia, v. xii. P. 1. p. 257. 259.

had

Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

had no sooner rejoined the army, than he retired in disgust to St. Martino, where he passed several days.

Being at length appeased, he repaired to the camp, resolved to signalise his return by an important enterprize; and, from the situation of the allied army, entertained sanguine hopes of success. The king of Sardinia was at Turin on a visit to his queen, who was indisposed, and had left orders to undertake no offensive operations until his return. Marshal Villars had also recently quitted the army, in consequence of his advanced age *, and the command of the French troops had devolved on Marshal de Coigny, who was embarrassed with the cabals of Broglio and Maillebois. Eager to avail himself of the embarrassments of the enemy, Merci advanced as far as St. Prospero, halted a few days; and on the 28th of June, crossing the Parma south of the city, encamped between that river and the Braganza.

During his approach the allied forces were not inactive. Marshal Coigny, aware of his intentions, had already selected a strong position, which he occupied on the evening of the 28th. His troops were posted along the causeway leading to Placentia; the left wing was flanked by the city of Parma, and the right covered by the village of Crocetta, and by morasses which extended to the Tarro. He enlarged the fosses on each side to the depth of twenty-seven feet, strengthened his position by additional entrenchments and abbatis, and occupied with detachments the casines scattered on the south of the causeway. This position was skilfully chosen; for the nature of the ground, and the depth of the trenches rendered the numerous cavalry of the Imperialists totally useless.

On the 29th in the morning, Merci crossed the Braganza, and leaving Parma to the east, directed his march in two columns to Crocetta. After making a short harangue to his soldiers, he gave the command of the left column to the prince of Wirtemberg, and at the

* Marshal Villars died at Turin on the 17th of June.

head

head of the right, rode within musket-shot of the causeway. Without waiting for the left column, he ordered two regiments of infantry to begin the attack; they intrepidly advanced to the foss, and began to fill it with fascines, but were mowed down by the well-directed fire of the enemy, with the loss of their grenadiers, and most of the officers and men were wounded. Those who survived giving way, Merci ordered other regiments to advance, and these troops being supported by the left column, filled up the ditch with fascines, and even the dead bodies of their companions, and were on the point of carrying the entrenchment. At this moment Merci was mortally wounded by a musket-shot, and the soldiers, astounded at the loss of their general, and the incessant fire of the enemy, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Being encouraged by the arrival of the prince of Wirtemberg, who assumed the command, they gained the summit of the causeway, and rushed forward to the second foss, which they filled with the dead bodies of the French and Sardinians. During this carnage the prince of Wirtemberg had two horses killed under him, and was obliged to quit the action by a severe contusion.

The troops, though left a second time without a chief, fought with incredible fury, and forced the allies from six successive entrenchments. Here the French made a desperate stand at a farm house, and, though driven from it with great slaughter, recovered possession, and mowed down whole companies of the Imperialists with their grape and musket shot. This dreadful conflict had now lasted ten hours without intermission, when the enemy retired in good order towards the walls of Parma. The Imperialists remained masters of the intrenchments; yet, being without a commander, without provisions, discouraged by the loss they had sustained, and apprehensive of another attack, fell back towards St. Prospero, and on the following day retreated to Reggio.

Thus ended this memorable engagement, in which not less than 10,000 men fell on the field of battle, accompanied with this unparalleled circumstance, that not a prisoner or standard was taken on either side. The allies lost many of their bravest generals and officers,

Chapter II. 1733—1734.

and the Imperialists their commander in chief, and seven generals, with more than 340 officers killed and wounded *.

Although Merci risked this attack in opposition to the remonstrances of all the generals, and although the manner in which it was made exposed him to the censure of extreme rashness †, yet, had he survived, the allies would probably have been driven from Parma, and the affairs of the Emperor retrieved. The Imperialists retreated unmolested behind the Secchia, to preserve their communication with Mantua and Mirandola; but a garrison of 1,200 men in Guastalla, being left without provisions, artillery, or ammunition, surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the king of Sardinia, who rejoined his army the morning after the engagement.

The French posted themselves on the opposite side of the Secchia, and the king of Sardinia took up his head quarters at St. Benedetto; and thus the allies, having occupied Modena, with Carpi, Ribiera, and Reggio, commanded the whole duchy, and confined the Imperialists in the district between Mantua and Mirandola. While the Imperialists were waiting the arrival of count Konigseg, their new commander, the loss at the battle of Parma, the divisions which began

* The account of this engagement is principally taken from Consul Skinner's Report, written from Reggio, July 1, Orford Papers.—And Muratori Annali d'Italia.

List of German officers of the first rank killed and wounded:—Killed, the Marechal count de Merci, the prince of Culmbach, the prince de Lichtenstein, the colonel d'Harrach, count Formentini, colonel Nicolo Palfi, serjeant general de Wins. Wounded, prince of Wirtemberg, prince Leopold of Hesse Darmstadt, the marquis Gabriel d'Este, general Palfi, count de Castelbarco, (who is imagined to have died on being removed) the marquis d'Este di Santa Christina, the deputy marechal Diesbach, the serjeant general Walseeh.

Consul Skinner's account.

† "Pray God pardon the marechal de Merci, who is slain! All the officers that are come to this place from the field, both well and wounded, with one voice cry out upon his conduct; protesting, that they were led to slaughter to no end or purpose; insomuch that they affirm, the whole army would have been sacrificed had it not been for the bravery of the grenadiers, who, by their death, saved the rest from destruction. In fact, no one can commend the disposition of the order of battle made by him. Perhaps it was never heard of, that when there was a strong intrenchment to be forced, the cannon should be left behind. But he has paid for his miscarriages, though with the loss of the bravest men that his Imperial majesty had in his army."

Consul Skinner's account.

to

to take place between the French and Sardinians, and the cabals among the French generals, reduced the allies to a state of inactivity and supineness.

In July the Imperialists received considerable reinforcements, and Konigsegg, who had assumed the command, advanced to Quingentolo. Here he was separated from the enemy only by the Secchia until the 14th of September, when he commenced his military operations by a brilliant enterprise. While a detachment kept in check a French corps at Questello, 10,000 men fording the Secchia in the night with rapidity and silence, surprised the head-quarters of marshal Broglio, who had only time to escape in his shirt. By this enterprise they spread an alarm through the French army, routed several corps assembled in haste, took 2,000 prisoners; and their success would have been still more complete had not the soldiers fallen to pillage, and given the French time to recover from their surprise, and the king of Sardinia to fly to their assistance.

In consequence of this action the allied army fell back to Guastalla, and took post between the Crostolo and the Po, near the retrenchments at the head of one of their bridges. They were followed by the Imperialists, who, eager to improve their success, attacked them on the 19th of September. The action was maintained for eight hours with the greatest obstinacy, and the Imperialists were at length repulsed through the exertions of the king of Sardinia, who rode from rank to rank encouraging the soldiers, and led them repeatedly to the charge. The loss on both sides was considerable, and nearly equal; but the allies remained masters of the field, and in possession of four standards and some artillery; the French lost three generals, and the Imperialists the prince of Wirtemberg, general Colmenero, and the prince of Saxe Gotha, besides many inferior officers.

The Imperialists, though repulsed, retreated in good order, without being pursued, and occupied a strong position on the north of the Oglio and the Po. The remainder of the campaign was distinguished by no event, except the relief of Mirandola, which was invested by Maillebois, and from which he was driven with the loss of all his

Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

artillery. The Imperialists kept the field until the beginning of January, and the allied troops, encamped in the midst of morasses, suffered greatly by epidemic disorders, till the king of Sardinia drew them into winter quarters. The Germans, availing themselves of their absence, passed the Oglio, and obtained possession of Bozzolo, Castel Maggiore, Sabionetta, and other places which lie between the Oglio and the Po *.

Thus terminated the campaign in Lombardy, in which the Emperor reaped little advantage from his great exertions, except the preservation of Mantua, and the possession of Mirandola; and count Konigsegg returned to Vienna, to form a plan for the next campaign, in which he expected to be overwhelmed by a still greater force.

1734. During these events Don Carlos declared himself of age, and assumed the government of Parma and Placentia. A Spanish army commanded by the duke de Montemar, under the orders of Don Carlos, assembled in Tuscany, and passing through the territories of the church advanced to the northern frontier of the kingdom of Naples; while a Spanish squadron, having on board a considerable military force, appeared before Civita Vecchia. Part of the Ships remained on that station, and the rest sailed to the bay of Baiæ, and took possession of

Feb. 20. the islands of Ischia and Procida.

The Imperial army was scattered in different fortresses, and only two bodies remained in the field; one corps of 6,000 men was intrenched at St. Angelo della Canina on the northern frontier, and the other stationed in Apulia. The viceroy Don John Julio Visconti quitting the capital, retired to Rome, and a fatal disagreement took place between the German and Italian generals, who commanded the body at St. Angelo. General Caraffa proposed to withdraw the different garrisons, to unite the troops in one body, and to risk the fate of Naples on an engagement, rather than suffer the enemy to advance to the capital, and cut off the army in detail. Traun, on the contrary, persisted in occupy-

* Muratori Annali d'Italia.

ing

ing the fortresses, and pursuing a defensive plan * until the arrival of a reinforcement of 20,000 men, which he expected from Germany.

This plan was unfortunately adopted, and occasioned the rapid subjugation of Naples and Sicily. The Spanish army having forced the lines of St. Angelo, left a detachment to blockade Capua and Gaeta, whither the Imperial troops had retired, and marched towards Naples. On the approach of the Infant to Aversa, he received the keys of the capital; and on the 10th of April 3,000 Spanish troops entered Naples without opposition. In less than a month the few forts which defended the city and the port of Baiæ surrendered, and the garrisons, to the number of 2,000 men, became prisoners of war. On the 10th of May Don Carlos made his triumphal entry amidst the acclamations of the natives, and on the 27th the duke de Montemar secured his conquests by defeating, after an obstinate resistance, a corps of 9,000 men, the last remnant of the Imperial force, who took post under the walls of Bitonto. In this conflict 2,500 were killed, and the remainder having taken refuge in Bitonto and Bari, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners of war. Gaeta surrendered on the 6th of August; and Capua was defended by Traun till the 24th of November.

May 6.

May 25.

In the midst of these events Don Carlos was crowned by the title of Charles the Third, and experienced a ready submission from the natives, who, disgusted with the government of a German viceroy, hailed the accession of a prince likely to fix his residence among them. Montemar, created duke of Bitonto in reward for his services, landed on the 29th of August, at the head of a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Palermo; and in the course of the ensuing summer, subjugated the whole island of Sicily, except Messina and Syracuse †.

On the side of Germany the Emperor made great levies, and obtained large supplies from his hereditary countries. Expecting England to declare in his favour, and relying on the spirit displayed

* According to Muratori, the Emperor ordered the generals to risk an engagement; while a letter from the council of war enforced defensive operations; tom. xii. P. i. p. 271.

† Muratori Annali d'Italia 1734—1735.

Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

by the Empire, he entertained sanguine hopes of bringing an army into the field, under the command of Eugene, sufficient to oppose the progress of the French at the opening of the campaign. But these hopes were disappointed; the supplies voted by the diet were greatly deficient; and of the nominal army of 120,000 men, only 12,000 made their appearance when the duke of Bevern took the command.

1734.

On the 9th of April the French army under marshal Berwick opened the campaign, and after forcing Traerbach to capitulate, passed the Rhine in three columns, and directed their march to turn the lines of Etlingen. The duke of Wirtemberg finding the lines untenable, retired precipitately to Heilbron, and resigned the command of the army to prince Eugene, who had recently arrived from Vienna.

That great general had taken his departure from the capital, with little hopes of retrieving the affairs of his Master. He had in vain remonstrated against interference in the Polish election, from a conviction that the Emperor would be deserted, or feebly supported by his allies, and exposed singly to all the efforts of the house of Bourbon. Eugene had the mortification to witness the evacuation of the lines of Etlingen, the hasty retreat of the German troops, and the siege and capture of Philipsburgh, which, though bravely defended by baron Wotgenau with only 4,000 men, surrendered on the 18th of July to the marquis d'Asfeld, as marshal Berwick had been killed by a cannon ball during the siege. The arrival of Eugene infused a momentary spirit into the Imperial army; but notwithstanding his great military skill, the inferiority of his force compelled him to remain on the defensive. On his arrival at the head-quarters the army did not amount to 25,000 men, and during the whole campaign never exceeded 60,000, although many princes served in person, and even the king of Prussia himself, with the hereditary prince, afterwards Frederic the Second, led his contingent under the standard of Eugene.

This army however, ill resembled those veteran forces whom Eugene had so often led to victory: it consisted of a motley multitude of raw peasant youths, unused to discipline; foreigners animated by no spirit but the hope of pay and plunder; and the German contingents, actuated

by

by the discordant principles and views of their leaders. Concord, unanimity, and subordination were banished from such an assemblage, and the different commanders were less attentive to the success of their operations than to their contests for rank and precedence *. Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

The situation of Eugene was embittered by the captious conduct of the duke of Bevern, who accused him of inactivity and peevishness. The prince, he insinuated to the Emperor, was only the shadow of what he was; his memory began to fail; he was broken both in body and mind, from a diffidence of his own powers, was governed by men of inferior capacities, and had reduced the Imperial army to a state of dishonourable inactivity †. In consequence of these suggestions the Emperor dispatched a spy to watch the conduct of Eugene; but the prince, though deeply affected with these unjust suspicions, would not hazard the fate of the house of Austria, by exposing the weakness of his army in a rash attack against an enemy far superior in number and resources. His great name still imposed on his antagonists; with a weak and divided army he curbed the exertions of the French, and the capture of Philipsburgh terminated the offensive operations of the campaign.

During this arduous campaign Eugene acted with a magnanimity worthy of his great mind; he repressed the feelings of indignation at the aspersions on his conduct and military skill, and seemed alive only to the dangers which menaced the house of Austria. Convinced, from past and present experience, that without the assistance of the Maritime Powers, the Emperor could no longer resist the formidable combination against him, he exerted his personal influence over George the Second, to rouse England from her supine indifference. He wrote a series of letters to general Diemar, his confidential agent at London, which were laid before the king, and which display the situation, and support the cause of the house of Austria, with equal spirit and strength of argument.

In the last of these letters, in which he resumes all his former arguments, he says, "I learn with extreme pleasure from you, that his

* Seckendorf's Lebenbeschreibung, vol. i. p. 181.

† Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, September 4, 1734.

Britannic

Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

Britannic majesty and his ministers appeared to be satisfied with the contents in my last letter. What has since happened, both by the capture of Philipsburgh and the battle of Parma, only serves still more to confirm the opinion, that the forces of the Emperor and Empire are insufficient to resist France and her allies, in addition to her secret and dangerous partisans in Germany. Knowing, as I do, the generous and noble sentiments of his Britannic majesty, I am fully convinced that he cannot, without extreme anxiety, behold the situation of the Emperor, which equally affects his interests and the interests of all Europe. I sincerely wish that the negotiations of Mr. Walpole * may produce the effect so justly expected by the Emperor, in consequence of the clear and positive engagements which he requires to be fulfilled.

" More than a year has elapsed since he was cruelly and unjustly attacked; and his States have been wrested from him one after the other, without the smallest step on the part of his allies to fulfil their engagements. Unfortunately for Europe, the balance, which the Maritime Powers wished to maintain between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, was unequal even when the house of Austria possessed Spain and the Indies; how much more unequal then is it become since the treaty of Utrecht, which deprived her of those dominions? What efforts also have not been employed to extort the consent of the Emperor to the introduction of the house of Bourbon into Italy! the source of all his present disasters, which would never have happened had he trusted less to a guaranty so solemn as that of the Maritime Powers. For it is well known to his Britannic majesty, that the Emperor had it in his power to secure the attachment of the house of Bourbon on his own terms, had he not sacrificed his advantages to public liberty, and to his inclination for an union with the two Maritime Powers, as the system most congenial to their reciprocal interests, and to the good of Europe. But the Emperor has done still more; he cheerfully complied with all the demands of the king as

* Alluding to Mr. Walpole's mission to the Hague. See Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch. xvii.

elector;

elector; for his sake, he deprived himself and his subjects of all the advantages derived from the commerce of the Indies: in fine, he yielded to every thing required of him, and even beyond what he ought to have done, for his own interests. In reward for all his concessions, the Maritime Powers look with an indolence, I may venture to call unparalleled, on the losses he has suffered, and on those which he is about to sustain. If they are determined to leave him without succours, why do they not ingenuously avow it? or, if they mean to assist him, why defer it till the evil may perhaps be without remedy, or till the remedy may be so difficult as not to be procured without an infinite waste of blood and treasure?

"I need not tell you, what is well known, that I was always inclined, and more than any other person, to the union with the Maritime Powers; and nothing will make me desert this principle, as long as they act with the same uprightness and candour as his Imperial majesty. But I cannot refrain from avowing my astonishment at their present conduct. Will it be a matter of surprise, should the Emperor, abandoned by those on whom he ought most to rely, be reduced to the extreme necessity of consenting to a measure *, on which he cannot reflect without horror? What then will become of the liberty of Europe; and who can justly reproach him for having taken the only step which can save him from destruction? Should he not take that step, should the house of Bourbon continue in possession of her present conquests, and those she is likely to make, will the liberty of Europe be more firmly established? Can the Maritime Powers imagine that the Emperor is too formidable, and the house of Bourbon too weak? Or can any one, attached to the interests of the king, believe that his Britannic majesty will not feel the fatal effects of the weakness to which the Emperor may be reduced; and that the house of Bourbon, to attain universal monarchy, will not raise herself on the ruins of that of Austria, destroy the commerce of the Maritime Powers, and establish the Pretender or his posterity on the throne of England!"—After endeavouring to alarm England by displaying the formidable

* The marriage of Don Carlos.

state

Chapter 11. 1733—1734.

state of the French and Spanish marine, the advantage they would derive from the establishment of the Infant on the throne of Naples and Sicily, he continues:—"Should any disaster happen to the English fleet, will the king be a single day secure from a debarkation on his coasts? and can he trust, that the attachment of the house of Bourbon to the family of the Pretender is extinct, when his eldest son is about to serve in the Spanish army in Naples and Sicily? What power will be able to guaranty the succession of the house of Hanover, and the commerce of the Maritime Powers, should the Emperor be reduced to so low a state as to be unable to make the same exertions as formerly?

"It will surely be no difficult matter to convince his Britannic majesty, that the interests of his family and the nation are as much concerned at this crisis as those of the house of Austria. The Emperor knows the good intentions of his Britannic majesty, which only increases his concern, that, contrary to the will of the king, those good intentions have hitherto produced so little effect: nor are they likely to produce more effect in future, if England dares not act without the concurrence of Holland. On the contrary, the spirited example of England would oblige the Dutch, however unwilling, to take a part which their own interest requires. Besides, if the Dutch fail in their engagements, is that a reason why England should fail also?

"Woe to Europe should the Maritime Powers persist in maintaining a disgraceful neutrality! Since the peace of the Pyrennees, has not the house of Bourbon been continually the aggressor in unjust wars? She has gained by every contest; and if she is to gain by the present crisis, it is putting additional power in her hands, of which she will make a bad use on the first opportunity. It is not by testifying a repugnance for war, that the house of Bourbon will be reduced to embrace principles of moderation and justice, but by firm and vigorous resolutions. Will Europe be ever a dupe to the manœuvres of France; and will the Emperor be always a sacrifice to the public advantage, although it is the general interest not to diminish the power of the house of Austria, the great support of public liberty? It is an abuse of common sense to think otherwise; and since the interests of the

the house of Austria are so closely united with those of his Britannic majesty and the British nation, no English minister ought to be permitted to act on other principles, as the ill effects will fall also on his Master and his country, which may one day be dissatisfied with his present conduct *.".

The spirited remonstrances of Eugene, however, were ineffectual; the king acknowledged the strength of his arguments, and was warmly disposed to succour the Emperor; but the sentiments of Sir Robert Walpole having gained the ascendancy, the British cabinet would not plunge the nation in a war, and the Emperor was left to his fate.

* This is a translation from the original letter in the Walpole collection.

CHAPTER 12.

1733—1739.

Motives of the Conduct of the Emperor in regard to the Polish Election and the subsequent Contest—Conduct of England and Holland—Ineffectual Attempts of the Emperor to obtain succours from England—His Intrigues, Memorials, and Appeals—Overtures and Negotiations for Peace—Campaigns of 1735 in Germany and Italy—Distress and Despondency of the Emperor, his Family, and Ministers—Signature of the Preliminaries with France—Accession of the Kings of Sardinia and Spain—Opposition of the Duke of Loraine to the Cession of Loraine and Bar—Conclusion of the Peace.

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

THE whole conduct of the Emperor relative to the Polish election, and the subsequent contest with the house of Bourbon, displays such a series of rashness and timidity, caution and violence, as were wholly incompatible with his character and principles.

This fluctuation was principally derived from the proceedings of the Maritime Powers, and particularly from the conduct of England. On the death of Augustus the Second, the British cabinet warmly approved the measures adopted by the Emperor, in concert with the Czarina and the king of Prussia, for the exclusion of Stanislaus, and the election of a prince agreeable to the neighbouring powers. With a view also to procure the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction from the new elector of Saxony, they encouraged the Emperor to support his pretensions to the crown of Poland, and did not even disapprove the violent manifesto against the court of France.

But when the Dutch were lulled by the French into a state of inactivity, and when the court of Versailles demanded a specific answer from the king of England, whether he intended to take part with the Emperor, the British ministry, apprehensive of a war, instantly changed their

their language, and dispatched courier after courier to Vienna, to prevent the Emperor from employing force in the Polish election. The Emperor complied with these instances, recalled his troops from Silesia, and affected to leave the whole conduct of the election to the Czarina.

He had nevertheless taken too decisive a part to recede; and although he did not march a single soldier into Poland, his embassador at Warsaw concurred with the Russian minister in his declarations against Stanislaus. Aware at the same time that this conduct would not soften the resentment of France, he was buoyed up with the hope of receiving assistance from England; and in a memorial to the British cabinet, urged that hostilities might be prevented, or at least repelled, if the Maritime Powers would declare in his favour. But England being deaf to these representations, France was encouraged to declare war against the house of Austria.

From the defenceless state of the Netherlands, the Imperial troops being withdrawn from the barrier towns to Luxembourg, the States General were alarmed, and concluded a neutrality with France, by which they agreed not to interfere in the contest relative to the Polish election. This treaty, by which the Dutch first abrogated their guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, furnished the pacific part of the British cabinet with an excuse for declining to assist the Emperor. On the 12th of November count Kinsky, the Imperial embassador in London, delivered a memorial, claiming the succours stipulated by the treaty of Vienna. The king, in answer declared, that as the rupture related solely to Polish affairs, in which he had only used his good offices, he must be satisfied that the demand was founded on positive engagements before he involved his people in a war. He must therefore carefully examine the question, consult his allies, particularly the States General, and take proper measures to provide for his own security, as well as to execute his engagements *.

Nov. 24, 1733.

* This deduction is drawn from several memorials in the Walpole papers, entitled, 'Conduct of England with regard to what passed in Poland since the death of Augustus, and the transactions in other parts relative thereto; extracted from the correspondence with his Majesty's ministers in foreign parts.'

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

As this reply did not amount to a positive refusal, the Emperor still entertained the most sanguine hopes of assistance from the Maritime Powers; and his hopes were flattered by the secret assurances of the king, through the medium of the correspondence between queen Caroline and the Empress, and by the inclination of the greater part of the cabinet. He was also induced to believe that a large majority of the nation were averse to the house of Bourbon, and friendly to the house of Austria; and he expected that the king would be enabled to carry his favourable intentions into execution at the opening of the ensuing sessions of Parliament.

In order to alarm Sir Robert Walpole, and the pacific part of the British cabinet, the Emperor affected to open a private negotiation with Spain; and count Kinsky, after requiring from the king a peremptory answer to the demand of succours, insinuated, that if the Emperor did not receive immediate assistance, he had no other alternative to prevent the total destruction of himself and his family than to give his second daughter in marriage to Don Carlos.

Charles anxiously waited for the result of this expedient, and for the opening of parliament, when he expected a declaration of war against France and Spain. It is difficult to express the astonishment, disappointment, and despair of the court of Vienna, when a letter from lord Harrington, announced the impossibility of assisting the Emperor that campaign; and declaring, that in the disastrous situation of his affairs, the king could not in justice object to the marriage of his second daughter with Don Carlos. When Feb. 1734. Mr. Robinson communicated this answer, the Imperial ministers received it with marks of the highest astonishment and indignation, and treated the alternative of the marriage, said to be proposed by count Kinsky, as a pretext invented to excuse the desertion and injustice of England; the Emperor himself positively disavowed his embassador, and in a sensible and spirited memorial, justified his conduct in the affairs of Poland, and bitterly inveighed against the British cabinet for the breach of the most solemn engagements.

After

After displaying his sacrifices for the friendship of England, he concludes:—"It is not for the Emperor to decide which of the Maritime Powers should first declare war; whether, as it is pretended in Holland, that the resolutions of the king and parliament ought to precede those of the States General, or whether the tardiness of the Dutch obstructs the promptitude and vigour of the king and parliament. It is equally unfortunate for the Emperor to be deprived of assistance under his present necessities. In the midst of these disastrous and unforeseen circumstances, the Emperor derives the greatest consolation from his knowledge of the real sentiments of his Britannic majesty. These sentiments remove the apprehensions which some endeavour to excite in his mind, that the assistance of the British nation may be withheld, or even retarded, at a juncture when it is requisite to fulfil treaties, and maintain the equilibrium of Europe. Inspired with confidence, he will exert all his power to repel the unjust aggressions of his enemies; and he leaves the event to that supreme Providence who decides the fate of battles and of kingdoms, determined rather to perish with his arms in his hands than to yield to dishonourable or disadvantageous conditions. But whatever may be the result of the war, it shall never be said that the Emperor could have done more to secure the liberty of Europe against the destruction with which it is threatened *."

Soon after the delivery of this memorial, England and the States tendered their good offices for an accommodation, and endeavoured to persuade the Emperor to acquiesce in the neutrality of the Netherlands. In this instance Charles consulted his magnanimity rather than his strength, disdainfully rejected the proposed neutrality, and even threatened to remove the war into Flanders, by attacking France on the side of Luxemburgh. He still, however, deceived himself with respect to the intentions of the Maritime Powers, as England displayed some appearance of spirit, by a trifling augmentation of the marine force, and by the mission of Mr. Walpole to the Hague to counteract the influence of France †.

* Memorial in the Walpole papers. † Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. xvii.

At

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

At length, finding that the whole summer was wasted in equivocal negotiations, and that his repeated and peremptory demands of succour were only answered by offers of mediation, he was irritated at the conduct of England; and his indignation was still further excited by suspicions that a plan of pacification was arranging between the Maritime Powers and France. He attributed this conduct wholly to the influence of Sir Robert Walpole and his brother Mr. Walpole, who principally managed the negotiations at the Hague; and relying on the divided state of the cabinet, and the secret inclinations of the king, he attempted to renew the chimerical project which he had adopted in 1726, of appealing to the nation against the minister.

"I have been confirmed," he wrote to count Kinsky, "by your's of the 19th, in the opinion which I before entertained of the sentiments of the English court.—I had good reasons to mistrust the conduct of the Walpoles soon after the conclusion of the treaty with England on the 16th of March 1731; but the strong and repeated assurances which I received, that it was intended to fulfil the guaranties, removed my doubts. From that time I have never failed in a due attention to the king and the royal family, and in doing every thing which could be agreeable to the present administration.

"On the death of the king of Poland, my first care was to communicate to the king of England the principles on which I acted. I took no step without making a previous and confidential overture to him, and I followed, in every instance, his advice. In conformity with his representations, I entered into an accommodation with the present king of Poland. In deference to his counsels, I sent no troops into Poland; I consented to every measure which the king of England recommended in regard to Don Carlos; and, while my conduct has excited jealousies in others, I have no reason to be satisfied with the manner in which I am treated. When the discontents against the Walpoles were carried to so great a height, and when Chavigni and Montijo * endeavoured to increase them, you, on the contrary, exerted all your efforts in favour of

* The French and Spanish embassadors at London.

the

the court, although even at that period I was apprised that the Walpoles would return my services with ingratitude.

" England has never failed to give me promises both before and since the commencement of the war; but instead of fulfilling those promises, she has even favoured my enemies. This behaviour, however, has not induced me to address myself to the king of England otherwise than in the most amicable terms; and to represent to him, in the most affecting manner, the imminent danger which threatens to overwhelm not only the house of Austria, but all Europe, and more particularly his royal family, as well as the honour and prosperity of the English nation. But these representations have not hitherto had any effect.

" This fatal inactivity has now continued for eleven months; and although the evil might have been easily prevented, yet the whole is left exposed to the most dangerous extremities. These very extremities, of which England is the occasion, are made a pretext to palliate and excuse the want of assistance; and this want of assistance is urged as an inducement to compel me to accept an unjust and dishonourable peace.

" It is not easy to conceive any measure less equitable and more pernicious; and it must appear evident to every impartial observer, that the English ministry, in direct contradiction to the good intentions of the king, has made overtures to me, with no other view than to suffer my hereditary states in Italy to fall under the dominion of Spain; and I am fully convinced that those who persuade the king to act in this manner, are not better inclined to the king and to the nation than to me. * * * * * * * *

" Having, therefore, many reasons to believe that the Walpoles have for some time prevented the good intentions of the king in my favour, my views have been always directed on one side, not to do any thing of which the king could complain, as if I were endeavouring to excite the nation against him, until I was sufficiently acquainted with the situation of affairs; and on the other side, if the private interests and intrigues of the Walpoles should prevail over the obligations of the

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

English nation, and the security and glory of the public good, to be prepared with sound and vigorous answers to all the arguments advanced, in justification of such an infamous proceeding. With this view, I have been ever ready to refute the objections drawn partly from the bad situation of affairs in the Low Countries, and partly from the private and unjustifiable negotiations of Boltza *. I have considered it also as no less expedient not only to employ every effort to shew that the Maritime Powers do not lie under the necessity of employing as many forces as they maintained during the last war; and I have collected all the representations made to Robinson before and since the rupture, that, should it be thought proper to lay before the public the whole series of affairs, the ill conduct of the Walpoles may be made manifest. For the same reason I have unwillingly consented not to publish all the pieces which relate to the answer of the Spanish manifesto; and I now evidently perceive the hidden and perfidious views of the English ministry in opposing the publication.

* * * * * * *

"You have therefore done right in counteracting, there, where it was necessary, the insinuations of the Walpoles against me, and in developing to all the real state of the question, and by whose means affairs have been brought into their present dangerous situation. I also entirely approve your resolution to address yourself to the king, to convince him of the extraordinary attention you have always shewn not to do any thing which might be disagreeable to him; and at the same time to represent to him the necessity which you are under of no longer permitting the circulation of those ill-founded reports, which are not only contrary to my interests, but also to my honour, and no less destructive to the true prosperity of his royal family.

"The king himself will have no difficulty in judging, whether I or the house of Bourbon are most inclined to court his friendship. Let him know that I never will consent to the plan of pacification now in agitation; that I had rather suffer the worst extremities than accede

* Boltza, an Imperial agent who was at this time charged with endeavouring to negotiate an accommodation with Spain.

to

to such disadvantageous proposals; and that, even if I should not be able to prevent them, I will justify my honour and my dignity, by publishing a circumstantial account of all the transactions, together with all the documents which I have now in possession.

"If all these representations fail, and if the Walpoles continue their unjustifiable conduct, means must be taken to publish and circulate throughout England our answer to the proposal of good offices, which was not made till after the expiration of nine months. You will concert with count Uhlfeld* the best method to effect that purpose, and contrive that the answer shall appear to have been first published in Holland without our concurrence. But should the court of London proceed so far as to make such propositions of peace as are supposed to be in agitation, you will not delay a moment to circulate throughout England a pro memoria, containing a recapitulation of all negotiations which have taken place since 1718, together with the authentic documents, detailing my just complaints, and reclaiming in the most solemn manner the execution of the guarantees†."

Failing in this attempt to alarm the minister, and compel him to act offensively against France, the Emperor redoubled his cabals with the opposition, and endeavoured to remove Sir Robert Walpole by means of a meddling emissary whom he dispatched to England. This agent was Strickland, an English roman catholic, and an adherent of the Pretender, by whose interest he had been promoted to the abbey of St. Pierre de Prou in Normandy. During the quarrel between the Emperor and George the First in 1726, he maintained a correspondence with the opposition, and through their interest with the Emperor was appointed bishop of Namur. He was afterwards a spy to the English minister, and by order of George the Second lord Harrington strongly solicited the court of Vienna to obtain for him a cardinal's hat, that he might reside at Rome for the purpose of watching the Pretender. With this strong recommendation he repaired to Vienna,

* The Imperial minister in Holland.

† A copy of this letter from the Emperor to Kinsky is preserved in the Walpole papers.

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

and improved the good opinion already entertained of him by the Emperor from the reforms which he had introduced into his diocese.

Having attracted the notice of the Empress, he gained her confidence by his plausible manners, and was admitted to a private audience of the Emperor. He conciliated the suspicious character of Charles by strictures on his ministers, and by presenting plans for reforming the government. He boasted of his influence in England, availed himself of lord Harrington's recommendation, and represented himself as able either to force Sir Robert Walpole into the war, or to obtain his removal by means of the king and queen, and of the party attached to the house of Austria.

The Emperor, fond of new schemes, embraced this proposal, supplied the bishop of Namur with credential letters to the king and queen, and furnished him with numerous documents justifying the measures of his own cabinet, and criminating the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole. He was dispatched to England without the knowledge of any of the ministers except Sinzendorf and Bartenstein, under pretence of thanking the king for having procured the Emperor's promise to nominate him a cardinal. On his arrival in London, under a feigned name, he had a long and secret conference with lord Harrington, was graciously received by the king and queen; and reports began to circulate that he had been successful in his endeavours to obtain the dismission of the Walpoles.

But these attempts served only to strengthen the influence of Sir Robert Walpole, and to frustrate the schemes of the Emperor. At the representations of the minister the meddling emissary was civilly dismissed; and the queen, in a letter to the Empress, contradicted the erroneous reports of Kinsky and the bishop of Namur, and declared that England could not enter into hostilities*. The Emperor, at length undeceived, defeated in all his attempts, and disappointed in all his hopes, reluctantly agreed to accept the good offices, and admit the mediation of the Maritime Powers.

Nov. 1734.

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. xxxiv. and Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 144—208—Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

In

In consequence of his consent, the Maritime Powers proposed an armistice, and produced a project of pacification, which had been secretly concerted with France. The principal articles were the abdication of Stanislaus, who was, however, to retain the title of king, with the disposal of his estates in Poland; in return for the restitution of the conquered states, the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction by France and the king of Sardinia, and the immediate possession of Parma and Placentia, with the reversion of Tuscany, Leghorn excepted, which was to be made a republic, the Emperor was to acknowledge Don Carlos king of the two Sicilies, and cede to the king of Sardinia the provinces of Tortona, Novarra, and the Vigenevasco. Feb. 28, 1735.

To this project the Emperor proposed many alterations which were inadmissible; but at length accepted the plan as a basis for an accommodation, on condition that Leghorn should not be separated from Tuscany, and that the allies should declare their approbation in two months. He was induced to give this assent, though reluctantly, from the hopes of being able to delay, if not frustrate the project; and his hopes were encouraged by a series of events which seemed to announce the approach of a general war. A great coldness had taken place between England and France, relative to the pacification. During the negotiation, Fleury affected to demand no compensation for France; but when the plan was divulged, it excited general indignation among the French; and it was considered as highly dishonourable to their monarch to desert his father-in-law, in support of whom the war had been undertaken, merely to obtain the transfer of some dominions in Italy for Don Carlos and the king of Sardinia. The Cardinal therefore availed himself of the premature disclosure of the plan in the speech made by George the Second on the opening of the new parliament, and after much complaint, prevarication, and delay, he refused to fulfil his promise *. 1735. April 1.

The queen of Spain was equally averse to a project which wrested from her family Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, at the moment when

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. xliv. and Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch. xvii. xviii.

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

the expulsion of the Emperor from Italy seemed inevitable, and had made several overtures to the court of Vienna to renew the engagements for the marriage of an Archduchess with the Infant. The king of Sardinia was scarcely less alarmed than the Emperor with the progress of the combined army in Lombardy; he was aware that the expulsion of the house of Austria would destroy the balance of Italy, and leave him solely in the power of the house of Bourbon. As early as June 1734, he had made overtures to the king of England, in which he disclosed his secret treaty with France, inveighed against the conduct and plans of cardinal Fleury and the court of Spain, displayed his own danger, and requested the king's mediation to negotiate a separate peace with the Emperor. He afterwards even exhorted the Emperor to deliver him from the servitude in which he had involved himself by his union with the house of Bourbon, and offered to join his troops with the Imperialists, if the Maritime Powers would enter into the war, and a sufficient force could be brought into Italy to secure him from the resentment of France and Spain *.

In consequence of this disunion among the allies, the Emperor carried on secret negotiations with the respective courts, occasionally with the connivance of the British cabinet, but sometimes without their knowledge; and, with a view to alarm the Maritime Powers, his ministers declared in different courts of Europe, that their master had the means of concluding a separate accommodation.

The affairs of the north wore a favourable aspect. Stanislaus besieged in Dantzick where he had taken refuge, made a desperate defence for several months against the combined armies and the Russian fleet which blockaded the harbour. Perceiving resistance to be ineffectual, he made his escape, and after a series of the most romantic adventures,

* Letter from the king of Sardinia to George the Second in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. iii.—Communications of the Chevalier Ossorio to the king and ministers, June 20, 1734, and Letter from the Emperor to count Kinsky. Walpole papers.

arrived

arrived at Marienwerder in Prussia*. Dantzick instantly submitted, and all Poland acknowledged Augustus the Third. Hence the king of Poland was enabled to reinforce his Saxon contingent in Germany; the Czarina dispatched a corps of 16,000 troops to the Rhine, and was preparing to march a still greater force; the king of Denmark had recently concluded a subsidiary treaty with England, and seemed inclined to take an active part against the house of Bourbon.

A violent dispute between Spain and Portugal seemed to announce an immediate rupture. The servants of Don Cabral de Belmonte, the Portuguese minister at Madrid, were imprisoned for rescuing a malefactor from the officers of justice. The embassador having complained of this insult as an infraction of the law of nations, was warmly supported by the court of Lisbon, who retaliated by sending nineteen domestics of the Spanish embassador to prison. As neither of the violent and punctilious monarchs would give the satisfaction reciprocally demanded, the two ministers retired from their respective embassies; both nations prepared for hostilities, the king of Portugal demanded assistance from England and from the Emperor in virtue of subsisting treaties, and exhorted them to conclude an offensive alliance. He publicly said, the time is now arrived to reduce Philip to reason; Spain is without troops, a small number of Portuguese will overrun the country; and Philip will be compelled to recal his armies from Italy for the defence of his own kingdom. By this diversion the force of the allies will be weakened, the Imperial troops may again acquire the ascendancy, and the attempts of the house of Bourbon to humi-

* Extract of a letter, on the escape of Stanislaus, to M. de Borch, dated Berlin, July 10, 1734.

"Les nouvelles de Prusse disent, que le roy Stanislaus après etre sorti la nuit du 28 ou 29, habillé en miserable Paisan et s'etant sauvé sur une Naçelle par l'inondation, a été de part et d'autre, et après avoir marché six lieües à pied, il est arrivé sur un miserable chariot de Paisan le 3 de Juillii à Marienwerder, tout extenué de faim et de soif, une chemise noir a couvert son corps, et s'étant fait reconnoitre de l'officier Prussien, il a ete accucilli d'une maniere fort touchante, et on a d'abord fourni dont il avant besoin. Le roy Stanislaus paroissoit très ferme dans sa malheureuse situation, et se faisoit admirer par sa constance melée de douceur et d'affabilité." Walpole papers.

liate

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

liate the house of Austria be frustrated *. These sentiments were too congenial to the opinion of Charles not to be received with avidity; he made unbounded promises of assistance, and privately encouraged the king of Portugal to agree to no accommodation with Spain, "because" he said "the British ministry dare not leave Portugal destitute of help, and in that case must, however unwillingly, come forward to the assistance of the house of Austria †."

England seemed to awaken from her pacific lethargy; and Sir Robert Walpole himself was foremost in recommending and enforcing the necessity of the most active exertions; he carried two motions through the house of commons "for taking 30,000 seamen and 26,000 soldiers into pay, in addition to 12,000 men in Ireland, and 6,000 Danes, according to the subsidiary treaty with Denmark ‡." A squadron of twenty-five ships of the line was preparing to sail for the protection of Portugal; Mr. Walpole exerted all his influence at the Hague to rouse the Dutch to similar exertions; the States General recommended an augmentation of troops, and the British ministers, in every court of Europe, inveighed against the perfidy of France.

Feb. 7, 1735.

Impressed with new hopes of drawing the Maritime Powers into the war, the Emperor delivered a memorial to the British and Dutch ministers at Vienna, written in a high tone of confidence. This memorial recapitulated and justified the several pieces delivered by the Emperor since the publication of the project for an accommodation, and expatiated on his readiness to concur in the armistice, and on his inclination for peace. It inferred, from the delays and warlike preparations of the allies, the extent and danger of their ambitious designs, and urged the necessity of preventing or opposing them, for which the situation of Portugal seemed to present a favourable opportunity. He still, however, disclaimed any intention to recede from his pacific declarations, and offered to conclude an armistice, and open a negotiation for a general peace, provided it could be settled without delay or pre-

May 23.

* Lord Tyrawley's Dispatches to the d. of Newcastle, April 1st, 1735.

† The Emperor to Wasner, June 4, 1735. Walpole papers.

‡ Journals. Chandler's Debates.

judice to his affairs or pretensions. The plan of pacification was to be adopted as the basis of the peace, except the separation of Leghorn from Tuscany. The conferences were to be held at the Hague, under the mediation of the Maritime Powers; and the discussions confined to those matters alone, which immediately concerned the contracting parties. An armistice was to be concluded for two months, during which all the dominions of the neutral princes were to be evacuated, and no military contributions to be levied on the states of the Empire. Charles also required from the Maritime Powers a secret declaration to be signed at the same time as the preliminaries, that they would indemnify him for all infraction of the armistice, and should the negotiation prove unsuccessful, would fulfil the guaranty stipulated by the treaty of 1731.

The Emperor was aware that these terms were inadmissible; because the allies would never consent to relinquish their conquests, without being secure of a general peace; but from the recent events, and the appearance of vigour displayed by the Maritime Powers, he hoped to draw them into his views, and looked forward to the renewal of a grand alliance against the house of Bourbon.

Although these hopes were totally dissipated, yet the spirited appeal of the Emperor brought his affairs to a crisis. The leading members of the United States resisted all the attempts of Mr. Walpole to rouse them to exertion, and, while their own country was not attacked, finally declared, that not only the loss of the Emperor's dominions in Italy, but even the invasion of his hereditary countries, would not induce the republic to enter into a war*. In consequence of this resolution lord Harrington, who accompanied the king to Hanover, delivered to count Kinsky a verbal answer to the Emperor's memorial. After displaying the ineffectual attempts to induce the Dutch to arm, he said, "his majesty thinks himself bound in honour, justice, and affection, to represent the true state of the case, and is with regret compelled to undeceive the Emperor in his hopes of engaging England separately, at least for the present. Our engagements in the treaty of Vienna

* Mr. Walpole's Dispatches.

being

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

being reciprocal with those of the Dutch, are considered in England as an obligation to be fulfilled by both. The apprehension also of driving Holland into the arms of France, the great and unequal burden required for the support of such a war, the small probability of success, and above all the danger of irretrievably diverting the most valuable branches of our trade into other channels, render it a matter of the most extreme difficulty, if not impossible, to extort the consent of the English nation.

" Under these circumstances, as the Emperor cannot prosecute the war beyond this campaign; the king can only serve him by negotiation; and if his Imperial majesty can extricate himself from his present difficulties by a separate agreement with any of his enemies, as his ministers have frequently insinuated, and will open himself in confidence, the king will readily give his assistance, and thinks he can answer for the concurrence of the States*." Mr. Robinson was at the same time instructed to make a similar communication to the ministers at Vienna.

The surprise and indignation of the Imperial court, was still greater at this communication than at the first refusal of the Maritime Powers to fulfil their engagements in the beginning of 1734. Mr. Robinson could only draw from them sullen and violent declarations of astonishment and affliction, on seeing their master abandoned by the only power on whom he principally relied for assistance. They disavowed the assertions of the Imperial embassadors, that the Emperor had the means of extricating himself from his distress, and protested that, deserted as he was by his friends, he had no other alternative but to submit to the mercy of his enemies. He must give up the Low Countries, and all his foreign possessions, and concentrate his force within his hereditary dominions, where he would be great enough for himself, though not useful to others. Count Sinzendorf passionately exclaimed, " What a severe sentence have you passed on the Emperor; no malefactor was ever carried with so hard a doom to the gibbet; I would

* Lord Harrington to Mr. Robinson, Hanover, June 1734. Walpole papers.

burn

burn Amsterdam, and give up Flanders. There neither is nor can be any separate negotiation *." Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

In the midst of this dreadful state of suspense the armies had taken the field. In Germany, Eugene had reluctantly resumed the command of the Imperial forces. At the commencement of the year he had declared to the Emperor that he could not undertake to carry on the war without the assistance of the Maritime Powers. "To find myself," he said, "in the same condition as last year will be only exposing myself to the censure of the world, which judges by appearances, as if I were less capable in my old age to support the reputation of my former successes †." But his scruples were overruled by his attachment to his master, and with a force of no more than 30,000 men he kept in check the French army which amounted to 100,000.

In Italy, the Imperial army experienced a series of disasters; the conquest of Sicily was completed by the captures of Messina and Syracuse, and on the 3d of July Don Carlos was crowned king of the Two Sicilies. In Lombardy, count Konigseg, unable to resist the French and Sardinian army, who were joined by a considerable number of Spanish troops under the duke de Montemar, retreated beyond the Adige, into the passes of the Tyrol and the bishopric of Trent; Mirandola surrendered to the Spanish general, and Mantua, the only remnant of the Imperial possessions in Italy was menaced with a blockade. 1735.

The distress of the Emperor, at the disastrous state of his affairs and the desertion of his allies, was aggravated by the divisions in his court between the Austrian and Spanish ministers, who mutually accused each other as the cause of his misfortunes. In consequence of the absence of prince Eugene and count Konigseg, the Spanish party had gained great ascendancy, and being apprehensive lest the loss of the Italian dominions might occasion the abolition of their places and salaries, they strongly recommended the Emperor to make a separate

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches to lord Harrington, July 7, 1735. Grantham papers.
† Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

accommodation with Spain, by giving the eldest archduchess to Don Carlos, or even both his daughters to the Spanish princes.

The repeated remonstrances of Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, who had now attained her eighteenth year, and was passionately attached to the duke of Loraine, to whom she was betrothed, increased the Emperor's embarrassment. To use the words of the English minister, "She is a princess of the highest spirit; her father's losses are her own. She reasons already; she enters into affairs; she admires his virtues, but condemns his mismanagement; and is of a temper so formed for rule and ambition as to look upon him as little more than her administrator. Notwithstanding this lofty humour by day, she sighs and pines all night for her duke of Loraine. If she sleeps it is only to dream of him, if she wakes it is but to talk of him to the lady in waiting; so that there is no more probability of her forgetting the very individual government, and the very individual husband which she thinks herself born to, than of her forgiving the authors of her losing either *."

The empress also incessantly reechoed the remonstrances of her daughter, and the complaints of the German ministers, and exhorted the Emperor to follow other counsels, and adopt other measures. Charles was distracted with the disastrous state of his affairs, harassed by the remonstrances of his family, and distrusting all his ministers, was reduced to the most abject state of despondency. During the dead of the night, and while alone with the Empress, he gave a loose to his affliction; his life was endangered, and even his understanding affected by the conflict of contending passions †.

Under these impressions of alarm and despondency, Charles adopted the desperate resolution which he had before deprecated, of effecting a separate and secret accommodation with France. While he had entertained the smallest hopes of assistance from the Maritime Powers, he had, by means of the Pretender, the Papal Nuntio at Brussels, and

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, July 5, 1735.

† Ibid. Also intelligence from Vienna, 1735. Walpole papers.

even

even of the Pope himself, made illusory overtures to cardinal Fleury. But finding that he should be compelled, even by acceding to the mediation of the Maritime Powers, to yield a considerable portion of his Italian dominions, he deemed it more honourable and more advantageous to close with the offers of France without their intervention. A secret negotiation was opened through the means of count Niewied; and La Beaume, a confidential agent of cardinal Fleury, was dispatched to Vienna. The Emperor hastened the conclusion of the treaty by alarming the Cardinal with pretended negotiations with Spain and the king of Sardinia, and while he amused the Maritime Powers, who were attempting to divide the allies, and projecting schemes of accommodation, the preliminaries with France were suddenly signed at Vienna on the 3d of October *.

By these preliminaries the Emperor consented to the immediate cession of the Duchy of Bar to France, and the reversion of Loraine when the duke should be put into possession of Tuscany. The other articles were conformable to the original plan of pacification presented by the Maritime Powers, except in regard to some of the cessions offered to the king of Sardinia. The signature of the preliminaries had been preceded by a virtual though not a formal armistice in Germany, and no material event had taken place, except a skirmish at Claussen between a corps of Imperialists, under count Seckendorf, and a detachment of the French army on the Moselle, which was the last action of the war in Germany †.

In Italy, the siege of Mantua had been retarded by the jealousy of the king of Sardinia, and the intrigues of cardinal Fleury, both of whom were averse to suffer that important fortress to fall into the hands of Spain ‡.

In consequence of these sentiments, the king of Sardinia discontinued his offensive operations, though he did not accede to the armistice till the 22d of February; but the court of Spain irritated at

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches, 1735.

† Seckendorf's Lebenbeschreibung.

‡ Earl Waldegrave's Dispatches from Paris, 1733.

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

the secession of France, and disappointed in their hopes of obtaining Parma and Tuscany, and acquiring Mantua, refused to ratify the suspension of arms; and the duke de Montemar, deserted by the French and Sardinians, could not maintain his conquests in Lombardy; Konigseg recrossed the Po, drove the Spaniards from the walls of Mantua, and pursuing his success, compelled them to retreat into Tuscany. At length Montemar, threatened by the Imperial army, and alarmed for the safety of Naples and Sicily, consented to a provisional suspension of arms, which was afterwards ratified by the court of Madrid.

Thus terminated the events of the war; but it was long before the definitive treaty was finally arranged. Delays arose from the avidity of the king of Sardinia to increase his dominions on the side of the Milanese, and from the captious and irritable temper of the queen of Spain, who was unwilling to relinquish the possession of Parma and Tuscany. France also was eager to obtain the immediate cession of Loraine in addition to Bar; while the Emperor retained his unwillingness to admit a prince of the House of Bourbon into Italy, and to cede the districts in the Milanese required by the king of Sardinia. His ministers were no less intractable; and Vienna exhibited a motley scene of cabal, intrigue, impatience, and procrastination.

Another difficulty arose from the duke of Loraine, who was unwilling to renounce his family inheritance, and required an adequate compensation if Loraine was ceded to France before the death of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Mr. Robinson, in one of his dispatches, gives a pathetic and interesting account of his extreme distress and agitation on this occasion. "In an audience which I demanded of him, to announce the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Saxe Gotha, he interrupted me in the midst of his compliments to pour out his joy at the marriage, and his respect and veneration for the king, which he first expressed aloud; but lest any of his attendants in the next room might overhear, he retreated with me to the window of an adjoining apartment, and said, with the greatest emotion, "Good God, where are you; where

are the Maritime Powers! As for my part," he continued, "I rely upon the king singly, and not upon treaties; not upon formal promises, but upon what his majesty has told me over and over by word of mouth." "If his words expressed the highest agony and distress, his gestures and actions expressed no less: he threw himself in a reclining posture, and in an inconsolable manner, upon the arms and end of an adjoining table and chair." "Such also," adds Mr. Robinson, "is the extreme agitation of his mind, that his health is affected by it; he owns he has no friend to look up to, and that next to God and the Emperor, all his fortune depends on the king of England *."

These complicated disputes would have still further prolonged the final arrangement of the definitive treaty, had not the pacific spirit of Sir Robert Walpole and cardinal Fleury interposed; and had not the Emperor, eager to join Russia in a war against the Turks, with the hopes of indemnifying himself on the side of Bosnia for the loss of Naples and Sicily, found it necessary to secure the peace of Italy.

Charles therefore prevailed on his son-in-law to consent to the immediate cession of Loraine, in consequence of receiving from France an annual pension of 450,000 livres, until he obtained possession of Tuscany, and agreed to satisfy the king of Sardinia. But the definitive treaty was not signed with France until the 8th of November 1738; the king of Sardinia acceded on the 3d of February 1739, and the kings of Spain and Naples on the 21st of April.

By this treaty Stanislaus renounced the crown of Poland, retaining only the title, and obtained the duchies of Loraine and Bar, which, after his death, were to be united to France. Tuscany was to be secured to the duke of Loraine, who had been permitted to take possession of that duchy on the death of the Great Duke, July 29, 1737. Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily; the king of Sardinia obtained the provinces of Novarra and Tortona, the lordships of St. Fidele, Torre de Forti, Gravedo, and Campo Maggiore, and

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. xlvi.

the

Chapter 12. 1733—1739.

the territory of the Langhes. In return the Emperor acquired Parma and Placentia, and received from France and Sardinia the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction *.

* The contents of this chapter are principally taken from the Memoirs of Sir Robert and Lord Walpole—The Dispatches and Papers of Mr. Robinson, Mr. Walpole, and lord Waldegrave—Various Letters and Memorials of the Emperor and the Imperial ministers, and particularly from several papers containing A Précis of the Conduct of England from the Death of Augustus the Second to the Signature of the Preliminaries. Also Struvius—Rousset—Pfeffel—Heiss—Schirach—and the other biographers of Charles the Sixth, have been consulted.

CHAPTER 13.

1736, 1737.

Marriage of the Archduchess Maria Theresa with Francis duke of Loraine—Death of prince Eugene—Fatal consequences of that Event—State of the Court and Cabinet—Ministers of the Conference—Rise, Character, and Influence of Bartenstein—Origin of the Turkish War—Campaign of 1737—Disgrace of Seckendorf, the Commander in Chief—Causes which contributed to the ill Success of the Imperial Arms.

Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

CHARLES had long designed his eldest daughter for Francis Stephen duke of Loraine and Bar, grandson of his sister Leonora, and son of the benevolent Leopold, duke of Loraine, by Elizabeth Charlotte, daughter of Philip duke of Orleans. He was born in 1708, and was educated under the auspices and at the court of Charles the Sixth. Charles had protracted the declaration of the match to lure the queen of Spain with the hopes of an union between their two families, and from an apprehension, lest France should avail herself of that pretext to seize the duchy of Loraine. But no longer influenced by these motives, the nuptials were solemnized at Vienna on the 12th of February 1736, soon after the conclusion of the preliminaries. Charles, however, omitted no precaution to secure the succession to his dominions in the male line of his family. By the contract of marriage Maria Theresa ratified the Pragmatic Sanction, and engaged to form no pretensions to the inheritance of the house of Austria should her father have male issue; and the Duke solemnly promised never to assert personally any right of succession to the Austrian dominions. By this marriage the two branches of the antient house of Alsace, which are said to have derived their respective origins from duke Eticho, in the seventh century, and to have formed the lines of Hapsburgh and Loraine, were reunited in the same stock *.

The joy of this auspicious event was soon overcast by the death of prince Eugene. That great man preserved his abilities and spirits, even in a very advanced age; and after having personally braved the most imminent perils in many battles and sieges, in which he was often

* De Luca Geneal. Table, No. 4.—Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 571.

the

Chapter LI. 1736, 1737.

the first to mount the breach, he died tranquilly at Vienna in the night of the 20th of April 1736, in the 73d year of his age *.

Every honour was paid to the memory of Eugene which the gratitude of the sovereign could dictate. The body was embalmed, and the heart sent to Turin to be deposited in the royal tomb with the ashes of his illustrious ancestors. The corpse lay in grand state for three days, with the coat of mail, helmet, and gauntlets hung over its head, and was interred in the metropolitan church of St. Stephen. Charles himself, with his whole court, assisted incognito at the ceremony, the pall was supported by sixteen general officers, and the funeral was solemnised with the same honours as were paid to the remains of the Imperial family †.

The loss of Eugene was highly unfortunate at this period, not only on account of the approaching war with Turkey, but in consequence of an essential change which had taken place in the conduct and sentiments of the Emperor. Prince Eugene was the only person who would venture, or was able to take the lead, in matters of state, and it was observed by a person capable of appreciating his talents and influence, that during the two last years of his life, even the remainder of what he had been, kept things in some order, as his very yes or no, during his sounder age, had kept them in the best ‡.

In addition to the former ministers the conference had been increased by the admission of count Harrach, who had filled the posts of embassador at Madrid, and viceroy of Naples, and count Konigseg, commander in chief of the army in Italy, who was vice-president of the council of war, and appointed president soon after the death of Eugene. But the Emperor was more than ever distrustful of his

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington.

"Vienna, April 21, 1737.

"When prince Eugene's servants went into his chamber this morning they found him extinguished in his bed like a taper. He dined yesterday as usual, and played cards at night with his ordinary company, but with such appearance as prognosticated to nice observers the crisis of his life. The strongest instances of his best friends and servants could never prevail upon him to take the least remedy to loosen the phlegm, which he had not natural force enough to throw from his stomach, and which, to judge by the little pain he seemed to feel in the day-time, must have suffocated him but very gently in the night. In a word, my lord, his life was glorious, and his death easy."

† Life of prince Eugene, p. 221.

‡ Mr. Robinson to Mr. Walpole, June 27, 1736. Walpole papers.

principal

principal ministers, and placed his whole confidence in Bartenstein, referendary of the conference. Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

John Christopher Bartenstein was son of a professor at Strasburgh *, and came to Vienna in 1714. Being an agent or solicitor in one of the tribunals, he gained the good will of count Staremberg by the successful management of a law-suit, and made himself so useful in drawing memorials, that in 1730 he was introduced into the chancery, or office for foreign affairs, and became referendary, or secretary to the conference. The complicated negotiations at the period of his introduction, and the absence of the chancellor count Sinzendorf, at the congress of Soissons, gave him an opportunity of displaying his talents and knowledge of foreign affairs; and the customary mode in which the Emperor transacted business with his ministers, by writing, brought him into notice as the channel of communication.

Charles, though haughty and reserved with his principal ministers, was familiar and condescending with those of a lower station, who had frequent access to his person, and Bartenstein possessed penetration, talents, and temper, which enabled him gradually to acquire the full confidence and favour of his sovereign. He was lavish in flattering the personal vanity of the Emperor, and cherished his notions of romantic glory and preeminent dignity. He possessed, in a high degree, all the arts of cavil and chichanery; and the quality which most endeared him to the Emperor was his dexterity in starting subtleties and difficulties without end. He furnished Charles with materials to refute and perplex his own ministers, and was the agent of a secret correspondence which his master maintained with his foreign embassadors.

By these means Bartenstein rapidly increased his influence, and at this period swayed the counsels of the Emperor †. Though only in a subordinate situation, he received communications from the foreign courts, in the same manner as the members of the conference, and

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, 1731.

† His influence was so great that the foreign ministers applied to him the French proverb, "qu'il faisoit la pluie et le beau tems."

Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

was even able to humble or disgrace those ministers who refused to submit to his controul. He contrived to remove the bishop of Bemberg from his post of vice-chancellor of the Empire, for saying in a conference, "that his business was not to speak but to write;" and would have obtained the dismission of count Konigseg from the council of war, for advising the Emperor "to trust his military affairs rather to his generals than to his clerks," had not Konigseg been supported by prince Eugene, and afterwards humbled himself to the favourite. He even behaved with extreme haughtiness to the duke of Loraine; and, when his highness objected to the cession of Loraine without an equivalent, replied, "*Monseigneur point de cession point d'Archiduchesse**." He was of a sanguine, jealous, and implacable temper, which he concealed under an exterior of composure and politeness; and as he rose by his pen, was vain of his writings, and fond of argumentation and invective. He possessed uncommon volubility of tongue, and frequently overwhelmed with a deluge of words those ministers to whom he was unwilling to give a specific answer, and whom he dismissed without allowing them the smallest respite to introduce their business †. It is but justice, however, to the character of Bartenstein, to add, that he was incorruptible, and sincerely and enthusiastically attached to the glory and interests of the house of Austria.

Bartenstein was at first favourably inclined towards the Maritime Powers, and promoted with all his influence the treaty of 1731; but,

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Dec. 31, 1738.

† Mr. Keith gives a singular instance of Bartenstein's behaviour in his account of his first interview.

"I told your grace in my former letter that I was going to Bartenstein's. I went accordingly; and, after the first compliments were over, I began to talk about the orders I had received, in relation to the project: but, instead of answering, he entered into a dissertation upon treaties, negotiations, preliminaries, &c. and without stopping, talked on for near an hour, without my being able to get in one word, though I endeavoured several times to interrupt him; so I left him as wise as I went. This may seem very odd; but, I do assure your grace, it is literally true; and, from that behaviour of his, I begin to have a very bad opinion of the success of my commission, for I am very far mistaken if he does not in a great measure direct the counsels of this court.

being

being disgusted with their refusal to fulfil their engagements, and moved by the complaints of the Emperor, had earnestly supported the alliance with France *. Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

Count Sinzendorf was at this time little more than a cypher, and was treated by the Emperor with great marks of contempt and aversion. Having lost a considerable part of his estates by the death of his wife, he was embarrassed with debts, and employed in a chimerical project to obtain a cardinal's hat, in hopes of recovering his influence and improving his fortune †.

Count Staremberg, from his age, natural timidity and indifference, was ill calculated and disinclined to thwart the influence of the referendary.

Count Harrach, who owed his elevation to the favour of Bartenstein, was of a supple disposition, and readily yielded to the current; and count Konigseg, who was raised to his high station from the general wish of the army, rather than from the inclinations of the Emperor, was controuled, by the appointment of his rival count Kevenhuller to the office of vice-president, and particularly by the influence of Weber, a second Bartenstein, referendary of the council of war. This man, even under Eugene, had attained a considerable influence by means of the countess Bathiani, to whom he acted as an agent in receiving gratifications for the grants of commissions; and, on the death of the prince, swayed the council, from his knowledge of the routine of office, and from the support of Bartenstein. He was extremely venal, and ignorant of military affairs; but his presumption was fed by the servile homage which he received even from the first nobility ‡.

Under these circumstances great confusion pervaded the counsels of the Imperial cabinet; the Emperor, affecting to be his own minister, treated the members of the conference with reserve, and blamed them separately to each other; they became timid and diffident, their zeal

* This account of Bartenstein is principally taken from Mr. Robinson's Dispatches, particularly one of March 9, 1731, to lord Harrington, and August 15, 1735, to Mr. Walpole.

† Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

‡ Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Dec. 31, 1738. Grantham papers.

Chapter 13. 1736. 1737.

slackened from the consciousness of not giving satisfaction; and, in this weak, divided, and inefficient state of the cabinet, the Emperor was involved in the war which took place between the Russians and the Turks, and at a time when the army was diminished, and the finances exhausted. This war was occasioned by the avidity of Russia, which was excited by the apparent decline of the Ottoman power.

In the commencement of the century, Peter the Great had attempted to form a settlement on the sea of Azof, and to open a communication with the Euxine; and seemed on the eve of realizing his favourite project by the acquisition of Azof, and the construction of Taganroc. But his plan was frustrated by the unsuccessful campaign of 1711, against the Turks; and, at the peace of Pruth, he was compelled to cede those fortresses, and to relinquish the commerce of the Euxine. From that period the attention of Russia was diverted from this object by the construction of St. Petersburgh, the establishments on the side of the Baltic, and her interference in the affairs of Europe.

Anne, on her accession, was anxious to revive the project of Peter the Great, but was prevented by the war relative to the Polish election. She had no sooner established Augustus on the throne, than she seized a pretext from the incursions of the Tartar hordes, to turn her arms against the Turks, then engaged in hostilities with Persia, with a view to recover the possessions ceded by Peter the Great, and even to conquer the Crimea. The campaign, which opened in March, was highly successful on the side of the Russians; marshal Munich, at the head of the principal army, forced the lines of Precop, penetrated into the Crimea, as far as Batcheserai, the residence of the Khan, and overran the whole country; a second body under general Lacy took Azof, after a siege of twelve days *.

1736.

The Turks, alarmed at these successes, made overtures of peace, under the mediation of the Emperor, and a congress was assembled at Nimerova in Poland, where the plenipotentiaries assembled in June 1737. But the Emperor, instead of being a mediator, became a party

* Manstein's Memoirs, p. 96—126.

in

in the quarrel. The Czarina had demanded the succour of 20,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, stipulated by the treaty of 1726, with which he could not comply while embarrassed with the European war. But he had no sooner signed the preliminaries with France, than he submitted to a council of his principal ministers and generals the question, whether it would be most expedient to declare war against the Turks, or only to dispatch the succours stipulated by treaty to the assistance of Russia? The answer was in favour of the latter, and the council represented the danger of involving himself in a new war before the definitive peace was signed with France, Spain, and Sardinia, and before the army and finances were recovered *. Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

But the Emperor had already embraced the rash resolution to enter immediately into the war; and even before he affected to consult his ministers and generals, had given to the Czarina a promise to attack the Turks with his whole force in the ensuing spring; although the exhausted condition of his finances, and the reduced state of his army, might have afforded him a plausible pretext for declining to engage again in hostilities. He was induced to adopt this resolution as well from gratitude for the assistance which Russia had afforded him in the late contest with France, as from the hopes of compensating for his losses in Italy by new acquisitions on the side of Turkey; and he was encouraged by the exhortation of his confessor, that it was the duty of a catholic prince to extirpate the enemies of the church of Christ †.

He accordingly drew his forces towards the frontiers of Turkey, and subsidized 8,000 Saxons to be employed in the same quarter. The duke of Loraine was at first destined for the command; but, declining so arduous a post, it was conferred on general Seckendorf, and the duke served as a volunteer.

Seckendorf at this period enjoyed a high reputation for military skill, and had been designated to the Emperor by prince Eugene, as

* Seckendorf's Lebenbeschreibung.—Memoires Secrettes de la Guerre de Hongrie, preface.

† Memoires de Brandebourg—and Seckendorf's Lebenbeschreibung.

the

Chapter 13. 1736. 1737.

the fittest person to succeed him in the command of the army, if his religion, which was Lutheran, was not an insurmountable obstacle. He was also warmly recommended by the prince of Saxe Hilburghausen, who was in high favour with the Emperor. But neither the dying eulogium of Eugene, nor the powerful recommendation of prince Hilburghausen, nor even the inclination of the sovereign himself, would have availed against the opposition of Bartenstein, whom he had offended by refusing to disclose a secret note which he had received from the Emperor, concerning the succession of Juliers and Berg, during his mission to Berlin; nor was Bartenstein appeased until Seckendorf had made the disclosure. The favourite being conciliated, the Emperor summoned the general into his presence and offered him the command. Seckendorf, aware of the number and power of his enemies declined the honour, but was overcome by the kind solicitations of the Emperor, who embraced him, and promised his support *.

Being dispatched into Hungary to inspect the military force, Seckendorf found the army and fortifications in a deplorable state. He drew a most lamentable picture of the situation and misery of the troops, and made the most bitter complaints against the negligence and peculation of the generals and contractors, both to the Emperor and the council of war. "I cannot," he declared, "consistently with my duty to God and the Emperor, conceal the miserable condition of the barracks and hospitals. The troops, crowded together without sufficient bedding to cover them, are a prey to innumerable disorders; and are exposed to the rain and other inclemencies of the weather, from the dilapidated state of the casernes, the roofs of which are in perpetual danger of being overthrown by the wind.

"All the frontier fortresses," he added, "particularly Gradiska, Biod, Ratscha, Szabatch, and even Belgrade, are incapable of the

* Memoires Secrettes de la Guerre de Hongrie, pendant les Campagnes de 1737, 1738, et 1739, avec des reflexions critiques, par M. le Comte de Schmettau, avant propos, p. xi.

smallest

smallest resistance, as well from the dilapidated state of the fortifications, as from a total want of artillery, ammunition, and other requisites. The naval armament also is in a state of irreparable disorder. The evil is enhanced by absurd impositions and prohibitions of trade, which render provisions and fuel so dear, that the scanty pay of the soldier is unequal to his support."

He had even the courage to remonstrate with Bartenstein: "some companies," he said, "of my regiment in Belgrade, are thrust into holes, where a man would not put even his favourite hounds, and I cannot see the situation of these miserable and half starved wretches without tears." With a prophetical spirit, he concluded, "these melancholy circumstances portend, in case of war, the loss of these fine kingdoms with the same rapidity as the states of Italy. A remedy, however, is not impossible; but no time must be lost, and a different system pursued; for it is impossible that the council of war at Vienna can issue proper decrees and resolutions on subjects which they neither see nor understand." He also boldly declared to the Emperor that many of his generals were so incapable of fulfilling the duties of their station, as to endanger the loss of his crown and sceptre; and that the different governors, instead of inspecting their provinces, were employed in hunting and diversions. The Emperor was pleased with the freedom of these remonstrances, and promoted the improvements suggested by Seckendorf; and although his representations excited opposition in the council of war, as well as among the generals and governors of provinces, and many obstacles were thrown in his way, yet as the Emperor did not withhold his support, Seckendorf greatly improved the state of the army; the casernes and hospitals were put into a better condition, the price of provisions was considerably reduced, the troops disciplined, and the fortifications repaired under the superintendance of general Schmettau.

The plan of operations was judiciously formed by Seckendorf. He proposed that the Russians, after taking Bender, should direct their march along the Danube towards the Pruth; while the Imperialists

* Seckendorf's Leben. vol. ii.

should

Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

should commence their operations with the siege of Widdin, concentrate their forces on the banks of the Danube, and advance through Turkish Wallachia, either to form a junction with the Russians, or to inclose the Turks between the two armies. The prince of Hilburghausen was also to be dispatched with a large body of forces to drive the Turks from Bosnia, and advance through Servia to join the main army on the Danube.

Before his departure from Vienna, Seckendorf, aware that a party in the cabinet wished to commence hostilities by the siege of Nissa, a fortress at the extremity of Servia, obtained from the Emperor the most positive promise that no change should be made in the plan of operations. He was nominated field marshal, and at the same time received assurances from the council of war and the treasury, that the army amounted to 126,000 men, provided with every requisite, and that a monthly remittance of 600,000 florins should be made for the pay of the troops. But on his arrival on the frontiers he found the troops greatly deficient in numbers, composed of recruits, many of whom from infirmities were incapable of service, and destitute of provisions, horses, carriages, arms, and the necessary implements of war. He was also disappointed in the promised remittances, and for the month of May received only 100,000 florins. These deficiencies were owing partly to the intrigues of his enemies, partly to the exigencies of the state, and principally to the false notion prevailing in the cabinet, that the Turks were too much occupied with the Russians to bring a formidable army into the field on the side of Belgrade.

By the most arduous exertions, Seckendorf could only collect a force of 26,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, and 4,000 irregulars, which assembled in the vicinity of Belgrade at the latter end of July. Two other bodies were destined to cooperate with the main army, one in Bosnia, under prince Hilburghausen, and the other in Wallachia, under marshal Wallis, but the whole force did not exceed 70,000 men *; and the greater part of these were raw troops in a state of sickness, misery, and dejection, as the veterans had mostly fallen a sacrifice to unhealthy

* Seckendorf's Leben. vol. ii. p. 77—81.

quarters,

quarters, and bad provisions, more fatal than the sword of the enemy. With this small and inefficient force, Seckendorf had to encounter a much more numerous and formidable army than he had reason to expect. It abounded with veterans inured to service in the Persian wars, and had been brought into a state of discipline and subordination by the celebrated renegado count Bonneval, who principally directed the operations of the campaign *.

In consequence of various obstacles, the campaign was not opened till the latter end of June, when Seckendorf prepared to march, and invest Widdin. In the midst of his preparations he was thunderstruck with an order from the Emperor, delivered by the duke of Loraine himself, commanding him to quit the banks of the Danube, and to march against Nissa †. This injudicious change frustrated the whole

* To remedy the weakness of the infantry, and to strike terror into the Turks, who dread the effects of artillery, general Schmettau proposed to provide each battalion with two field-pieces; but this judicious advice was arrogantly rejected, on the absurd principle that the infidels would be beaten, as hitherto, without artillery.

† The assertion that Seckendorf was compelled to undertake the siege of Nissa instead of Widdin, against his own judgement, and by the express order of the Emperor, communicated by the duke of Lorraine, rests on the positive testimony of count Schmettau, who was present on that occasion. "Ce fut alors (27 June) et dans une conference où le duc avoit fait appeller tous les Généraux, que le Prince leur montra un ordre reçu et signé de la propre main de l'Empereur, dont la substance etoit. Nous voulons pour des raisons nous connues, que sans la moindre contradiction notre armée marche droit à Nissa, et non ailleurs. Cet ordre fut un coup de foudre pour le comte Seckendorff, qui avoit fait faire tous les approvisionnemens pour se faire voiturier par eau à Widdin. Pour consoler le comte de Seckendorff du chagrin que les nouveaux ordres de l'Empereur devoient naturellement lui causer, il reçut des lettres très gracieuses. Memoires Secrets de la Guerre de Hongrie pendant les Campagnes de 1737, 1738, and 1739. p. 3, 4.

The German author of the life of Seckendorf, however, positively contradicts Schmettau *, and declares, that the siege of Nissa was undertaken by Seckendorf on his own authority, because the inundation of the Danube rendered the siege of Widdin impracticable. He grounds his opinion on the articles of accusation against Seckendorf, and his answers, because Seckendorf does not justify the siege of Nissa by any orders from the Emperor. He at the same time admits that Seckendorf was not permitted to avail himself, in his defence, of his private correspondence with the sovereign. It appears also from this work, that, till the 23d of June, all his preparations were directed to the siege of

* Seckendorf's Leben. vol. ii. p. 95.

Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

whole plan of operations; the troops, instead of continuing on the banks of the Danube, on which their magazines had been formed, were compelled to march to the distance of fifty leagues from that river, across a morassy and mountainous country, without carriages to convey their provisions, and without the means of supplying their wants in so inhospitable a district.

After a march of twenty-eight days, in an intemperate season, during which numbers perished from fatigue and hunger, the army arrived, in an exhausted and dispirited state, before the walls of Nissa; but fortunately meeting with no resistance, obtained possession of the place on the 28th of July. Kevenhuller was instantly dispatched with a strong corps to invest Widdin on the South, while marshal Wallis occupied the opposite bank of the Danube; but Seckendorf himself remained in the neighbourhood of Nissa, waiting for orders from Vienna; and in the mean time sent different detachments to reduce the petty fortresses, and seize the passes of the surrounding mountains.

During this period the disunion among the generals, and the discontents of the army, rose to the highest pitch; Seckendorf being of a rough, overbearing, and parsimonious temper, was ill calculated to conciliate his army, and baffle the cabals to which he was exposed as a protestant and a stranger. He also placed his principal confidence in two generals, who were both foreigners, the prince of Saxe Hilburg-

Widdin; that on that day he received a rescript from Vienna, commanding him to enter the Turkish territories, and declare war without delay. On the 24th he issued orders, contrary to his former plan, for the campaign; declaring, that as in consequence of the inundations, Widdin could not be besieged, the army was to penetrate into Servia, to secure Nissa, and the other fortresses in that country, and to form a junction with prince Hilburghausen. From that time all his efforts were directed towards Nissa, though it does not appear that the great inundation of the Danube took place before the 9th of July.

I am therefore inclined to prefer the testimony of Schmettau, who, in his journal, has given a candid and circumstantial account of each day's transactions; who freely censures Seckendorf in some instances, but does not blame him for being the cause of relinquishing the siege of Widdin, of which general Schmettau strongly urged the necessity.

hausen,

hausen, and general Schmettau. The prince was a brave, but young and inexperienced officer, who aspired to become another Eugene. From his talents and agreeable manners, he was in high favour with the Emperor, had conciliated the good will of Bartenstein, and had exerted his influence with both in favour of Seckendorf. Although he had recently abjured the protestant religion; yet his former tenets, his youth, and the favour of the commander in chief, rendered him an object of jealousy to the other officers; and count Esterhasy, banner of Croatia, would neither act under him nor with him, and refused to render him the smallest assistance *. General Schmettau was distinguished for his steadiness and skill in the department of the artillery; yet, being a foreigner and a protestant, he was likewise involved in the odium which was excited against the commander in chief. Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

From the unpopularity of this triumvirate, an opposition was formed, which was headed by Philippi and Kevenhuller, the two next in command, and supported by the duke of Loraine, who, though only a volunteer, interfered in all military operations. The irksome situation of the commander in chief was aggravated by the clamours of the troops, who, being shut up in an unwholesome situation, and deprived of their customary supplies of provisions, attributed their misery to his incapacity and avarice, and accused him of carrying on an infamous commerce, by monopolizing the provisions of the country.

While Seckendorf was thus perplexed with the cabals of his officers, and the clamours of his army; unable to pursue his success for want of provisions; and waiting for specific orders from Vienna, the prince of Hilburghausen was compelled to raise the siege of Banjaluka, and driven back towards the Save. The Emperor, therefore, alarmed for his hereditary countries, ordered Seckendorf to suspend his operations against Widdin, and march through Servia, to effect a junction with prince Hilburghausen at Zwornick on the confines of Bosnia. Aug. 6.

In pursuance of these orders, Seckendorf wholly relinquished his plan for the campaign, and after dispatching a strong reinforcement to Kevenhuller, with an army reduced to 20,000 men, directed his

* Schmettau.

Chapter 13. 1736, 1737. Oct. 2. Oct. 4. Oct. 16.

march through the heart of Servia. He made himself master of Uzitza, after a short though vigorous siege; but on approaching Zwornick, was prevented by the inundation of the Drina from besieging the place. Being thus frustrated in his attempts to penetrate into Bosnia, he retreated rapidly towards the Save, and encamped at Szabatch, on the southern bank of that river.

During these operations marshal Wallis had advanced to Wadovil, on the bank of the Danube, opposite Widdin, to prevent the Turks from throwing succours into the town on that side. Kevenhuller, at the same time, directed his march along the Timoc, and passed the defiles without opposition. But his march was considerably delayed by want of provisions, and other obstacles; and, when he drew near Widdin, he found the town in a better state of defence, and occupied by a more considerable force than he expected. He therefore remained inactive on the banks of the Timoc, till the retreat of Seckendorf compelled him to abandon his views on Widdin, and direct his efforts to cover Transylvania; as the Turks, who had hitherto appeared only in detachments, had assembled a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Widdin. After a severe action near the conflux of the Timoc and Danube, Kevenhuller, though harassed by the Turks, made good his retreat towards Orsova; his troops effected the passage of the Danube near Gladova; and, being joined by the corps of marshal Wallis, retired to take up their winter quarters in the bannat of Temeswaer.

Thus terminated this unfortunate campaign * on the side of the Imperialists; while the efforts of the Russians, though more successful, were insufficient to balance the discomfiture of their allies. The campaign was principally distinguished by the capture of Ochakof, which was purchased with the loss of 11,000 regulars and 5,000 cossacs. The change of the plan of operations prevented Munich from advanc-

* The account of this campaign is principally taken from Versuch einer Lebenbeschreibung des Feldmaréchalls Grafen von Seckendorf, vol. ii. and Schmettau's Memoires Secrets de la Guerre de Hongrie—Journal de l'Armée Imperiale en Hongrie, in the Grantham Papers.

ing

ing on the Danube; the campaign was closed in the beginning of September without any material advantage, and the Turks were left, unmolested, to continue their successful operations in Servia and Wallachia. Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

The failure of this disastrous campaign being wholly attributed to marshal Seckendorf, he received orders of recal on the 14th of October at Szabatch, and the command of the army was given to general Philippi. After having rejected the advice of several of his friends, to seek his safety by flight, Seckendorf pursued his journey to the capital, and was selected as a victim to quiet the clamours of the people, and to gratify the vengeance of his numerous enemies. Among the most powerful of these were the jesuits, who had publicly arraigned his appointment, and in their sermons declared that a heretic general, at the head of a catholic army, would draw down the indignation of heaven, and avert the benediction of providence from the Imperial arms. Repeated complaints were likewise transmitted from the army, and he was stigmatised with incapacity, negligence, and treachery.

In consequence of these clamours and prejudices, he was arrested on his arrival at Vienna, confined to his house under a guard of fourteen men, and articles of impeachment exhibited against him. Those persons in whom he had principally confided were involved in his disgrace, particularly generals Schmettau and Diemar; and Doxat, the commandant of Nissa, was beheaded for surrendering that town to the Turks, though unprovided with proper means of defence.

The articles exhibited against Seckendorf were a series of malicious imputations, in which every part of his conduct was arraigned; and even the scarcity of provisions, the deficiency of the troops, the changes in the plan of the campaign, and the consequences of contradictory orders, were imputed to him. But he defended himself with great spirit and ability, and refuted the principal charges, though, from delicacy to the Emperor, he was not permitted to reveal the secret orders, which he had received, in his own justification *.

* Seckendorf's Leben. vol. ii. p. 171—280—Barre Hist. d'Allemagne, B. x. p. 904.

Although

Chapter 13. 1736, 1737.

Although the Emperor was favourably inclined towards Seckendorf; yet the clamours of the people, the exhortations of the jesuits, and the cabals of his enemies, prevented his release. In consequence of a tumult which took place in the ensuing summer, on a gleam of success to the Imperial arms, the populace threatened his life, and he was transferred to the castle of Glatz, and lingered in confinement during the reign of Charles the Sixth *.

On reviewing the incidents of this unfortunate campaign, little blame seems to attach to Seckendorf; but the discomfiture of the Imperialists was owing to the deficiency and unprovided state of the army, to divisions among the generals, and above all, to the contradictory orders which emanated from the council of war, and the private cabinet of the Emperor.

Charles, from his natural presumption, entertained a high opinion of his own abilities, and imagined that his campaigns in Spain, and his desultory conversations with prince Eugene, had qualified him to direct the operations of the field. He was flattered in this opinion by Bartenstein and Webber; and he even consulted one of his inferior servants, who had been formerly a common halberdier and door-keeper. With these agents the Emperor digested his military plans, which were issued by Webber as resolutions of the council of war. Hence arose those endless orders and counter-orders, which perplexed the commander in chief, and contributed more than any other cause, to the disgrace of the Imperial arms †.

* Seckendorf's Lebenbeschreibung.

† "The most secret orders," observes Mr. Robinson, "for military dispositions, had for some years past been issued out of the Imperial cabinet through the hands of Bartenstein, Webber, and, as is said, of one Carl Dier, formerly a common halberdier and door-keeper, and now a kind of private purse-keeper to the Emperor. And even what could not, for form's sake, escape passing through the channel of the president, used, after having been intimated verbally by him to Webber, to be executed and dispatched by the latter, without ever bringing the minutes to the former; the custom being for the referendary to write at the bottom of every dispatch, 'Commission,' or 'Instruction, *par ordre du president et du vice-president*,' instead of their signing actually, either of them, their names. Count Konigseg, who, though president at war, could not hinder, or was indolent enough not to oppose in that quality these underhand practices, would however, as minister

ster of the conference, be often blaming most of the measures so taken, in a manner to exculpate himself of consequences, which has given room to believe that the very command of the army was given him only to ruin him. His friends told him as much when he accepted it."

Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Vienna, Dec. 31, N. S. 1738.

The king of Prussia has given a similar account of this private cabinet, and of the cabals of the ministers and the court, and the jealousy of the generals; and concludes with these just observations: " Il emanoit du conseil Imperial chaque jour de nouveaux projets d'opérations: les cabals des grands qui se contrecarroient et la jalousie des généraux firent manquer toutes les entreprises. Les ordres que les généraux recevoient de la cour, se contre disoient les uns les autres, ou bien obligeoient ces généraux à des operations impraticables. Ce desordre domestique devint plus funeste aux armes autrichiennes que la puissance des infidelles." Hist. de Montems, ch. i.

CHAPTER 14.

1738.

Second Campaign against the Turks—Duke of Loraine Generalissimo—Favourable events at the opening of the Campaign—Reverse of the Fortune of the Imperial Arms—Recal of the duke of Loraine—Disgrace of Konigseg—Consternation at Vienna—Unpopularity of the duke of Loraine—Cabals of the Bavarian Party—Agitation of the Emperor.

Chapter 14. 1738.

IN consequence of the clamours against Seckendorf and the protestant generals, and the popular outcry, as if the assistance of heaven had been averted by the employment of heretics, not only the favourites of the Emperor, but even the Empress was accused of concurring in a design to render the court of Vienna dependent on the protestant powers of Europe. Bartenstein diverted the storm from himself by sacrificing Seckendorf, whose appointment he had promoted, and by advising his son-in-law Knore, a favourite servant of the Empress, who was implicated in this accusation, to abjure his religion. The Emperor yielded to the general clamour, and endeavoured to pacify the people, by changing his former plan, entering into catholic alliances, and appointing catholic generals.

He accordingly nominated the duke of Loraine generalissimo of the forces, and under him marshal Konigseg; but, with that narrow jealousy which characterised all the proceedings of the Imperial cabinet, neither was intrusted with full powers; the duke was to do nothing without the advice of a majority of a council of war, and, if the voices were equal, he was to incline to the opinion of count Konigseg *.

The character and talents of count Konigseg were ill calculated to supply the want of experience, steadiness, and military skill, in the duke of Loraine. He was a man of the most amiable manners, winning

* Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, Dec. 31, 1738.

address,

address, and of an excellent capacity, both for the cabinet and the field, but greatly deficient in activity; and though he affected a stoical indifference, was apt on the least reverse, to sink into despondency. One of his admirers justly observed, "that he wanted only an additional grain of salt in his composition to be one of the greatest men of his age." The want of this pungency counteracted the effect of all his other qualities; and the Emperor, who entertained a personal dislike of him, seemed to derive satisfaction in stigmatizing his indolence, which was increased in the middle of the campaign by an attack of the gout *. Chapter 14. 1738.

The Turks opened the campaign long before the Imperialists: in the beginning of March the basha of Widdin took the field at the head of 20,000 men, and directed his operations to the siege of Orsova, a fortress of great importance, on an island of the Danube. By the surrender of Usitza the Turks had secured the possession of great part of Servia, and by the capture of Old Orsova were able to approach the southern bank of the Danube, from whence they opened their batteries against the fortress. But finding their efforts ineffectual, a body of 2,000 men took Meadia in the Bannat of Temeswar, which commanded the passes on the north of the Danube, and thus formed attacks on both banks against Orsova. From the strength and nature of the works, however, and the spirit of the garrison, the besiegers made little progress, and the place continued to hold out, though the Imperialists did not commence hostilities before the middle of June. March.

The plan of the campaign was formed by the Emperor and his junto, and as they attributed the ill success of the preceding year to the dispersion of the forces, the army was ordered to act in one body, and the generals were forbidden to undertake any separate operation. The principal objects were to relieve Orsova and besiege Widdin, and sanguine hopes were entertained that the son-in-law of the Emperor, and so distinguished a general as count Konigseg at the head of an

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Dec. 1739, and to lord Carteret, September 8, 1742.

Chapter 14. 1738.

army, said to be more efficient than any hitherto sent against the Turks, would drive the infidels from the provinces on the Danube.

The first incidents of the campaign seemed to give a foundation to these hopes; the two bodies of the army which were assembled at Temeswaer, under count Neuperg, and at Belgrade under marshal Wallis, united at Lagus, and being there headed by the duke of Loraine, directed their march towards Meadia. They easily passed the defiles of Slatina and Terrasowa, and on the 3d of July encamped between Donaschy and Cornia. The following morning the Imperialists were attacked with great fury by the Turks, who, having seized a height, which commanded the left wing, penetrated almost to the centre of the camp, and even to the tent of the duke. They were, however, repulsed, and being seized with a panic, not only abandoned their camp at Meadia, but even relinquished their attacks against Orsova, and recrossed the Danube *.

This gleam of success was hailed at Vienna as the harbinger of certain victory; the duke of Loraine was extolled as another Eugene †; the populace, irritated by the recollection of former defeats, tumultuously rose, and threatened the life of Seckendorf; while the catholic priests triumphantly announced that the favour of heaven had returned to the Imperial arms, which were no longer directed by a heretic commander.

This transient advantage, however, was soon overbalanced; the Imperial troops, after recovering Meadia, had scarcely reached the neighbourhood of Orsova, before they were surprised by the Grand Vizier, and driven back with as much rapidity as they had advanced. While passing the defile of Meadia they were attacked by a considerable body of Turks; but the enemy being repulsed by the bravery and skill of prince Charles of Loraine with the loss of 2,000 men, the Imperial army secured

* Schmettau.

† "The important and singular success of our Great Duke," writes Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, July 16, 1738, "gives a high opinion of him in the minds of the people; and a letter dated from the field of battle, says, His royal highness, perceiving that the enemy had pierced the line, exposed himself greatly, and gave his orders with a coolness and wisdom which would have done honour to an old soldier."

their retreat, and reached Lagus on the 24th of July. The Grand Vizier resumed the siege of Orsova, into which Konigseg had thrown some reinforcements and provisions, and the misfortunes of the Imperial army were aggravated by sickness, and even by the plague, which spread through the whole Bannat of Temeswaer, and threatened further ravages. Chapter 14. 1738.

In this moment of distress the Duke returned to Vienna, either from chagrin or ill health, and the command of the army devolved on marshal Konigseg. He continued the retreat, passed the Danube at Viplanka on the 18th of August, and hearing of the capture of Orsova, which had surrendered to the Grand Vizier, retreated within the lines at Belgrade. This precipitate retreat disheartened the troops; a general panic pervaded the army; and even the distant appearance of a Turk seems to have spread dismay through the ranks. Equal consternation prevailed at Vienna, and the duke of Loraine, having recovered from his illness, was sent to Belgrade to treat with the Grand Vizier, who had made overtures for peace. He reached that place on the 11th of September; but as the Turks pursued their advantage, took Semendria and Viplanka, and seized the heights which commanded the lines, the Imperial infantry retired within the walls of Belgrade, the cavalry passed the Save, and the duke himself proceeded as far as Essec, at which place he received orders of recal from the court of Vienna, who were alarmed for his personal safety.

The troops, confined within the lines and walls of Belgrade, were seized with a contagious distemper, and the whole city was affected with the intolerable stench arising from the closeness of their quarters. These accumulated disasters were principally imputed to count Konigseg; he was recalled in disgrace, and Kevenhuller appointed to the command with the hopes of retrieving the misfortunes of the campaign. The Turks having retired from the heights round Belgrade, the new general put his army in motion on the northern side of the Danube, but could only drive the enemy from Viplanka, and on the 8th of November retired into winter quarters *.

* The account of this campaign is drawn from Schmettau's Memoires Secrets de la Guerre de Hongrie—Barré Histoire d'Allemagne—Histoire de Charles VI.

Chapter 14. 1738.

On their side the Russians made no effectual progress. General Lacy stormed Perekop, over-ran the Crimea, and defeated a corps of 20,000 Tartars; but being unable to take Caffa, was compelled by the approach of winter to retire into the Ukraine. Munich passed the Dnieper and the Bog, and defeated the enemy in three encounters; but being stopped by an army of 60,000 Turks, strongly intrenched on the banks of the Duicster, and disappointed in all his attempts to besiege Bender, he marched back to the Ukraine *.

The disastrous events of this campaign excited no less intrigues and clamour at Vienna, than the misfortunes of the preceding year. Count Konigseg was deprived of his command, removed from the presidency of the council of war, and appointed grand master to the Empress. The duke of Loraine was involved in his disgrace; he had irritated the Emperor by intercepting an order for the recal of Konigseg on his first return to Vienna, by the spirit with which he had defended his conduct, and by imputing the disasters of the campaign to the weakness of the army, and to the want of carriages and of the necessary implements of war. He had irretrievably offended Bartenstein by his continual reproaches on the cession of Loraine, and being a foreigner, was exposed to the ill-will and jealousy of the nobles, and to the prejudices of the people. His most trifling defects were exaggerated into vices; he was charged with sacrificing the duties of his station to hunting and trifling diversions, and accused of returning to Vienna to avoid the dangers of the field.

In consequence of this unpopularity, and the displeasure of the Emperor, he was sent, with his consort, into a kind of exile, under the pretence of taking possession of his new dominions in Tuscany. During his absence the discontents of the people arose to the most alarming height, and reports were publicly circulated that the Emperor would give his second daughter to the elector of Bavaria, and change the order of succession in his favour.

The court of Munich favoured these prejudices, and endeavoured to acquire popularity among the Austrians by representing themselves as

* Manstein's Memoirs of Russia, p. 192—210.

catholics,

catholics, good Christians, and good neighbours. "We have all our forces," they said, "at the Emperor's service, and, in fact, we are bound by duty as well as inclination; for, in consequence of the many intermarriages between the houses of Austria and Bavaria, it is not easy to judge which is most Austrian or most Bavarian, both are so like one." The Bavarian troops also in the service of the Emperor, were greeted by the people on their passage through Vienna, with the warmest acclamations: "Go," they exclaimed, "and on your return, tell your master that he shall be ours."

In the Imperial army the officers were highly dissatisfied, and did not affect to conceal their sentiments; but declared openly, "What are we about! what have we to expect from a government more tyrannical in its consequences than that of the Turks? The Emperor is a prince just, merciful, and pious; yet, if Seckendorf and Konigseg are guilty, why are they not punished; and if not guilty, and absolved, why treated as if guilty*?"

At this period there was not a single minister whose weight was equal to the very shadow of prince Eugene, except, perhaps, count Staremberg, and he was suspected of being inclined to the Elector of Bavaria, because his estates were contiguous to the Bavarian dominions. The precipitate measures, adopted by the Emperor without the communication of his principal counsellors, and the unpopularity of his subordinate agents, rendered him equally odious to the nobility and the people. Even the subtle and submissive count Sinzendorf, though no friend to count Konigseg, complained of the manner and circumstances of his disgrace, and observed, that in so important a transaction the Emperor ought to have consulted his principal ministers.

In the midst of the general dissatisfaction, and the contest between the Loraine and Bavarian interests, the Emperor was violently agitated, and in the agony of his mind, he exclaimed, "Is the fortune of my empire departed with Eugene!" The retreat to Belgrade haunted him day and night; and he manifested his discontent to every officer who

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington.

had

Chapter 14. 1738.

had returned from the army, by his execrations of "that unfortunate, that fatal retreat!" He was deeply affected with the absence of his eldest daughter; he dreaded lest, in case of his own sudden death, her return from Tuscany might be prevented by the Elector of Bavaria, and that France might be enabled to realise her favourite scheme of breaking the indivisibility of his succession *.

* This picture of the Imperial court is principally drawn from Mr. Robinson's Dispatch to lord Harrington, Dec. 31, 1739.

CHAPTER 15.

1739.

Marshal Wallis appointed to the Command of the Army—Defeat of Krotska—Belgrade besieged by the Turks—Retreat and Despondency of Marshal Wallis—Agitation and Confusion in the Imperial Court—Negotiations for Peace through the Mediation of France—Full Powers committed to Count Neuperg—Signature of the Preliminaries—Cession of Belgrade, and the Provinces beyond the Danube and the Save—Artifices of the French Plenipotentiary—Conclusion of the Definitive Treaty—Arrest and Imprisonment of Wallis and Neuperg—Secret History of this Transaction.

Chapter 15. 1739.

WITH a view to remedy the negligence and inactivity of the last campaign, the Emperor gave the command of the army to marshal Wallis, whom he considered as a general of more spirit and decision than those whom he had formerly employed. Wallis had conciliated the good-will of the Emperor by his invectives against the pusillanimity and want of enterprise, which had marked the former campaign; by the boldness of his remonstrances to the duke of Loraine *, and

* Wallis being ordered by the duke of Loraine to retreat with the infantry from Topliza to Meadia, exclaimed, "If ever I am found serving again with such a fellow, let me pass for a most contemptible wretch!"

"The advantage, if not the safety of the Imperial army," writes Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Dec. 31, 1739, "was attributed to the skill of marshal Wallis on taking possession with his infantry of a certain rising ground in the affair of Cornia. Wallis was sent for by the duke three times the evening before the affair, to draw his men from thence, and the marshal did not retire till the last message, which was "*S'il ne sait pas obeir, on le luy apprendra.*" The next morning the necessity of the post was so evident, that the duke himself was glad that the marshal would return.

"Afterwards, at Meadia, when the marshal pressed that the army should advance, the duke was heard to say, "Quoy! c'est un fou, ou bien il ne s'etrage que pour piller." Again, when it was agreed in

Chapter 15. 1739.

and by his contumelious expressions against count Konigseg, no less than by the proofs he had displayed of his military skill and enterprise. But the choice of Wallis was ill-calculated to retrieve the desperate state of the Austrian affairs. Though vigilant and exact, even to minuteness, in maintaining discipline, he was of a morose, jealous, and overbearing temper, equally presumptuous and desponding, and is well designated by the royal historian as "a man hating all, and detested by all *."

1739. The main army having assembled in the neighbourhood of Peterwaradin in May, marshal Wallis assumed the command; but found the magazines extremely deficient †, and the troops, from the losses of the former campaigns, reduced to about 30,000 effective men, even when joined by the Bavarians, and other auxiliaries. A corps of 10,000 men was also formed at Temeswaer, under count Neuperg, who was second in command, with a view to cooperate with the main army on the north of the Danube. It was proposed to commence hostilities by the siege of Orsova; and Wallis received positive orders from the Emperor to engage the enemy with his whole force on the first opportunity.

in a subsequent council of war, that Wallis should advance the next morning only with a body of infantry, and that count Philippi should furnish an escort of cavalry, which had been agreed upon the night before, and which he had been expecting in the morning, Philippi was so imprudent or so malicious as to tell him, that it was true; but the dispositions had been altered since M. Wallis had quitted the council. At the last, when there was still time, even after the affair of Meadia, for returning to Orsova, Wallis, piqued, told the duke, "*Eh bien! prenez pour une fois le conseil d'un fou, sans quoi vous perdrez votre canon, vôtre honneur, et peut être Orsova même.*" I leave your lordship to judge of the effects all this must have had upon the minds of the soldiers, and what must have been the duke's personal credit, when Wallis, though so affronted by him, has been since rewarded with Servia and Belgrade, and while Konigseg, so protected by his highness, found no protection from any body else."

Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Dec. 31, 1738.

* Ouvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, tom. i. p. 35.

† According to Schmettau, p. 192, the army amounted to 67 battalions of 500 men each, 64 companies of grenadiers of 100 each, 113 squadrons of 150 each, or 56,250 men, besides the artillery, hussars, and light troops. But this estimate is founded on the reports, and takes each battalion and company as complete.

On

On the 11th of June the army encamped near Semlin, and being joined by the auxiliaries, and the flotilla of the Danube being ready to act, they crossed the Save on the 27th, notwithstanding a violent inundation, and encamped at Mirowa, near the lines of Belgrade. On the 20th of July they reached Vinza, a small village on the bank of the Danube, and were informed that part of the Turkish army was arrived at Crotzka.

With a view to surprise this body, and to prevent the Turks from obstructing his attempts on Orsova, Wallis put his whole army in motion; and, at the close of the evening, marched along the high road towards Crotzka. He himself accompanied the advanced guard which consisted of two regiments of hussars, one regiment of cuirassiers, and another of dragoons, and eighteen companies of grenadiers; the main body followed under prince Hilburghausen, and count Neuperg was to cross the Danube, and be ready to cooperate in case of necessity.

On approaching Crotzka the road gently ascends to a defile half a league in length, bounded by steep and woody acclivities; and beyond, scarcely broad enough to admit more than a single carriage, leads to a height planted with vines, where the ground becomes more open. From hence it descends to Crotzka, between two hills, and across a deep torrent which falls into the Danube.

At the break of day, the cavalry of the vanguard had scarcely reached the end of the defile before they were attacked by the Turkish infantry, who were posted in the vineyards and wood. The hussars immediately took to flight; but Wallis putting himself at the head of the cuirassiers, hastened through the narrow road, formed them on the open ground, and bravely withstood the attacks of the enemy, till the other regiment had cleared the defile, and the grenadiers had driven the Turks from the vineyards.

Meanwhile the Grand Vizier, who with his whole force had marched from Semendria, and occupied the heights above Crotzka, during the night, crossed the rivulet, and took post on the two hills between the defile and that village. The regiment of Savoy, struck with a panic at the appearance of such a numerous host, fled back into the defile; and,

Chapter 15. 1739.

being followed by a party of Turks, threw the cavalry of the main body, which had nearly reached the place of action, into disorder.

Notwithstanding this confusion, the troops continued to advance; the prince of Hilburghausen formed the first battalions, which had cleared the defile, into a square, and charged the enemy; the left wing, passing along a narrow path, extended itself on the heights towards the Danube, and the cavalry was posted on the right, where the ground was favourable for action. In this position the Imperial troops withstood the repeated assaults of the Turks, who attacked them with incredible fury, and with far superior numbers, from five in the morning till after sun-set, when Wallis ordered a retreat, under cover of the approaching darkness. Had the Turks pursued their advantage, the Imperial army might have been cut off, particularly as Wallis, from a spirit of jealousy, would not admit count Neuperg to take any part in the action, or to send more than two regiments, which, however, checked the enemy at the entrance of the defile. In this desperate conflict both parties sustained considerable loss; and, on the side of the Imperialists, four generals were killed, five wounded, and four hundred officers with 7,000 men fell on the field of battle.

In this action the Turks seem to have displayed new skill in the art of war; instead of tumultuary and unconnected attacks, they fought in the greatest order, and in regular bodies, and, when broken, rallied with speed and alacrity. During the engagement the Imperial flotilla, under admiral Pallavicini, had fallen down the Danube, and cooperated with the army; but, on the retreat of the troops, was compelled to warp up the stream, under the fire of the Turkish batteries, and arrived at Belgrade on the 24th in a dilapidated condition *.

The Imperial army regained their camp at Vinza; where they took so strong a position, and placed their artillery with such skill, that they repulsed, on the ensuing day, a considerable body of Turks headed by the Grand Vizier. Wallis, however, concentrated all his force, and, with a despondency equal to his former presumption, retreated in si-

* Many erroneous accounts have been given of this celebrated action; but I have preferred the clear and circumstantial narrative of count Schmettau, p. 196—212.

lence during the night, and occupied the lines of Belgrade. The following day he was alarmed by the appearance of the Turkish irregulars, and, deeming himself unequal to the defence of this strong position, recrossed the Danube during the night. The Turks instantly opened their batteries against Belgrade; the soldiers exclaiming, "Let us take advantage of the panic and blindness with which God has inflicted the infidels for violating the peace of Passarovitz;" the Grand Vizier was impelled, by the ardour of his troops, to commence the siege in form; and summoned the garrison to surrender on the 29th of July. Chapter 15. 1739.

The infatuation of marshal Wallis seems to have increased in proportion to the valour and promptitude of the enemy. Although he repulsed a considerable body of Turks which had assembled at Panczewa, he did not continue in the vicinity of Belgrade, to harass the besieging army, or succour the garrison, but exhausted his troops by useless and circuitous marches, repassed the Danube, and stationed his army at Salankemein, on the frontiers of Hungary. The Turks availed themselves of his retreat, occupied the northern bank of the Danube, and carried on their approaches against the redoubt of the Borzia, which commanded the fortress on that side.

Wallis, whose irresolution seems to have been aggravated by the effects of an ague, remained in total inaction; and made no attempt to prevent the operations of the enemy on the Save, who prepared to cross the river, that they might attack Belgrade on the third side. In this situation of affairs, he sent repeated accounts to Vienna, that the army was daily diminishing by desertion and sickness, that the southern provinces were ravaged by the plague, that the force of the enemy was rapidly increasing, and that his own troops were discouraged, and could no longer be depended on. In the midst of this despondency, he was still further alarmed by a report from general Suckof, commandant of Belgrade, that a breach was made in one of the bastions, and an assault hourly expected, which the garrison, diminished and enervated by sickness, would be unable to resist. Without waiting August 15.

Chapter 15. 1739.

for the return of an officer whom he dispatched to examine the state of the fortifications, Wallis sent colonel Gross to the camp of the Grand Vizier to purchase a peace by the cession of Belgrade, dismantled, and renewed his representations to the Emperor. The danger, he urged, was becoming more and more imminent; Belgrade was untenable, and, should that fortress fall, he could not, with a diminished and dispirited army, withstand the superior force of the enemy, nor prevent them from carrying their excursions even to the capital. At the same time he sent a resolution, subscribed by the other generals, stating the necessity of retreating to Peterwaradin. He also requested that the defence of Belgrade, or at least of Peterwaradin might be committed to general Schmettau, who had been unemployed since the disgrace of Seckendorf.

The defeat of Crotzka, the flight of the Imperial army, and the progress of the Turks, spread consternation among the people, and at the court of Vienna, which was aggravated by the desponding accounts, transmitted by Wallis, of the state of the army, and the danger of Belgrade. The general terror was increased by the intrigues of Sweden, whose agents were employed in negotiating an offensive alliance with the Porte, by the tumultuous attempts of the malcontents in Poland to recal Stanislaus, and by the movements of prince Ragotski's partisans in Hungary. In the height of their consternation, the people saw, in their affrighted imaginations, the Turks almost at the gates of Vienna, and looked with anxious expectation to marshal Munich*, as Leopold had done to Sobieski, to deliver the house of Austria from impending destruction.

Instead of acting with spirit and unanimity, the ministers gave way to mutual reproaches, and each was more anxious to exculpate himself from the blame of having advised the war, than to provide a remedy for the distress of the moment. Bartenstien, to whose all powerful influence the origin and direction of the war were imputed, and who had recommended and removed generals at his pleasure, shrunk from responsibility, declared that he had even given a written opinion against

* Mr. Robinson to Mr. Walpole, August 22, 1739.

the

the war; and endeavoured to procure, from the Elector of Mentz, the reversion of the post of referendary to the Empire, as a security against the resentment of the successor to the Austrian dominions*. The domestic feuds also in the Emperor's family were not diminished by the danger which threatened to overwhelm the Imperial house; and the dissatisfaction of the duke of Loraine, who had recently returned from Tuscany, was augmented by an interview which the Emperor had granted to the Elector of Bavaria at Bergensdorf, and the reports that he would be entrusted with the command of the army, as the last resource to save the house of Austria†.

In the midst of this universal distress, the haughty magnates of Austria and Hungary looked on with supineness; they seemed indifferent with regard to their future sovereign, provided their honours and estates were preserved; like the degenerate Romans, at the decline of the republic, who were unconcerned at the fate of Rome, while they could retain their villas and fishponds. The inferior nobles were disaffected to the house of Loraine, and turned to the Elector of Bavaria, a native of Germany, connected by blood with the house of Austria, and whose principles and manners were more congenial to their own. The people, loaded with taxes, and dissatisfied with the ill success of the war, deprecated the continuance of hostilities, and the universal clamour was for a speedy peace.

In the midst of the general consternation, the Emperor alone seemed to maintain any degree of firmness. He had been induced by the representations of Wallis, and the urgent remonstrances of his court, to intrust him with full powers to offer the cession of Belgrade in case of extreme necessity. But, convinced that the despondency of the general had aggravated the distress of his affairs, and irritated at his want of resolution, he transferred the full powers for concluding peace to count Neuperg, and ordered Wallis to direct his attention only to military transactions. At the same time he sent general Schmettau to inspect the situation of the army; and to prevent the intended retreat to Peterwaradin, and the cession of Belgrade.

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches. † Ibid.

On

Chapter 15. 1739.

On delivering his last orders, Charles, graciously pressing the general's hand, said, "Use the utmost diligence to arrive before the retreat of the army, projected by marshal Wallis; assume the defence of Belgrade, and save it, if not too late, from falling into the hands of the enemy *." Schmettau fulfilled the wishes of his sovereign, and reached the Imperial camp at the moment the troops were preparing to retreat. He undeceived Wallis with regard to the situation of Belgrade, the fortifications of which were without a breach, and defended by a garrison of 13,000 effective men; and, by the most urgent remonstrances, prevailed on him to advance with the whole army, and employ his utmost exertions for the relief of the place.

August 21.

Schmettau then hastened to Belgrade, and, assisted by a detachment, drove the Turks from the redoubt of Borzia; by his exertions he animated the garrison, and soon compelled the besiegers to abandon above a hundred paces of their works. Encouraged by his example, marshal Wallis resumed his spirit; he visited Belgrade, bitterly reproached Suekof for his falsehood and pusillanimity, prepared to bring his whole force into the fortress, and to recover the lustre of the Imperial arms by a victory similar to that gained by prince Eugene on the same ground. The whole army were actuated by one spirit, and eager to repair the disgrace of their flight by new exertions, when the news arrived of the signature of the preliminaries between count Neuperg and the Grand Vizier, which stipulated the cession of Belgrade, and the immediate delivery of one of the gates to the Turks.

Aug. 27, 30.

Count Neuperg had no sooner received full powers from the Emperor than he hastened to fulfil his commission. He went through Belgrade without even examining the state of the fortifications; left orders that no letters should be forwarded to him, and even desired the Turkish officers to prevent the passage of any courier. He also imprudently ventured into the Turkish camp, without requiring hostages, with the expectation of meeting the marquis de Villeneuve, the French embassador at the Porte, by whose mediation the terms were to be adjusted.

* Schmettau's Memoires Secrettes, &c. p. 233, 234.

The

The indignities offered to the Imperial plenipotentiary were almost unexampled. Villeneuve, either not being arrived, or having purposely concealed himself, Neuperg was instantly arrested, and put under a guard of twenty-four janissaries. When the Grand Vizier, in company with the bashaws of Romelia and Bosnia, demanded the conditions he was ordered to propose, he exhibited his full powers, and offered the cession of Wallachia, provided Orsova was dismantled. On this proposal the bashaw of Bosnia spit in his face, and exclaimed, "Infidel dog! thou provest thyself a spy, with all thy full powers. Since thou hast brought no letter from the vizier Wallis, and hast concealed his offer to cede Belgrade, thou shalt be sent to Constantinople to receive the punishment thou deservest." After enduring these indignities, Neuperg was closely confined, and was not allowed to hold any communication with colonel Gross, until the 26th of August, when Villeneuve made his appearance, and obtained permission to lodge him in his tent.

Neuperg was reproached by the French embassador for his precipitancy in entering the camp without obtaining hostages, and was now first informed that Wallis had already offered the cession of Belgrade, without which the Grand Vizier would not even commence a negotiation for peace. Neuperg, however, persisted in refusing to make this disgraceful cession, until he was overcome by the persuasion of Villeneuve, who affected to be alarmed with apprehensions of a mutiny in the Turkish camp. The troops, he urged, were in the act of rising, and threatened to massacre the Grand Vizier and the bashaws, for holding a traitorous correspondence with infidels, to deprive the Porte of so important a conquest. The Imperial plenipotentiary reluctantly yielded to these representations, and signed the preliminaries on the 1st of September, under the mediation and guaranty of France.

The principal conditions were the restoration of Belgrade and Zabatch, after the demolition of the new fortifications, with the cession of Servia, and all the districts yielded by the Turks at the peace of Passarovitz. The Porte was also to retain the fortress of Orsova, which had been erected by the Imperialists, and the Emperor agreed

to

Chapter 15. 1739.

to demolish the fortifications of Meadia. As a security for the execution of these preliminaries, one of the gates of Belgrade was to be immediately delivered to a corps of Janissaries.

Neuperg instantly dispatched colonel Gross, and announced the signature of the preliminaries by a laconic note, addressed to the commandant of Belgrade. "Peace was signed this morning between the Emperor our master and the Porte; let hostilities cease, therefore, on the receipt of this. In half an hour I shall follow, and announce the particulars myself."

On his arrival, however, he only expressed his surprise and indignation to general Schmettau that hostilities had not ceased; and, as if ashamed of the conditions he had subscribed, did not make them public till the following morning. General Schmettau acted with becoming spirit; he urged Neuperg to suspend the cession of Belgrade, under pretence that he had exceeded his full powers; and used all his influence with Wallis not to deliver the gate to the Turks, until the preliminaries had been ratified by the Emperor. Wallis, however, could not venture to evade his positive orders from the Emperor, to obey the plenipotentiary in what regarded the conclusion of peace; and, when he suggested to the count the proposal of Schmettau, Neuperg indignantly replied, "If you chuse rather to yield to the advice of the general than to obey the orders of the Emperor, and retard only 24 hours the execution of the article relative to Belgrade, I will instantly dispatch a courier to Vienna, and charge you with all the misfortunes which may result; I had great difficulty in diverting the Grand Vizier from the demand of Sirmia, Sclavonia, and the Bannat of Temeswar; and when I have expedited a courier, I will return into the Turkish camp, and protest against the inexecution of the treaty *."

The gate was accordingly delivered on the 4th of September to the bashaw of Romelia, at the head of 800 Janissaries; and the Imperialists had the mortification to see the Turkish officers ride into the town with the standards taken at the battle of Crotzka. All the arrangements being made with respect to the demolition of the new

* Schmettau's Memoires Secrettes, p. 268.

fortifica-

fortifications, the main body of the Imperial army retired towards Peterwaradin, and the Turks towards Nissa.

Count Neuperg had now the mortification to find that the Turks had been more anxious to conclude the peace than the Emperor; and that nothing but the precipitate retreat and panic of the Imperialists had encouraged the Grand Vizier to prosecute hostilities without tendering offers of accommodation, which he had been enjoined to do by the Porte. His chagrin was increased by the reception of two letters from the Emperor, dated the 21st and 22d of August, which arrived at Belgrade on the 27th, and were not forwarded by marshal Wallis, who literally obeyed the orders, that no messenger should be suffered to pass to the Turkish army. These letters stated that the Emperor had only yielded to the surrender of Belgrade on the supposition that the fortress was in imminent danger; but being convinced of the falsity of the report, he had no doubt that his troops would still be able to drive the enemy from their conquests, as they would be seconded by the Russians, who had already defeated the Turks in several encounters, and had advanced as far as Moldavia. He therefore enjoined Neuperg to declare, that Wallis had exceeded his powers; in offering the cession of Belgrade, to represent to Villeneuve the real state of the fortress; and intreat him not to disclose the offers with which he had been intrusted *.

The account of this dishonourable peace was received by all ranks of people with grief and indignation, a general murmur arose among the troops, who exclaimed, "Belgrade must not be yielded; we are ready to sacrifice our lives, if the generals will lead us against the enemy." The populace of Vienna rose tumultuously; assaulted the houses of several officers, and would have demolished those of Bartenstein and

* The account of this negotiation is drawn from a comparison of the Imperial rescript, Mr. Robinson's Dispatches, Laugier's History of the Peace of Belgrade, extracted from the papers of the marquis Villeneuve, Schmettau's Memoires Secrettes de la Guerre de Hongrie, and Koch's Paix de Belgrade, in his Abrégé de l'Histoire des Traités de Paix, vol. iii. In this account I have endeavoured to reconcile their contradictory statements and discordant dates.

Chapter 13. 1739.

Weber, had they not been prevented by the military. The Jesuits were enraged by the loss of their estates in the ceded provinces, and the dissolution of their splendid establishments in the town of Belgrade; and by their clamours and exhortations increased the agitation of the public mind.

But no one was more affected with the conclusion of the peace than the Emperor himself, and he appeared under more agitation of mind than he had ever displayed in the midst of his greatest disasters. His chief embarrassment consisted in the difficulty of extenuating his conduct to the Czarina. In an audience which he gave to the Russian embassador, he appeared under the pressure of the deepest affliction *, and in a letter to the Czarina, seems to have wanted words to express the agony of his mind.

"While I am writing this letter to your Imperial majesty," he said, "my heart is filled with the most excessive grief; I was much less touched with the advantages gained by the enemy, and the news of the siege of Belgrade, than with the advice I have received concerning the shameful preliminary articles concluded by count Neuperg."

After reprobating the conduct of marshal Wallis and count Neuperg, he adds, "The history of past ages exhibits no vestiges of such an event, I was on the point of preventing the fatal and too hasty execution of these preliminaries, when I heard that they were already partly executed, even before the design had been communicated to me: thus I see my hands tied by those who ought to glory in obeying me. All who have approached me since that fatal day, are so many witnesses of the excess of my grief; and, though I have many times experienced adversity, yet I never was so much afflicted with any thing as with this event. Your majesty has a right to complain of some people who ought to have obeyed my orders; but I had no part in what they have done. Though all the forces of the Ottoman Empire were turned against me, I was not disheartened; but still did all that lay in my power for the good of the common cause. I shall not, however, fail to perform in due time what avenging justice requires.

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

In

In this dismal series of misfortunes I have still one comfort left, which is, that the fault cannot be thrown upon me. It lies entirely on such of my officers as ratified the wretched preliminaries, without my knowledge, against my consent, and even against my express orders. But, nevertheless, I ought to conform to what has once been ratified, though unjustly; we must keep faith inviolably even with infidels, while they observe it on their part. However, the happy success of your majesty's arms before Chotzim ought to procure you more advantageous conditions than you could have obtained before; and I do not doubt but the peace between your majesty and the Sublime Porte will be concluded at the same time with mine. It is what I have most at heart at present, as also to perpetuate the ties which so fortunately attach me to your majesty, notwithstanding all the machinations of those who wish to see them dissolved. I am the first to own that Wallis and Neuperg are highly guilty; but your majesty will discover more and more the sincerity of my sentiments for you, in which I have not failed, nor ever will fail in the least *."

This letter was soon followed by a circular Rescript †, addressed to the Imperial embassadors in the different courts of Europe, which was drawn up by Bartenstein, and filled with acrimonious reproaches against the conduct of marshal Wallis and count Neuperg. It bitterly and indiscriminately censured all the operations of Wallis, particularly dwelt on his false statements concerning the situation of Belgrade, and condemned him for the precipitate execution of the article relating to the delivery of the gate. The censures of Neuperg were solely confined to his conduct in regard to the peace, and consisted of vague and desultory accusations on the progress of the negotiations, and the conclusion of the preliminaries. It exculpated the Emperor from any part in the transaction, and not only charged count Neuperg with exceeding his powers, but accused him of acting in direct contradiction to the most positive instructions, and particularly of not including Russia in the treaty.

* Annals of Europe for 1739, p. 2. p. 214.

† This Rescript is given in the Annals of Europe for 1739, p. 2. p. 215.

Chapter 15. 1739.

This Rescript drew from marshal Wallis and count Neuperg a justification of their conduct. After attempting to vindicate his military operations, Wallis declared that he had strictly conformed to his instructions, and that his ill success in negotiating a peace was derived from the want of instructions, which he had in vain demanded. In regard to the conclusion and premature execution of the preliminaries, he threw the whole responsibility on count Neuperg, to whom he had transferred his full powers by order of the Emperor.

Neuperg, on his part, justified the concessions he had made on the plea of urgent necessity; and asserted that no other measures could have prevented the immediate invasion of Hungary, and the total loss of the Imperial army.

The Imperial Rescript contained such a jumble of jarring facts, and such an apparent confusion in the dates, that even the populace discovered its fallacy, and exclaimed that it could impose on none but children*. It was deemed impossible that any negotiator, in so jealous and severe a court as that of Vienna, would venture to exceed his full powers, still less to act in direct contradiction to positive instructions; and suspicions were even formed that the Emperor, or his ministers, had given orders which they now denied, and sacrificed the negotiator as an apology for the disgrace of submitting to such dishonourable terms.

If any thing could aggravate the folly and inconsistency of the Imperial court, it was their conduct at the conclusion of this unfortunate negotiation. While they were thus criminating their plenipotentiary in the eyes of all Europe, and even while Bartenstien was publicly declaring that the man who exceeded his powers ought to be hanged, but that he who acted contrary to them ought to be impaled, Neuperg was sent back to the Turkish camp to settle the definitive peace, and to supply his omission in not including the Czarina in the treaty.

In terminating the negotiation Neuperg proved that he had before acted from imperious necessity, and that he did not deserve the aspersions

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Sept, 19, 1739. Grantham Papers.

cast

cast on his character; for he refused with great dignity and firmness to sign any treaty between the Emperor and the Porte, unless an accommodation was at the same time concluded with Russia. This spirit baffled the intrigues of Villeneuve, and overcame the obstinacy of the Turks, who began to be alarmed at the victory of Chotzim, gained by marshal Munich, and the rapid progress of the Russian arms. The two treaties were accordingly signed on the 18th of September, before the departure of the Grand Vizier, and the stipulations with regard to Russia were referred to the future approbation of the Czarina. The honour of the Emperor was also in some measure retrieved, by a declaration annexed to the treaty, stating, that he did not derogate from the alliance with Russia; and reserved to himself the right of assisting the Czarina with 30,000 troops, should the war be continued between her and the Porte. Chapter 15. 1739.

The articles of the peace at Belgrade were nearly similar to the tenor of the preliminaries. The Emperor ceded Servia, with the fortresses of Belgrade and Szabatch; he also yielded Austrian Wallachia, with the fortress of new Orsova, and a small district on the north bank of the Danube, and retained the Bannat of Temeswar, on condition of demolishing the fortifications of Meadia *.

By the stipulations arranged for Russia, Azof was to be demolished, and its territory to remain a desert, and to serve as a barrier between the two empires; the city of Taganroc was not to be reestablished, and the Czarina was to relinquish her pretentions to the navigation of the Black Sea, and restore her recent acquisitions to the Porte. The Czarina disapproved these conditions, and thought that the success of her arms entitled her to more advantageous terms; but as she was left without an ally, as the Swedes were making preparations to cooperate with the Porte, as insurrections were brooding in Poland, and as she was alarmed with a dangerous conspiracy among her own nobles, she prudently ratified the treaty with some modifications, which increased the limits of her empire on the side of the Ukraine †.

* Laugier's History of the Peace of Belgrade—Koch.

† Munich Ebauche.

The

Chapter 15. 1739. Sept. 23.

The peace of Belgrade was scarcely signed before Wallis was arrested and confined at Zigieth, and Neuperg sent to the castle of Hallitz, where they remained during the life of Charles the Sixth.

It is difficult at this distance of time to develop the whole mystery of this extraordinary transaction; but sufficient evidences are not wanting to trace the principal causes which occasioned the conclusion of this precipitate peace. At the close of 1736, attempts were made to negotiate an accommodation between Russia and the Porte, under the mediation of the Emperor, and a congress was opened at Meniorow in Poland; but the Emperor having taken part against the Turks, the congress was dissolved, and the Porte requested the mediation of France, which, after some difficulties and delays, was also accepted by the allied powers. Conferences were accordingly opened at Constantinople, between the Turkish ministers, and Villeneuve the French embassador, a man of cultivated talents and consummate address, versed in all the arts of negotiation, and well calculated to carry into execution the refined views of the French cabinet. He was instructed, while he acted the ostensible part of an impartial mediator, to divide the Emperor from the Czarina, to prevent any dismemberment of the Turkish dominions, and above all to counteract the aggrandisement of the house of Austria. Villeneuve secretly encouraged the Turks to reject the exorbitant demands at first made by the allied powers, which were no less, on the side of the Emperor, than the entire cession of Bosnia, Moldavia, and Wallachia; and, on the side of Russia, to retain possession of Azof, Otchakof, and the Kuban, with the free navigation of the Black Sea.

The negotiations were renewed at the close of each campaign; but though the allies lessened their pretensions, the Turks rose in their demands, in proportion to their successes; and Villeneuve being trusted by the Emperor, to the exclusion even of his own ministers, was enabled to obstruct the negotiation, until he had sown jealousy between the two powers, and effectually fulfilled the views of France. His efforts were unfortunately promoted by the distracted state of the Imperial court, and the divisions between Wallis and

Neuperg, who were more anxious to ruin each other, than to promote the interests of their master. Chapter 15. 1739.

After the defeat of Krotzka, and the retreat of the Imperial army, the Emperor disclosed to Villeneuve, in confidence, the disastrous situation of his affairs, and his readiness to conclude a separate peace, even with the cession of Belgrade, in a state of demolition. The duke of Loraine and Maria Theresa, also alarmed at the declining state of the Emperor's health, and dreading lest, on his decease, the house of Bourbon should excite a contest for the Austrian succession, urgently exhorted Neuperg to yield to any terms which might terminate the embarrassments of a Turkish war*. These circumstances favoured the efforts of Villeneuve; he availed himself of the confidence of the Emperor; and when Neuperg was confined in the Turkish camp, he alarmed his fears, concealed the rapid successes of the Russians, magnified the strength of the Turks, and did not cease his artifices and intrigues, until he had extorted the cession of Belgrade. This being the only point in dispute, the other articles were arranged without much difficulty; and Villeneuve boasted that, in making the peace of Belgrade, he had rendered a more effectual service to France than if he had gained a complete victory.

The efforts of this refined negotiator were equally promoted by the secret manœuvres of Bartenstien, who, while he affected to admire and animate the spirit of the Emperor, exaggerated the bad state of his affairs, and incessantly urged the necessity of an immediate peace. General Suckof who was intrusted with the command of Belgrade, was his creature, and under his direction; and, though he could not ostensibly oppose the mission of Schmettau, to defend that fortress to the last extremity, yet he endeavoured to prevent his appointment.

* Memoires de Brandebourg, an. 1739. Ebauche de Munich. The intimate connection of the duke of Loraine with count Neuperg is also frequently alluded to in Mr. Robinson's Dispatches, and a general suspicion was prevalent at Vienna, that Neuperg had acted in consequence of private instructions from the duke of Loraine and Maria Theresa. On her accession Neuperg was not only released from confinement but intrusted with the command of the army against the king of Prussia.

With

Chapter 15. 1739.

With this view, notwithstanding the positive orders of the Emperor, Schmettau was not furnished with written instructions, but was referred to marshal Wallis, to whom he carried dispatches. On arriving at the camp, Schmettau was apprised by Wallis, that these dispatches contained no instructions; but a private letter from Bartenstein, in which he said, "As his Imperial majesty had given a promise, under his own hand, to general Suckof, to promote him to the rank of general of artillery, and the government of Servia, if he preserved Belgrade, the defence of that place could not be intrusted to any other general; and, therefore, the intention of the Emperor was, that Schmettau should be employed in the army, or at Peterwaradin, to defend that fortress should it be besieged." But although Wallis could not venture to supersede Suckof, yet he found means to elude the orders of "this scribe," as he called him, "who abused the name of the Emperor to favour his creatures," by appointing Schmettau commander in chief of Belgrade, in virtue of his power as governor of the province *.

It is not easy to trace the motives which influenced the conduct of this upstart favourite; whether to secure the favour of the successor to the Austrian monarchy, whether from dislike to the Maritime Powers, who had abandoned his master in the hour of danger, or, whether from the disastrous state of the Emperor's affairs, he dreaded the continuance of so unfortunate and ruinous a contest.

But although the signature and extention of the preliminaries were shamefully precipitated, and a short delay might even have procured honourable and advantageous terms, yet a peace at all events was absolutely necessary for the salvation of the house of Austria. Nor can it be deemed a matter of surprise, that even a sovereign of so proud

* It is, however, a singular proof of Bartenstein's superior influence, that notwithstanding the gallant exertions of Schmettau, and the negligence, incapacity, and pusillanimity of Suckof, the whole honour of the defence is attributed to him in the Imperial Rescript, and he is even praised for the assurances made by general Schmettau of preserving Belgrade to the end of September, though he had repeatedly declared that it would not hold out three days.

and

and unbending a spirit as Charles the Sixth, should ratify so dishonourable a peace, when his situation is thus described by an eye-witness and competent judge.

"Every thing in this court is running into the last confusion and ruin; where there are as visible signs of folly and madness as ever were inflicted upon a people whom heaven is determined to destroy, no less by domestic divisions, than by the more public calamities of repeated defeats, defenceless, poverty, and plague*."

In a word, the deplorable state in which Charles left, on his death, his army and finances, is the best apology for the peace of Belgrade.

* Mr. Robinson to Mr. Walpole, Vienna, Aug. 19, 1739.

CHAPTER 16.

1739, 1740.

Degradation of the Imperial Court—Ascendancy of France—Character and Views of cardinal Fleury—Situation of the European Powers—Ineffectual Attempts to renew the Connection between England and the House of Austria—Revival of the Disputes on the Barrier Treaty.

Chapter 16. 1739, 1740.

ALTHOUGH the Emperor had concluded a definitive peace with the Porte; yet the vague terms of the treaty gave rise to new cavils and long discussions concerning the demarcation of the limits, which were artfully protracted by the intrigues of France, who thus maintained her ascendancy over the contracting powers.

France, at this period, had attained an enormous preponderancy among the powers of Europe, not only from a dread of her strength and resources, but from the character and system of the prime minister.

Cardinal Fleury was in the 84th year of his age; he was of a circumspect and cautious temper, and possessed the art of winning mankind by an unaffected air of candour and simplicity. His great prudence and sagacity enabled him to distinguish the precise bounds to which he could push his intrigues, and to conceal his designs under the semblance of moderation; his progress was, therefore, more dangerous, as it was silent and unobserved. From temper and principle he was anxious to maintain his country in peace; but, as his great aim was to remove every obstruction to the ascendancy of France, he directed all his efforts to divide, though he avoided provoking, the other powers of Europe.

In pursuit of his plan, he had imperceptibly brought the Emperor to an entire dependence on France, and had more reduced the house

of

of Austria by his intrigues, than his predecessors by the sword. Although France had guaranticd the Pragmatic Sanction, yet he looked forward to the prospect of dividing the Austrian dominions between the two Archduchesses; and thus hoped to diminish the weight of a power which had hitherto been the rival, and might again become the enemy, of the house of Bourbon. With this view he filled all the courts of Europe with his intrigues, and endeavoured to isolate the house of Austria, by uniting her enemies, and paralising the efforts of her friends.

France wholly governed the councils of the Porte; and, by means of reciprocal treaties and guaranties, secured a pretext for her interference in the future disputes of the Turks with the christian powers.

She had effected an essential change in the administration of Sweden, by removing the ministers who were favourable to England; and maintained the king in total subjection, by swaying the parties which agitated that distracted government. By her influence, also, the Swedes were induced to arm on the side of Finland, and to make an offensive alliance with the Porte.

Notwithstanding the subsidiary treaty, which Denmark had concluded with England, France endeavoured to alienate the court of Copenhagen from the house of Austria; and the fluctuating conduct of the Danish cabinet, seemed to favour her views. With their consent, she dispatched a squadron into the Baltic, under a frivolous pretence; which, parading through the Sound, intimidated the enemies, and encouraged the friends of France.

Russia, alarmed on one side with the preparations of the Swedes, and on the other kept in suspense by the protracted negotiation with the Turks, was inclined to temporize; and, unwilling to provoke the resentment of France, unless a grand combination of the European states could be formed, capable of resisting the alarming power of the house of Bourbon. Advanced in age, and declining in health, Anne was also too much embarrassed with domestic arrangements to take an active or principal part in the affairs of Europe. She had recently given her niece Anne, the princess of Mecklenburg, in marriage to

Chapter 16. 1739, 1740.

Anthony Ulric, prince of Brunswick Wolfembuttel, and was employed in settling the succession to her dominions, under the dictates of an imperious favourite *, who was ambitious to direct the helm of government, after her death, with the same authority as during her life.

Although Augustus the Third owed his crown to the united efforts of the Emperor and Russia; yet, as king of Poland, he was unable to suppress the domestic cabals excited by the intrigues of France, or to turn the united forces of this kingdom in favour of the house of Austria.

Germany was divided in interests, and distracted by parties. France had gained many of the catholic princes, and in particular the elector of Bavaria, with the hopes of sharing in the Austrian succession. She also artfully availed herself of the resentment entertained by the king of Prussia against the Emperor for his prevarication in regard to the succession of Berg and Juliers. Charles, notwithstanding his solemn promises, was desirous to secure the whole succession of the Elector Palatine to Charles Theodore, prince of Sultzbach; and while France affected to cooperate in this arrangement, and had even guarantied the succession, she entered into a secret negotiation with Frederic William, and lured him with the promise of securing to him the whole duchy of Berg, except the town of Dusseldorf †. By these intrigues she detached Frederic William from the house of Austria; and, by fomenting his prejudices against the house of Hanover, she succeeded in weakening and dividing the efforts of the protestant body.

The king of Sardinia was indebted to the mediation of France, for the termination of his disputes with the Emperor, and for a greater accession of territory than he could have acquired either from the fears or the gratitude of Charles. He was therefore, from these circumstances, as well as from the preponderance of the house of Bourbon in Italy, and the exhausted state of Austria, in entire subjection to the dictates of the French cabinet.

* Biron duke of Courland; for an account of whom see Travels in Poland, Russia, &c. b. iv. ch. 10.

† Memoires de Brandebourg.

John

John the Fifth, king of Portugal, began to lose that spirit and vigour of intellect which had distinguished the former part of his reign; his faculties were impaired by a stroke of apoplexy, and in his character and conduct he blended the extremes of devotion and licentiousness. Scrupulously adhering to the ceremonies of the church, the bigotted monarch paid as much attention to the arrangement of a procession, and to the election of an abbot, as to the most important concerns of government. Hence the whole power fell into the hands of confessors and friars; immense sums were expended in religious establishments, instead of being employed in the maintenance of an army and navy, and Portugal daily declined in power and consideration *. Chapter 16. 1739, 1740.

Spain was involved in a war with England, on account of the depredations in America; and, alarmed for the safety of her colonial possessions, importunately required the interference of France, and looked forward for the active assistance which she was openly encouraged to expect.

The United Provinces still exhibited the same weak and divided government; alarmed at the increasing preponderance of France, yet without vigour to resist her encroachments; dreading the interference of England in favour of the prince of Orange, who had espoused the daughter of George the Second; and though without any other ally, to whom they could look for support, considering the war with Spain as wholly foreign to their interests. They were irritated against the Emperor for the haughty conduct of his ministers, and involved in interminable disputes concerning the commercial regulations of the Barrier Treaty.

England, the only power capable of consolidating a grand combination against France, was engaged in the prosecution of the Spanish war, which had been excited by the clamours of the merchants, and the madness of the people, wild with dreams of conquest and plunder. But the illusion had been dissipated by the ill success of their arma-

* Ouvres Posthumes de Frederic II. chap. 1. "Ses plaisirs," says the royal historian, "etoient des fonctions sacerdotales; ses batimens, des couvens, ses armées des moines, et ses maitresses des religieuses."

ments,

Chapter 15. 1739, 1740.

ments, and by the hostile preparations of France. The nation was distracted by contending parties; the cabinet divided; and the minister, becoming more and more unpopular, was compelled to pursue a temporizing policy, ill adapted to the circumstances of the times. Numerous schemes of alliance and cooperation against France were formed; but they were counteracted by the discordant views of the cabinet, and the inveterate antipathy of George the Second to the house of Brandenburgh, whose concurrence was indispensably necessary for the establishment of a permanent confederacy against the house of Bourbon *.

In this situation of Europe, the Emperor, debilitated by his recent disasters, was bound by France with the most galling fetters. Her numerous partisans were continually representing to him the weakness of his exhausted country, and the danger of provoking the resentment of so formidable a power. His court was beset by her spies, every motion was watched, and Fleury made urgent complaints whenever the duke of Loraine, who indignantly bore this state of dependence, had an interview with the British minister †.

This humiliating subjection chagrined the most upright and independant ministers of the conference; and counts Staremberg and Harrach in particular, lamented the influence of France in the councils of their sovereign. They considered the Maritime Powers as the natural allies of the house of Austria, and looked forward to the renewal of the former connection, as the only means to deliver the house of Austria from dependence, and to recover her ascendancy in Europe. They considered the right which France enjoyed to interfere in the affairs of Germany, as guarantee of the treaty of Munster, as the greatest evil to the Empire, and were apprehensive that having been permitted to add her guaranty to her mediation in the treaty with the Porte, she would avail herself of that pretext to interfere in all future disputes with the Turks ‡.

* Memoirs of lord Walpole, chap. xxi.

† Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, July 27, 1740.

‡ Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

The

The Emperor himself felt and appreciated his danger; he regretted the precipitation with which he had concluded the preliminaries at Vienna in 1737 with La Beaume, and still more his acceptance of the mediation and guaranty of France in the treaty of Belgrade. He saw that his ministers had been deceived by the artifices of Villeneuve, and that the peace had been dictated at Paris. He was sensible that the French, by their manœuvres with the Porte, were delaying the execution of the treaty, and was aware of their schemes for the division or dismemberment of his succession. He considered a war between France and England as inevitable, and foresaw the destruction of the house of Austria, should England be crushed by the united efforts of the house of Bourbon.

In this dangerous crisis, overtures were made by England, who was alarmed at the hostile preparations of the French by land and sea; and at the march of their troops towards the coast of the British channel, and the frontiers of Flanders. The English ministry endeavoured to rouse the Imperial cabinet, with the prospect of an approaching war on the continent, which might be opened by the invasion of Germany, or an attack on the Netherlands, and requested the Emperor to assume a posture of defence, and provide for the security of the Barrier Towns. The Emperor, who was not unwilling to act according to the extent of his power and resources, and was anxious to consolidate the whole force of the German empire against the aggressions of France, dispatched count Ostein to Hanover to adjust the terms of a reconciliation with England and Holland; but the good effects of this mission were counteracted by the secret manœuvres of Bartenstein, whose aversion to the Maritime Powers induced him to throw obstacles in the way of an accommodation. At the suggestion of the referendary, who drew up the instructions, count Ostein was ordered to inveigh against the former desertion of the Maritime Powers*, and to express the diffidence of the Emperor to enter into new engagements, for the fulfilment of which he had, from past experience, no sufficient security. Impracticable proposals, relative to Ger-

* Lord Harrington's Dispatch to Mr. Robinson.

man

Chapter 16. 1739, 1740.

man disputes, were also introduced, and Bartenstein artfully availed himself of the former contentions relative to the conditions of the Barrier Treaty, which were again revived.

In delivering the Netherlands to the house of Austria, and in the formation of the Barrier Treaty, the Maritime Powers acted rather with the narrow jealousy of a commercial company than with the spirit and views of a great nation, for preserving the permanent tranquillity of Europe. From this principle, besides interdicting all commerce of the Netherlands to the East Indies, by the abolition of the Ostend Company, they endeavoured to prevent their trade to the West Indies, on the authority of some vague expressions in the treaty of Munster, to which the Barrier Treaty referred. They also had established during the war of the succession, a tariff for the duties of export and import, which was ratified by the 26th article of the Barrier Treaty, and was to be continued on the same footing, until specific regulations were made by a new treaty of commerce which was to be concluded as soon as possible. At length, yielding to the urgent remonstrances of the Emperor, the Maritime Powers affected to comply with their engagements, and in the fifth article of the treaty of Vienna in 1731, it was stipulated that commissioners should assemble at Antwerp for the adjustment of a new treaty of commerce, according to the intention of the twenty-sixth article of the Barrier Treaty, which was to be concluded within the space of two years *.

To

* As to commerce it is agreed, that the ships, merchandise, and commodities coming from Great Britain and the United Provinces, and entering into the Austrian Netherlands; and also the ships, merchandise, and commodities going from the said Netherlands to Great Britain and the United Provinces, shall pay no other duties of exportation or importation than what are paid upon the present foot, and particularly such as were regulated before the signing of the present treaty, according to the request made to the council of state at Brussels, by the ministers of the allied powers, dated the 6th of November; and so every thing shall remain, continue, and subsist generally upon the same foot, without any alteration, innovation, diminution, or augmentation, under any pretence whatsoever, till his Imperial and Catholic majesty, his Britannic majesty, and the Lords of the States General shall otherwise appoint by a treaty of commerce to be made as soon as possible. In the mean time

To the continuance of these restrictions the Imperial cabinet attributed the most fatal consequences, and Bartenstein drew up a memorial, exhibiting the grievances which the people of the Netherlands suffered from the state of their trade in Great Britain and Holland.

"The Netherlands," he said, "are at present reduced to a most deplorable situation; the commerce to the Indies interdicted; debts enormously increased during the course of a long war; the revenues absorbed by the maintenance of the military establishment; the deficiency in the revenue, already amounting to an enormous sum, is annually increasing; and the only source to obviate these evils almost wholly exhausted." "The manufactures," he added, "are daily declining, and, without a speedy remedy, will be annihilated. The best workmen emigrate for want of employment, and the richest merchants threaten to quit the country. Hence arises an alarming decrease in the duties on consumption, as well as those of export and import, and even in the ordinary contributions; and the balance of trade having been long unequal, the inference is natural, that it will be totally overthrown if the same principle is pursued, of lowering the duties on the side of the Low Countries, and raising those on the side of England*."

Hence the Imperial ministers contended, that the Maritime Powers had eluded their engagements contracted by the Barrier Treaty and the treaty of Vienna, by which the alteration of the tariff was to be settled before the expiration of a new treaty of commerce within two years, and they urged the justice and necessity of a reciprocity of duties.

These statements were combated on the part of England, by insisting, that the duties settled by the tariff being appropriated for the li-

time the commerce, and all that depends on it between the subjects of his Imperial and catholic majesty in the Austrian Netherlands, and those of the United Provinces, in the whole or in part, shall remain upon the foot established, and in the manner appointed by the articles of the treaty concerning commerce, made at Munster the 30th of January 1648, between his majesty king Philip the Fourth of glorious memory, and the said Lords the States General of the United Provinces; which articles are now confirmed by the present treaty —Collection of Treaties, &c. from the end of the reign of queen Anne to 1731, vol. iv.

* Memoire remis par les ministres Imperiaux, à Monsieur Dunant le 23 Mai N. S. 1737. Grantham papers.

Chapter 16. 1739, 1740.

quidation of the debt incurred for the conquest of the Low Countries from France, could not be changed till the debt was discharged *; and that the Emperor, having accepted the Netherlands on the terms settled by the Barrier Treaty, had no right to expect an alteration of the system established by that treaty.

These discordant principles became a never-failing source of disagreement, and furnished Bartenstein with endless pretexts to inveigh against the narrow policy of the Maritime Powers. In consequence of this dissatisfaction on the side of Austria, and the perseverance of the Maritime Powers, to retain the privileges to which they were entitled by the treaty of Barrier, no compromise could be made; and the conferences which had been opened at Antwerp in 1737, for adjusting the new treaty of commerce, produced no effect.

* Mr. Walpole to Mr. Robinson, August 25, 1739.

CHAPTER 17.

1740.

Death of Frederic William, king of Prussia—Early Life, Education, and Character of Frederic the Second—His retreat at Rheinsberg—His Views and Conduct on his Accession—Anxiety of the Emperor to be relieved from his Dependence on France, and to renew his Connection with England—His Illness and Death—Person and Character—His Consort and Family.

Chapter 17. 1740.

THE alarming designs of France, the danger to which the Maritime Powers were exposed, the representations of the duke of Loraine, and the instances of the ministers, at length outweighed the influence of Bartenstein; and the Emperor became more zealous than ever to renew his connection with the king of England, and to unite the German empire against the incroachments of the house of Bourbon. The obstacles which hitherto prevented the union of the protestant body, arising from the disputes between the houses of Hanover and Brandenburgh, seemed now to be removed by the death of Frederic William, king of Prussia, in April 1740; and hopes were entertained that his successor would be induced to pursue a different line of conduct.

Charles Frederic, who, under the name of Frederic the Second, was destined to give a new lustre to the crown of Prussia, and to become the formidable rival of the house of Austria, was son of Frederic William, by Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George the First, king of England, and was born at Berlin the 24th of January 1712. Although Frederic William disliked magnificence, literature, and foreign manners, and was desirous of giving his son an education more calculated for a ser-

Chapter 17. 1740.

jeant than a prince; yet Berlin abounded with refugees and other natives of France, drawn to the capital by Frederic the First, who emulated the court of Louis the Fourteenth. To some of these foreigners, distinguished for their elegance of manners and acquaintance with polite literature, the early education of the young prince was entrusted; and from them he imbibed that fondness for the French language and French manners which influenced his future life.

His governor, lieutenant-general count Finkenstein, was a man of high probity, and distinguished courage, but stiff in his address, and cold in his manners; and his sub-governor, Kalkstein, was principally distinguished for his rigid œconomy, and perfect knowledge of military details; qualifications, which, in the opinion of Frederic William, superseded every other accomplishment. As neither of these persons was calculated to gain the confidence of a young prince, endowed with quick intellects, and a lively genius, he conceived an attachment to his preceptor du Han, a French refugee, who had served under Frederic William at the siege of Stralsund. Du Han was of a captious and sarcastic temper, and a free thinker in matters of religion; but possessed a general knowledge of polite literature, and encouraged his royal pupil in that prepossession for French authors which he had already imbibed, and which was strengthened by the prevailing taste of the times, the low state of German literature *, and by the prohibition of his father, that his son should not be instructed in the learned languages.

Frederic William, who had employed his whole reign in the formation of that great military establishment which afterwards rendered Prussia the arbitress of Germany, was most anxious to give to his son the education of a soldier: at an early age the young prince was appointed chief of a corps of cadets, and daily practised, with his pigmy troops, the military evolutions which his father performed with his tall regiment; and he made so considerable a progress in these manœuvres, that in his twelfth year he surprised the king of Great Britain, during

* The best German authors wrote either in Latin or French.

a visit

a visit to Berlin, by exercising three hundred cadets with a dexterity above his age *. Chapter IV. 1740.

Notwithstanding his progress, the king was dissatisfied with his attachment to music, and to what he called outlandish literature, dismissed his preceptors when he had attained the age of fifteen, and assumed the principal direction of his employment. He made him his companion in most of his journies, and gave him incessant lectures on finance, agriculture, and military discipline. But, as the young prince did not listen to such dry details with sufficient attention, the king bitterly reproached him with his passion for music and letters, and treated him with excessive rigour. For petty breaches of military order, Frederic William frequently put his son under arrest, and confined him to bread and water; he also threw his music into the fire, and broke his flute. This opposition to his favourite pursuits only increased the inclination of the young prince for the arts and polite literature; he passed whole nights in reading by stealth, and held concerts in forests and caverns, during his hunting excursions, with musicians privately supplied by his mother.

At length, exasperated by this tyrannical treatment, Frederic formed the design of escaping into England, to seek the protection of his uncle George the Second. He made this attempt at a village near Frankfort; but being discovered, was arrested and confined at Wesel. Interrogated by his father, who demanded his reasons for deserting, he replied, "Because, sire, you have not hitherto treated me as your son, but as your slave."—"You are a cowardly deserter," exclaimed the king, "without courage, and without honour!"—"I have no less courage," answered the prince, "and honour, than yourself; and I have only done what you have frequently said you would do, if you were in my place." The king, inflamed with this reproach, drew his sword, but general Mosel holding his arm, and throwing himself between them, exclaimed, "Kill me, sire; but spare your son!" This seasonable exclamation recalled the king to reason; and Mosel conveyed the prince

* Poellnitz Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des quatre derniers Souverains de la Maison de Brandebourg; from which this account of the early life of Frederic is principally drawn.

into

Chapter 17. 1740. 1730.

into another apartment, and from thence to the prison which was destined for his reception.

Frederic was afterwards transferred to Berlin, and from thence to the palace of Mittelwalde, where he was interrogated by a committee of four persons, presided by general Grumbkow, minister of state. Having presented to the prince the interrogatories and answers of Katt, his favourite page, who was tried for assisting his escape, they questioned him on some points of which the king required information. Frederic replied with firmness, and shewed that his spirit was greater than his misfortunes. On being told that it was the king's pleasure he should be transferred to Custrin, "Be it so," he said, "I consent; but, if I am to recover my liberty by intreaties, I fear that I shall remain there a considerable time." At Custrin he was confined six months in a cell, without furniture, without a bed, and without a single attendant; received an allowance of only sixpence a day, and was deprived of all books, except a Bible and a psalter. He was here repeatedly interrogated; and as the crime alleged against him was high treason, he had every reason to expect that his obdurate father would imitate the example of Peter the Great towards his son, the unfortunate Alexey *. In this state of suspense he one morning observed the window of his cell enlarging, and a communication formed with a scaffold, covered with black cloth, erected in the court of the citadel, on a level with the cell in which he was confined. Being convinced that these preparations were making for his own execution, he prepared for his fate; and was only undeceived when the commandant of the citadel announced the condemnation of Katt. Four grenadiers entered the cell, and forcibly conveyed the prince to the window, holding his head towards the scaffold, on which the unfortunate victim now made his appearance. The sentence being read, Frederic earnestly exhorted the executioner to defer the stroke, that he might write to his father, and obtain the pardon of his friend, by renouncing his right of succession to the crown. But his tears, his entreaties, and his cries being ineffectual, he exclaimed in an agony of grief, "Would to God

* For an account of Alexey, see Travels into Russia, book iv. ch. 12.

that

that I were in your place!"—"Oh! sir," replied the unfortunate victim, "had I a thousand lives, I would sacrifice them all for you." He then knelt down; one of his attendants advancing to cover his face, "It is needless," he said; and lifting up his eyes to heaven, "My God," he added, "to thy hands I commit my soul!" Before the executioner could perform his office, the prince fainted; and when he recovered, saw the headless trunk of his affectionate servant, which was exposed the whole day. Chapter 17. 1740.

But this victim did not appease the fury of Frederic William, and he still persisted in the resolution of immolating his son to military justice. He bitterly reproached the court martial, because only one of the twenty-four judges appointed to try his son, had condemned him to death. To his ministers, who had the courage to represent that the heir apparent could not be capitally convicted, he exclaimed, "I consider my son as a soldier who disobeys orders, or as a deserter who quits his post!" To the Emperor, who wrote to him with his own hand, that he had no authority to try his son, and still less to put him to death, because the prince, as member of the Empire, could only be heard and judged at a full diet, he replied, "I am a king, and in that capacity will bring my son to judgment, by sending him into Prussia, where I acknowledge no power except God alone."

The delays, however, which these remonstrances occasioned, gave time to his paternal sentiments to regain their influence. Great Britain, Sweden, and the States General, joined their intercession to that of the Emperor. The queen, continually repulsed, never intermitted her solicitations, and at length prevailed. The king relented, and released his son from prison, after obliging him to take a solemn oath, not to entertain any resentment against the ministers; never to undertake any journey without permission; to live in fear of God; to fulfil the duties of his religion; and not to marry any princess whom he did not approve. But though he released the prince from confinement, he would not permit him to return to court. He compelled him to continue at Custrin, not to wear his uniform, and not to speak French; he was obliged to attend the boards of police and finance, to audit the accounts,

Chapter 17. 1740.

accounts, and to copy memorials. So minute were these orders, and so exactly fulfilled, that when the president of the board transmitted to Frederic William three memorials, two of which were copied by the prince, and the third only signed, the king wrote on the margin, "the signature of Fritz is not sufficient; he ought to have transcribed the whole himself*."

The king's resentment at length subsided; he recalled the prince to court, but did not relax his rigorous treatment, and compelled him to marry Elizabeth Christina, daughter of the duke of Brunswick. Although Frederic entertained an invincible aversion to his consort, with whom he never cohabited, yet this event procured him a separate establishment, and enabled him to fix his residence at the castle of Rheimsberg. He here devoted himself to his favourite studies, and passed his time in convivial intercourse with a chosen society † of men of letters, either natives of France, or devoted to French literature. He was indefatigable in the perusal of works on ancient and modern history, particularly translations of the classics; and blended his literary occupations with concerts and theatrical representations. He also maintained an intercourse with the philosopher Wolff, who had been driven from Halle for his metaphysical tenets, and held constant correspondence with the French literati, particularly Rollin, Henault, Maupertuis, and Voltaire. His active mind was animated by the most ardent love of fame; but being excluded from affairs of state, he endeavoured to distinguish himself in the republic of letters, and composed a commentary on the Prince of Machiavel, with a view to refute the political principles of that work. This piece, called the Anti-Machiavel, he submitted to the correction of Voltaire, and was preparing it for the press, when the death of his father opened a new field to his exertions.

On the accession of Frederic the Second, the dominions of the house of Brandenburgh consisted of provinces detached from each other;

* Poellnitz, tom. ii. p. 225—254.

† Of this select coterie, the principal were Kaiserlin, a native of Courland, Suhm, Jandun, Bielfield, Maupertuis, Algarotti, and Chasot.

and

and many parts, particularly the marc of Brandenburgh, so barren and sandy, that Frederic William had been called in derision "the *arch sablonnier* of the German empire." The whole population did not exceed 2,400,000 souls, and the revenues, though improved by the financial system of Frederic William, amounted to no more than 8,700,000 crowns. The country maintained but little commerce, and was almost without resource *, but the late king had left a treasure of 9,000,000 crowns, and an army of 76,000 men, the best disciplined troops in Europe, with artillery, magazines, and all the appointments of war, in the highest state of order.

Frederic the Second was now in the twenty-eighth year of his age; and his real character was little appreciated by his contemporaries, and scarcely known even by those who had constant access to his person. He had displayed no predilection for military affairs; had seen no service, except part of the inactive campaign of 1737; and the only trait of his intrepidity, which was recollected even by his warmest panegyrists, was, that in reconnoitring the lines of Philipsburgh, he exhibited no concern in the midst of a continual discharge of cannon, the shot of which fractured some branches of trees over his head. His father was so little acquainted with his personal character, as to express apprehension lest the military establishment should be dissolved after his death; and the literary society at Rheimsberg deemed him as volatile and dissipated as themselves. They anticipated a delicious life passed in indolence and ease, hailed the halcyon days of peace and luxury, and hoped that he would rival his grandfather Frederic the First, in the magnificence of his court, and the elegance of his refinements †.

But

* Œuvres Posthumes de Frederic II. tom. i. ch. 1.

† The voluptuous retirement of Frederic in the palace of Rheimsberg, seemed rather to resemble that of Rinaldo in the palace of Alcina than the retreat of the future hero. Baron Bielfield thus describes his mode of life: "The days glide away in tranquillity, seasoned with all the pleasures which can flatter a reasonable mind. Fare for a king, wine for the gods, music for angels, delightful walks in the gardens and woods, parties on the water, the cultivation of letters and the fine arts, spirited and pleasant conversation." Letter 8.

 "The

Chapter 17. 1740.

But the real character of the new monarch soon developed itself in a petty transaction with the bishop and chapter of Liege, in which he displayed that prompt and decisive spirit of enterprise which afterwards marked his conduct. During an excursion to Strasburgh and Cleves, (whither he repaired to have an interview with Voltaire,) the inhabitants of Herstal, a small barony in the vicinity of Liege, which descended to the house of Brandenburgh as part of the inheritance of the house of Orange, refused to take the oath of allegiance. Frederic sent a corps of troops against the bishop and chapter of Liege, whom he suspected of instigating the inhabitants, and exacted from them an indemnification of 60,000 rix-dollars.

Berlin now became the center of intrigue and negotiation, and the alliance of the new king was courted by the different powers of Europe. The succession to the duchies of Juliers and Berg had been long an object of dispute between the houses of Brandenburgh and Palatine Sultzbach, and it was expected that the attention of the young monarch would be first directed to secure that inheritance, which from the advanced age and declining health of the Elector Palatine was likely to become vacant *.

The British cabinet fully appreciated the great advantages which would result from the accession of Prussia to the intended union of the German powers; but their attempts were frustrated by the exorbitant pretensions of Frederic, on one side, not only to the succession of Berg and Juliers, but also to Mecklenburgh and East Friezeland †; and the

" The inscription over the gate ' Frederico tranquillitatem petenti,' seemed to indicate his sentiments:" observes baron Poelnitz, " his behaviour and his actions render it probable that his reign will be one of those mild and peaceable reigns which procure kings the love of their people, wherein consists their true glory." Lettres de Poelnitz, tom. i. p. 27.

* Charles Philip, Elector Palatine, died in 1742; and as Frederic was then engaged in alliance with France, and in the war against the house of Austria, he relinquished his pretensions on the duchies of Berg and Juliers, and in return obtained from Charles Theodore, the new Elector Palatine, the guaranty of Silesia, which he considered as a more valuable acquisition.

† Project of a Grand Alliance. Mr. Walpole's Papers.

aversion

aversion of George the Second, on the other, who seemed to have transferred to the son the antipathy which he had entertained against the father *.

The haughty spirit of the court of Vienna was not inclined to bend to circumstances, or to conciliate the king of Prussia, whom they had long considered as a vassal of the Imperial crown. With them, pride supplied the place of strength, and the recollection of former grandeur the sense of present humiliation. The Emperor even offended the young monarch, by his ill-timed remonstrances on the affair of Herstal, and by referring the complaints of the bishop of Liege to the diet of Ratisbon †.

Even France did not act with her usual address. She had concurred in guarantying the palatine succession to the prince of Sultzbach, and either not appreciating the strength and views of the new sovereign, or jealous lest he should make any acquisitions on the banks of the Rhine, expressed an unwillingness to recede from her guaranty, and offered only an insignificant portion of the inheritance, which Frederic deemed inadequate to his pretensions ‡.

Under these circumstances Frederic listened to the overtures of the different powers without giving a decisive answer; but infusing new vigour into every department of government, improved the œconomical system of his father, maintained the discipline of the army, raised fifteen new battalions, and waited in silence till a scene of action should present itself worthy of employing those talents for the cabinet and the field, with which nature had endowed him, and which education and reflection had matured.

Meanwhile the Emperor was employed in supplying the losses of his army, and repairing the disorders in his finances; and seemed to be animated with equal zeal and sincerity in his approaches towards the

* Memoirs of Lord Walpole.

† Denina Vie de Frederic, ii. p. 44.

‡ Œuvres Posthumes de Frederic II. tom. i. p. 116.

Chapter 17. 1740.

Maritime Powers, and in adopting a plan of reconciliation and mutual defence.

Charles, though subject to occasional attacks of the gout, had always enjoyed a sound and vigorous constitution, but at this period his health had been greatly injured by the violent agitation of his mind under his recent distresses *. In the beginning of October he complained of some symptoms of a flying gout; but, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his physicians, he refused to relinquish the pleasures of the chace, and repaired with a hunting party to Halpthurn. The weather was extremely cold and changeable during the whole time, with a succession of frost, snow, and rain; and although he was seized with a cholic soon after his arrival, he eagerly pursued his favourite diversion, until his disorder became serious, in consequence of unremitted fatigue, and the inclemency of the season. On the 10th at night his complaint was increased by an indigestion, occasioned by a dish of mushrooms stewed in oil, of which he eat voraciously. After passing the whole night in repeated vomitings and the most excruciating pain, he returned to Vienna in a state of such extreme sickness and debility, that he fainted several times during the journey, and was conveyed on the 11th to the palace of La Favorite, in the suburbs of Vienna, scarcely alive.

* It appears, from many parts of Mr. Robinson's Dispatches at this period, that the decline of the Emperor's health was occasioned by the agitation of his mind; and this fact is confirmed in a letter from Mr. Porter, who was then employed at Vienna in settling the disputes relative to the tariff of the Low Countries, and became afterwards embassador at Constantinople: "The haughty behaviour of France, joined with the natural hatred the Emperor bore that nation, and the internal combats he underwent, by a servile compliance he had reduced himself to, preyed on his mind, and was the proximate cause of that ill habit of body, which at last put a period to his life. And if Mr. Leibsetter, his most confidential physician, may be depended upon, it was not so much the loss of Belgrade as the manner in which it was given up, and the usage of the French, that bore heavily on the Emperor, and threw him into a profound melancholy."

Mr. Porter to Mr. Walpole, Vienna, March 29, 1741.

By

By proper remedies and rest he was greatly relieved, and supposed to be out of danger; but on the 12th his disorder returned with redoubled violence, accompanied with a high fever and symptoms of the gout, and his life was again despaired of. Charles bore his painful complaints with extreme patience, and seemed unconscious of his approaching dissolution. When his disorder was declared mortal he would not believe his danger, and sportively rallied his physicians on the falsity of their prognostics; but, when they persevered in their declarations, his fortitude did not forsake him; and as they were disputing in his presence, concerning the nature of his illness, he exclaimed, "Cease your disputes at present; but open my body after my death, and you will then be able to ascertain the cause *."

Chapter 17. 1740.

He then prepared for his dissolution, submitted to all the ceremonies of the church, and arranged the proceedings relative to his succession with the greatest composure. He summoned his ministers into his presence, gave them proper instructions, and thanked count Staremberg, in particular, for his long and faithful services. He passed the last hours of his life in bidding adieu to his family, and exhorting each of them, according to their respective stations, he sent his blessing and advice to his eldest daughter, who on account of her pregnancy was not permitted to approach her dying father. He took a tender leave of his consort, with whom he had always lived in uninterrupted harmony, and who had passed six successive nights without rest; he addressed a word of comfort even to his favourite dwarf, and said to prince Charles of Loraine, who was weeping at his bed-side, "Do not lament, though you are about to lose a faithful friend."

A short time before his dissolution he had an interview of two hours alone with the duke of Loraine; and expired on the 20th of October at two o'clock in the morning, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign; and in him was extinct the male

* Schirach's Biographie, p. 404.

line

Chapter 17. 1740.

line of the house of Austria, which had continued in an uninterrupted succession for above four hundred years *.

Charles the Sixth was of the middling stature, and of a swarthy complexion; he had a penetrating eye, and thick lips †, the characteristic mark of the Austrian family; and his countenance indicated a mixture of Spanish gravity and German phlegm. Though naturally distant and haughty, he could temper his demeanour with condescension and affability; though grave and formal in public, from habit and etiquette, he was in private easy, and even gay, and extremely kind to his inferior domestics. He was an enemy to dissimulation, and did not endeavour to conceal his satisfaction or dislike, even in his audiences of foreign embassadors: when pleased he spoke with a clear, distinct, and audible voice; but, when displeased, expressed himself so unintelligibly, that they were obliged to have recourse to the ministers for the answer which the Emperor meant to give to their sovereigns.

Charles was fond of active exercises and sports of address; he excelled in shooting at the mark, and riding in the manege; he was devoted to music, was a performer, and even composed an opera, which was represented with great splendour in the theatre of the palace. The parts were performed by the principal nobility; Charles himself took his place in the orchestra, and his two daughters danced in the ballet. He was a considerable patron of the arts and sciences; his band was distinguished for the excellence of the musicians; he revived the academy of painting, sculpture, and architecture, improved the schools, built the public library, and endowed it with a large collection of books, particularly the library of prince Eugene, which he purchased. He also laid the foundation of the noble cabinet of medals; and drew men of letters to his court from different parts of Europe, particularly Metastasio, whom he appointed Imperial laureat, and domesticated at Vienna ‡.

* These circumstances of the death of Charles are principally taken from Mr. Robinson's Dispatches; though his different biographers have been consulted.

† Poelnitz.

‡ De Luca's Lesebuch, &c. vol. i. p. 446.

He

He spared no pains to facilitate the internal communications of his vast dominions, by the construction of numerous high roads, and repaired, at a considerable expence, the military way formed by Trajan through Wallachia *. He was anxious to promote the commerce and manufactures of his country; and, though he failed in his great schemes, from the impracticability of his plans, and the jealousy of the Maritime Powers, yet the energy of his efforts deserves eulogium. He meliorated the courts of justice, and reduced the government of Hungary to a better form. His natural disposition was compassionate, and from his clemency, he was called the Titus of the age.

With these qualities, had he maintained his country in peace, he might have promoted the happiness of his subjects, and the glory of his illustrious house; but either from the circumstances of the times, the conduct of his ministers, or his own haughty and suspicious temper, his whole reign was occupied by wars or warlike preparations. He succeeded to his dominions in a high state of power and splendour, and left them in the lowest degradation and weakness.

His consort, Elizabeth Christina, a daughter of Louis Rhodolph, duke of Brunswick, when young, was beautiful in her countenance, and elegant in her person; but became corpulent, as she advanced in years, and was subject to a dropsical complaint †. By her, the Emperor had a son, Leopold, who died in his infancy, and three daughters, two of whom survived him, Maria Theresa, his successor, and Maria Amelia, who afterwards married prince Charles of Lorainc. As from the effects of her last lying-in, in 1727, there was no prospect of any more issue, the Emperor had been repeatedly solicited, as well by the Empress herself, and his most faithful counsellors, as by the British cabinet, to obtain the title of king of the Romans for his son-in-law, Francis, duke of Lorainc. And, although he fully appreciated the fatal consequences which would attend his

* De Luca's Lesebuch, &c. vol. i. p. 443.

† See Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Vienna, &c. vol. 2. p. 292.

death

Chapter 17. 1740.

death without issue male, or without providing a successor in the Empire; yet he rejected this salutary advice, and considering the death of the Empress as a more probable event, entertained hopes of male issue by a future marriage. In consequence of this ill-judged policy, he endangered the loss of the Imperial crown, and exposed his successor to the greatest difficulties.

REIGN

OF

MARIA THERESA.

CHAPTER 18.

1740.

Accession of MARIA THERESA—*Claims of the Elector of Bavaria on the Austrian Succession—Conduct of the Foreign Powers—Delusive Assurances of France—Suspense and Fluctuation of the Cabinet of Vienna.*

Chapter 18. 1740.

MARIA THERESA had not completed her twenty-fourth year, when, in virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, she succeeded to all the dominions of the house of Austria. Her person was formed to wear a crown, and her mind to give lustre to her exalted dignity; she possessed a commanding figure, great beauty, animation and sweetness of countenance, a pleasing tone of voice, fascinating manners; and united feminine grace with a strength of understanding, and an intrepidity above her sex. During her father's illness, the young princess was exposed to great danger, in consequence of her advanced pregnancy; but sufficiently recovered her spirits the day after his death, to give audience to the ministers of state, and to assume the government *.

No princess ever ascended a throne under circumstances of greater peril, or in a situation which demanded more energy, fortitude, and judgment. The treasury contained only 100,000 florins, which were claimed by the Empress dowager; the army, exclusive of the troops in Italy and the Low Countries, did not amount to 30,000 effective men; a great scarcity of provisions excited alarming symptoms of discontent in the capital; the vintage was cut off by the frost; and

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

Chapter 18. 1740.

the peasants in the neighbourhood of Vienna, inflamed by agents from the town, assembled in large bodies to destroy the game; while rumours were industriously circulated that the government was dissolved, and the Elector of Bavaria was hourly expected to take possession of the Austrian territories *. Great apprehensions were also entertained lest the distant provinces should break out into commotion; and lest the restless spirits of Hungary, supported by the Turks, should attempt to revive their elective monarchy.

Notwithstanding the solemn guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, different claimants on the Austrian succession were expected to arise, besides the Elector of Bavaria, whose ministers publicly protested against the accession of Maria Theresa. His brother, the Elector of Cologne, only acknowledged her by the title of archduchess; and the Elector Palatine had even sent a letter by the common post; superscribed, "To the archduchess Maria Theresa †."

In this arduous crisis the young queen was wholly without experience or knowledge of business; and the ministers, either timorous, desponding, and irresolute, or worn out with age, sunk under the magnitude of the impending danger. To use the words of an eye-witness, "The Turks seemed to them already in Hungary; the Hungarians themselves in arms; the Saxons in Bohemia; the Bavarians at the gates of Vienna; and France the soul of the whole. I not only saw them in despair; but that very despair was not capable of rendering them truly desperate ‡." The accession of Maria Theresa, however, was tranquil and undisturbed. The vigilance of the police suppressed the tumultuary meetings at Vienna and the neighbourhood; no intestine commotions ensued; all the provinces of her extensive dominions vied in expressions of fidelity; and the Hungarians, in particular, displayed marks of the warmest zeal and affection for their sovereign. These favourable symptoms of

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches. † Ibid.

‡ Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Oct. 22, 1740.

domestic

domestic tranquillity gave new energy to the government, and inspired the queen with the resolution to oppose the combination which was forming for the dismemberment of her inheritance.

The first claimant on the Austrian succession was Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, who asserted that the will of Ferdinand the First devised the kingdom of Bohemia and the Austrian dominions to his daughters and their descendants, in failure of the male line. This event had now happened by the death of Charles the Sixth without male issue, and the Elector accordingly exhibited his claims as lineal descendant from Anne, eldest daughter of Ferdinand. The late Emperor, during the last year of his reign, had entered into a negotiation with the Elector to obtain his guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction; with a view also to refute his pretensions, he had transmitted a memorial, proving that the clause in the will of Ferdinand the First devised his inheritance to his daughters, only in failure of legitimate heirs, and consequently did not set aside the female descendants of the male line. In corroboration of this proof, on the accession of Maria Theresa, the will of Ferdinand the First was submitted to the inspection of the principal officers of state, as well as to the foreign embassadors, and troops at the same time dispatched to the frontiers of Bohemia to prevent any hostile aggression on the side of Bavaria. But neither these warlike preparations, nor the exposure of the will, induced the Elector to desist from his claims; and Maria Theresa waited with anxiety for the replies of those foreign powers to whom she had notified her accession *.

The most favourable assurances were immediately transmitted from many of the foreign powers. The king of Prussia, in a letter to the duke of Loraine, manifested his perfect friendship, and testified his readiness to serve the house of Austria on this occasion †. Augustus

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Oct. 26 and Nov. 7, 1740, and to Sir Everard Fawkener, Nov. 7, 1740.—Puetter's Historical Development of the German Constitution, b. xi. ch. 2.—Rousset, tom. xiv. xv.

† Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

Chapter 18. 1740. Oct. 29.

the Second also expressed the warmest affection, and tendered his assistance in favour of the Pragmatic Sanction. The death of the czarina Anne made no change in the sentiments of the court of Russia; the strongest assurances of support were given by Biren, who was appointed regent during the minority of Ivan, and after his disgrace, were confirmed by the regent Anne, mother of the young monarch. The States General passed a resolution to fulfil their engagements, both in regard to the Barrier and the Pragmatic Sanction; and the king of England declared his intention to cultivate the friendship of the queen of Hungary, to perform his engagements, and to cooperate with her for the general good of Europe *. France, to whose acknowledgment the court of Vienna looked with anxious expectation, sent no public answer to the notification of the queen's accession. Amelot, secretary of state for foreign affairs, gave only verbal assurances of his master's intention to fulfil his engagements; and both he and cardinal Fleury, in private letters to the prince of Lichtenstein †, embassador to the court of France, expressed concern for the death of the Emperor. They excused the delays of the French court by stating that they were searching the archives for the style of address to the queen of Hungary ‡, and when the prince of Lichtenstein transmitted a memorial in reply to the Bavarian claims, polite answers were returned, but without the smallest allusion to that memorial. This equivocal conduct evinced the intentions of the French court to withhold their acknowledgment of the queen's title till a pretext should offer for supporting the claims of the elector of Bavaria, and proved their resolution to oppose the elevation of the duke of Loraine to the Imperial throne.

But the queen of Hungary, deluded by the promises of the cardinal, coldly received the exhortations of the British cabinet to

* Lord Harrington's and Mr. Robinson's Dispatches. Also an official Paper, Dates of Transactions from the Emperor's death to the Convention of Ober Schnellendorf—Walpole Papers.

† Mr. Robinson's Dispatches to lord Harrington during November and December 1740.

‡ Dates of Transactions.

beware

beware of the designs of her antient rival, and declined the proposal of the Maritime Powers to form a grand confederacy against the house of Bourbon. Hence the measures of the Austrian cabinet were fluctuating and contradictory, and no decisive line of conduct was adopted at this critical juncture.

CHAPTER 19.

1740, 1741.

Irruption of the King of Prussia into Silesia—Mission of the Prussian Agent Gotter to Vienna—Demands of Frederic—Peremptorily rejected—Ineffectual Appeals to the Guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction—Preparations made to recover Silesia—Defeat of the Austrians at the Battle of Mokwitz—Singular flight and return of the King of Prussia.

Chapter 19. 1740, 1741.

IN the midst of this suspense and alarm a new and unexpected claimant started up, and, instead of stating pretensions on paper, or answering memorials, made a direct appeal to the sword. This claimant was Frederic, king of Prussia, who acted with such consummate address and secresy that his design was not divulged, and scarcely even suspected, when his troops entered the Austrian dominions.

Many circumstances induced this young and aspiring monarch to adopt so decisive a measure. He was anxious to distinguish the commencement of his reign; and to remove the obloquy which had been cast on the Prussian name in consequence of the pacific conduct of his father, who, with so powerful a force, remained in what was deemed a state of pusillanimous inaction. He was also disgusted with the court of Vienna, for their constant prevarication in regard to Berg and Juliers; and his disgust was still further increased by the conduct of the young queen, who, on liberating Seckendorf, extorted from him the orders of Charles the Sixth relating to his proffered guaranty of that succession *. He was sensible of his own force, and the weakness of the house of Austria, and was eager to avail himself of the favourable situation of the European Powers.

* Histoire de mon Tems. Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, tom. i. p. 119.

Having formed the design of invading Silesia, as the province most contiguous to his own dominions, and least prepared for defence, he revived some antiquated claims * of his family on parts of that duchy, and carried it into execution with equal address and celerity. He entered into no alliance with any foreign power; amused the court of

Chapter 19. 1740, 1741.

* Silesia was formerly annexed to Poland, and in the 12th century became an appanage to Boleslaus, son of Boleslaus the Third, king of Poland. Among his descendants it was divided into petty principalities, duchies, and lordships. In this state it was the object of a contest between the crowns of Poland and Bohemia, until all the sovereigns of the different districts threw themselves under the protection of Bohemia. By degrees many of these lines became extinct; and at length by marriage purchase, or escheat, the greater part of Silesia was incorporated with the crown of Bohemia.

In 1524, George, margrave of Anspach, and of a collateral branch of the house of Brandenburgh, purchased from the family of Schellenberg the duchy of Jagendorf with the lordships of Lubschutz, Oderburg, Beuthen, and Tarnowitz, and he received from Lewis king of Bohemia the investiture, which was afterwards confirmed by Ferdinand the First, the founder of the German branch of the house of Austria.

George Frederic, son of the margrave of Anspach, inherited the Silesian duchy, and dying in 1603 left Jagendorf and the lordships to Joachim Frederic, elector of Brandenburgh, who with the consent of Rhodolph king of Bohemia, took quiet possession of the duchy, and conferred it as an appanage on his second son John George; but that prince having espoused the party of Frederic, Elector Palatine, the emperor Ferdinand II. put him under the ban of the empire, and deprived him of the duchy. This deprivation was considered as unjust; and as the line of John George became extinct in the person of his son Ernest, who died without issue in 1642, his rights were supposed to be transferred to Frederic William, the great elector, and the duchy was now claimed by the king of Prussia, as his lineal descendant.

Frederic also urged his pretensions to the duchies of Lignitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, in virtue of a family compact between Frederic duke of Lignitz, and Joachim II. duke of Brandenburgh, by which those three duchies were to devolve to the house of Brandenburg in failure of Frederic's male issue. This event happening in 1675 by the death of George William last duke of Lignitz, the emperor Leopold took possession of the three dutchies as fiefs reverting to the crown of Bohemia, and prevailed on the elector Frederic William to renounce his pretensions, and to accept the circle of Schweibus as an equivalent. At the same time he obtained from the electoral prince Frederic a promise to restore Schweibus, by advancing to him 100,000 crowns; and the prince fulfilled his promise on his accession. Frederic deemed these renunciations null, and asserted his right to the three duchies in virtue of the original compact.

Droits de la Maison de Brandebourg sur le duché de Jaegerndorf et sur les duchés de Lignitz, Brieg, et Wohlau—Rousset, tom. xv. p. 171—196.

Vienna

Chapter 19. 1740, 1741.

Vienna with vague professions of friendship; assembled a large corps of troops in the neighbourhood of Berlin; and concealed his views from the marquis of Botta, who was sent from Vienna to penetrate his designs, till December, when his army was in full march towards the frontiers of Silesia.

As he could no longer conceal his intentions, he dispatched count Gotter, his grand marshal, to Vienna, to state his claims and demands; and, after making a similar explanation to Botta, quitted Berlin at the conclusion of a masked ball, reached Crossen on the 21st of December, and on the 23d entered Silesia, at the head of twenty battalions and thirty-six squadrons *. He at the same time dispersed memorials, in which he detailed his claims, and declared his intention to occupy the Silesian duchies for the house of Austria, to prevent them from being seized by any other power.

The court of Vienna were no less alarmed at this aggression, than indignant at the affected expressions of friendship, with which it was accompanied, when Gotter arrived at Vienna to execute his commission. He was a man of a boisterous and overbearing temper, and ill calculated to conciliate so high spirited and sensitive a princess as Maria Theresa. He delivered his message in a private audience to the duke of Loraine: "I am come," he said, "with safety for the house of Austria in one hand, and the Imperial crown for your royal highness in the other. The troops and money of my master are at the service of the queen, and cannot fail of being acceptable at a time when she is in want of both, and can only depend on so considerable a prince as the king of Prussia, and his allies the Maritime Powers and Russia. As the king my master, from the situation of his dominions, will be exposed to great danger from this alliance, it is hoped that, as an indemnification, the queen of Hungary will not offer him less than the whole duchy of Silesia." This extraordinary demand was accompanied with threatening declarations: "Nobody," he added, "is more firm in his resolutions than the king of Prussia; he must and will enter Silesia; once entered he must and will proceed; and, if not secured by

* Œuvres Posthumes de Frederic II. tom. i. ch. 2.

the

the immediate cession of that province, his troops and money will be offered to the electors of Saxony and Bavaria."

The duke of Loraine replied with great calmness and temper, but with no less spirit and dignity. He declared, that the queen, however inclined, had not the power to alienate the smallest portion of that succession which was so strongly and indivisibly entailed, and was not reduced to so low a condition as to treat with an enemy in the heart of her dominions. He expatiated on the wide scene of confusion which was opening by the impatience of the king of Prussia, and which might be equally destructive to himself and to others. Gotter replying, "I have no further business here, and will instantly return," the duke demanded, "Are your troops actually in Silesia?" Being answered in the affirmative, he continued, "Go then, return to your master, and tell him, that while he has a man in Silesia, we will rather perish than enter into any discussion. But if he is either not entered, and will abstain from entering, or, if entered, will return, we will treat with him at Berlin: Botta has already instructions; others shall be forwarded this day; and the king of Prussia may be gratified, without his presuming to extort what is not in our power to grant; for my part, not for the Imperial crown, nor even the whole world, will I sacrifice one right or one inch of the queen's lawful possessions *."

This firm language, and the refusal of the queen to receive Gotter, disconcerted the Prussian ministers. They seemed alarmed and ashamed of their master's conduct, and acknowledged that he would abate his demands, and be satisfied with the mortgage of a few towns in Silesia, and their dependencies. These propositions, however, were indignantly rejected, and the queen persisted in her refusal to treat with the king of Prussia while his troops remained in her dominions; her courtiers, also, in the language of feudal arrogance, declared to Gotter, that it ill became his master, whose duty in quality of arch chamberlain of the Empire, had been to present the bason and ewer to the late Emperor, to give laws to his daughter †.

* The account of this audience is taken from Mr. Robinson's Dispatches to lord Harrington, Dec. 21, 1740.

† Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, tom. i.

Chapter 19. 1740, 1741.

A second negotiation equally failed of success. Gotter, who returned with the refusal of the queen of Hungary to listen to any overture while the Prussian troops continued in her dominions, was again dispatched to Vienna with new proposals from his master. To prevent a public breach of the Pragmatic Sanction, Frederic offered to accept part of Silesia as a mortgage, for which he would pay an equivalent in money, under the condition that the mortgage should never be redeemed. But the instructions of Gotter being defective, he could not venture to accept any specific proposal, and the queen persisted in requiring the prior evacuation of Silesia *.

While this negotiation agitated the court of Vienna, the king of Prussia made a rapid progress in Silesia, and was joyfully received by the natives, two-thirds of whom were protestants. He entered Breslau, the capital, on the first of January, compelled general Brown, who was at the head of only 3,000 men, to retreat into Moravia, and before the end of that month, had made himself master of the whole province except Glogau and Brieg, which he blockaded, and Neiss, the only fortress capable of maintaining a siege. He appropriated the revenues of the country; and, after making the necessary regulations, left the command to marshal Schwerin, and returned to Berlin to collect an army for the security of his own dominions †.

1741.

In this whole transaction Frederic affected to occupy Silesia as a friend to the house of Austria; in a letter to the duke of Loraine, he said, "My heart has no share in the mischief which my hand is doing to your court ‡," and he renewed his proposals for an accommodation. These pacific declarations, which were so contrary to his actions, inflamed the indignation of the queen of Hungary. She determined to oppose force by force, and appealed to the guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction. Her hopes of speedy assistance against the unjust aggression of Prussia were, however, disappointed; promises poured in from every quarter, but not a single man was

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches to lord Harrington, January 1741 and Feb. 8, 1741.

† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. i. ch. 2.

‡ Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Feb. 22, 1741.

dispatched,

dispatched, or a single florin remitted. Russia, under the weak government of the regent Anne, declined sending the stipulated succours; the king of Poland began to waver; France pursued her equivocal system of policy, and, while she gave assurances of her pacific intentions to the court of Vienna, negotiated with the king of Prussia and the elector of Bavaria. The Dutch, menaced by Prussia, and in dread of France, recurred to their usual indecision; and England, distracted with intestine feuds, and anxious to prevent, or at least to retard a continental war, acted with a circumspection more congenial to its own situation than to the pressing distress of the house of Austria. In reply to the urgent demands of the queen of Hungary, for the succour of 12,000 men, the king acknowledged the casus fœderis, and testified his resolution to abide by his engagements; but urged the necessity of an immediate accommodation with the king of Prussia. He tendered, in conjunction with the states, his good offices to effect that object; and promised, should his endeavours fail of success, to send his contingent to the assistance of the queen of Hungary *.

Thus left to herself, the queen disdained to make the smallest concession; she collected a considerable force in Moravia, and gave the command to marshal Neuperg, whom she had recently liberated from prison, and the most sanguine expectations were entertained that he would drive the Prussians from Silesia. But in consequence of the want of magazines, the bad state of the roads, and severity of the weather, Neuperg could not pass the mountains of Moravia and Upper Silesia before the latter end of March. Meanwhile Frederic had rejoined his army, taken Glogau by assault, pressed the preparations for the siege of Neiss, and repaired to Jagerndorf to visit the quarters of his troops in Upper Silesia, when he was alarmed by the incursions of the Austrian hussars, and even narrowly escaped being taken prisoner.

Marshal Neuperg collected his force in Moravia, passed the moun-

* Dates of Transactions.

Chapter 19. 1740, 1741.

tains, and entered Silesia at Hermanstadt, near the junction of the Oder and the Ostrave, with the hopes of surprising the Prussians, who were dispersed in their cantonments, and of cutting them off in detail. With a view to seize the heavy artillery deposited at Ohlau, he left his tents at Neiss; and continuing his march, made himself master of Grotkau, dispatched general Lentulus to stop the passage of the Prussians over the Neiss at Sorge, where they had constructed a bridge; and during the evening of the 9th of April cantoned his troops at Molwitz and two other villages in the vicinity of Brieg. He here reposed in perfect security, encouraged by the consternation which seemed to prevail among the enemy, and by the numerous deserters who repaired to his camp. His natural confidence was increased by the consciousness that his troops were equal to the whole force of the Prussians, and that his cavalry, far superior in numbers and discipline, would act with effect in the plains of Lower Silesia, and drive before them soldiers who had only figured on the grand parades of Potzdam and Berlin. He trusted, likewise, to his numerous hussars, who he hoped would discover the smallest motion of the enemy, should they be disposed to quit their cantonments, when the ground was covered with snow. In this situation, Neuperg was surprised by the sudden approach of the Prussian army, which advanced at ten o'clock on the following morning.

The king, who was at Jagerndorf when the Austrians entered Silesia, had speedily assembled his troops, and hastened towards

April 4. Steinau, intending to pass the Neiss at Sorge. Being prevented by the detachment of Lentulus, he made a forced march, and crossed at Michelau, to the south of Molwitz, with a view to occupy Grotkau. Finding that place in possession of the Austrians, and compelled to risk an engagement for the preservation of his artillery at Ohlau, he

April 8. advanced and took up his quarters at Pogrel and the adjacent villages, a short distance from Molwitz.

On the succeeding day a thick fall of snow, while it concealed his movements from the enemy, prevented him from advancing; but on the

the 10th the weather clearing up, he assembled his troops, consisting of twenty-seven battalions, twenty-nine squadrons, and three of hussars, and marched in five columns towards the enemy. Arriving near Molwitz, he formed his army in order of battle, although no enemy appeared. The right wing extended towards the village of Herrendorf, and the left to the rivulet of Lauchwitz; but his dispositions being unskilfully made, the cavalry of the right did not reach their destined position, and the infantry was so crowded that he drew three battalions from the first line, with which he flanked his right wing.

Neuperg, surprised by the approach of the enemy, could not avail himself of their want of skill, and was compelled to form his troops in haste, exposed to the continual discharge of the Prussian artillery. Meanwhile the Austrian cavalry of the left wing, under general Roemer, galled by this incessant fire, threatened to retreat unless they were led to the charge; Roemer instantly attacked the right wing of the Prussians, dispersed their cavalry, and cutting his way through the infantry, penetrated to the baggage and the park of artillery, where his men began to pillage. In consequence of this successful charge, and the confusion it occasioned in the Prussian army, victory appeared to incline to the side of the Austrians; even the king, at the intreaties of marshal Schwerin, retired from the field; and Neuperg seized this decisive moment to put his infantry in motion. But all his efforts were ineffectual; his troops, panic-struck by the regular and rapid fire of the Prussian infantry, refused to advance; and Roemer, having again formed the cavalry, was repulsed by the prince of Anhalt, who, with the three battalions drawn from the first line, had repaired the disorder on the right. Three times Roemer charged the enemy, and was three times driven back; returning a fourth time he was killed, and his troops gave way.

Animated with this advantage, Schwerin advanced with the Prussian infantry, and from this moment all was route and confusion in the Austrian army; Neuperg, who had received several contusions, in vain attempted to revive the courage of his troops; they precipitately fled

Chapter 19. 1740, 1741.

fled from the field of battle, and did not again rally till they had passed the town of Neiss.*

The loss on the side of the Prussians did not exceed 2500 men, while on that of the Austrians more than 3000 were killed, and 2000 taken prisoners, with several pieces of cannon, and four standards.

This memorable combat, which decided the fate of Silesia, was rendered still more remarkable by the extraordinary flight and narrow escape of the king of Prussia, who was nearly taken prisoner at the moment when his army was victorious. Retiring from the field of battle, accompanied by Maupertuis, a French valet-de-chambre, and a few hussars, he rode towards Oppelen, where he thought himself secure of an asylum; but that town had been occupied by a party of Austrian hussars. On arriving at the gate, at midnight, the valet-de-chambre demanding admittance, the hussars instantly sallied out, attacked the party, and exchanged several shots, on which the king exclaimed, "Farewel, friends; I am better mounted than you all," and rode away. Maupertuis, and the greater part of the company, fell into the hands of the hussars, while the monarch, returning towards Neiss, received the news that his troops had gained a complete victory, and rejoined his army the same morning; after having rode backwards and forwards not less than twelve German miles.†

The

* This account of the battle of Molwitz, with the preceding and subsequent movements, is drawn from Œuvres Posth. Histoire de mon tems, tom. i. chap. 3. compared with the Austrian Relations in Mr. Robinson's Dispatches—Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Frederic le Grand.—Vie de Frederic II. Denina, p. 55—Vie de Frederic II. tom. i. p. 61—Histoire du Regne de Marie Therese, p. 23—And Muller's Tableau des Guerres de Frederic.

† About 54 English miles. The king himself, in his description of the engagement only mentions that he was "*entrainé parmi les fuyards.*" So many contradictory accounts have been given of this extraordinary flight, that I shall here subjoin part of a letter from Mr. Robinson, detailing the narrative given by Maupertuis himself.

"Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington,
Vienna, April 22d, 1741, N. S.

"My Lord,

"On Thursday the 20th inst. Mons. de Maupertuis, the famous French mathematician, arrived here, after having fallen into the hands of the hussars, and been carried prisoner by them to Troppau, from whence

The consequences of this battle were as fatal to the house of Austria, as they were advantageous to Frederic. The Austrians were humbled

Chapter 19. 1740, 1741.

whence he made himself known by letter to count Neuperg, who sent him a passport, and 200 florins, to enable him to reach Vienna. He alighted at count Harrach's, the president of war, where he learnt that prince Lichtenstein was here, and immediately repaired to the house of the latter, who, from an old acquaintance with him in France, received him in the kindest manner. He gave but a blind account enough, at first, of the time and place of his being made prisoner, saying, that having seen the battle at a little distance from a neighbouring height, and giving the Prussians for lost, he had been for making the best of his way back to Breslau upon a peasant's horse, without stirrups, the king having refused to spare him one of his own horses; and that in this equipage and fright, he had been picked up by the Austrian hussars. But prince Lichtenstein having received yesterday morning a letter from general Baranay, happened to read it aloud in M. de Maupertuis' company, to the following effect. That he, Baranay, having been detached, upon count Neuperg's entering into Silesia, with a corps of hussars and some cavalry, to scour Upper Silesia, had during the pursuit of the Prussians from Jagerndorf and Troppau, received orders from count Neuperg to make the nearest way to join the army, which he accordingly had endeavoured to do; but did not arrive till after the day of the affair, when, as I mentioned in my last dispatch, his hussars stripped the Prussians, and found a cannon upon their field of battle. In the mean while he had sent orders to his avant guard to turn about and follow him; but they, it seems, to the number of about 150, had, on the 10th inst. in the evening reached Oppellen upon the Oder, which they took possession of, reckoning to repose there that night. About twelve, one of them, that was in faction at the gate of the town, was called to by a person from without, to desire entrance. The hussar answered, he would send immediately to the magistrates for the keys, and in the mean while consulted with his comrades whether there might not be a prey for them, which they agreed there might be; so that upon the opening of the gate, they issued out on horseback, and that night, and early in the morning, made several prisoners that had fled from the battle towards Oppellen, in order to pass the Oder at that town; and amongst the rest, according to General Baranay's list, a Frenchman. Upon which Prince Lichtenstein asked, in a jesting manner, M. de Maupertuis, if, perchance, it might not have been him?—He owned it was, and confirmed the purport of the rest of the letter, which was, that the person who called at the gate at Oppellen, was a valet-de-chambre to the king of Prussia; that his Prussian majesty having, after giving a great many marks of personal bravery, looked upon the battle as lost, had made off to Oppellen, whither he, Maupertuis, followed him as well as he could upon his bad horse; and that, upon the sally of the hussars, when some firing passed between them and the first they met with, the king said, "*Farewel, friends; I am better mounted than you all!*" and it was not long after, that he, M. de Maupertuis, with 17 officers, a Prussian counsellor, the

Chapter 19. 1740, 1741.

humbled by the loss of this first engagement with troops whom they had despised, while it stamped a new character on the Prussian infantry for steadiness and discipline, and proved them superior even to veteran troops. The King learned also to appreciate the advantage of improving his cavalry, and to correct the errors which he had committed from want of experience; and from his acquaintance only with the mere theory of war. His camp at Molwitz, soon became the centre of the most important negotiations; his alliance was courted from all quarters; and he seemed to hold in his hand the balance of Europe. He still affected, however, great moderation in the midst of his success, and offered to the queen of Hungary his friendship on the same terms as before his victory.

the valet-de-chambre above mentioned, and several other persons, fell into the hands of the hussars, with one of the king's led horses. M. de Baranay adds, that in proportion as the king made back towards the Neiss, he heard better and better news of the state of his affairs; and having passed that river near where it falls into the Oder, arrived on the 11th at his army, behind Ohnaw, whither it had retreated; and after having rode backwards and forwards, as is computed, above 12 German miles. So that while he thought he had lost his army, and his army had in reality lost him, the best thing that could be given out to colour his absence, was to say he was wounded.

M. de Maupertuis gives the most melancholy account of the desolation of the whole duchy of Silesia, and says, that after having studied very closely the character of the king of Prussia, that prince's great misfortune is to have heard that there had been a Charles the XIIth. of Sweden in the world." Grantham papers.

CHAPTER 20.

1741.

Effect of the Defeat of Molwitz on the Austrian Cabinet—Retrospective View of the Conduct of MARIA THERESA—*Motives of her Refusal to negotiate an Accommodation with the King of Prussia, and Causes of her Dissatisfaction with the Maritime Powers—Intrigues and Preparations of France to dismember the Austrian Territories—New Claimants on the Austrian Succession—Attempts of England to negotiate an Accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia—Indignation and Spirit of* MARIA THERESA—*Mission of Mr. Robinson to the Prussian Camp, and Audience of Frederic—His Proposals rejected.*

Chapter 20. 1741.

THE court of Vienna was filled with consternation at the defeat of Molwitz, in proportion to their sanguine hopes of success. In consequence of the deficiency of money and men, the greatest difficulties had been overcome to bring into the field the army intrusted to count Neuperg; that army was now so much reduced as to be no longer capable of acting offensively, and no obstacle could be opposed to the progress of the Prussians.

Hitherto the firmness of Maria Theresa in refusing the offers of Prussia had been justified by the favourable aspect of her affairs. During the negotiation she had made urgent and repeated applications for immediate assistance, to the powers who had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction, particularly to England. But the British minister, embarrassed with a violent opposition, and aware of the designs of France to dismember the Austrian succession, delayed taking a decisive part, with the hope of inducing the queen of Hungary to effect an accommodation with the king of Prussia. Hence, the cabinet of England pursued a dilatory and indecisive conduct; no reply was made to the demands of the queen of Hungary, dated the 29th of

Chapter 20. 1741.

December, until the end of February, and no instructions reached Mr. Robinson till the beginning of April.*

At that time the Austrian cabinet were again inspired with full confidence; they were delivered from all apprehensions on the side of Turkey by an amicable adjustment of the limits; they flattered themselves that France would not contravene the Pragmatic Sanction; they entertained the most sanguine expectation of immediate assistance from Russia, Saxony, the Circles of the Empire, and the Maritime Powers; and justly hoped that their own efforts alone, and the force under count Neuperg, would wrest Silesia from the king of Prussia. They were therefore equally disappointed and irritated, when, instead of effectual assistance, the British cabinet suspended their succours, until the Queen should deliver a specific answer, whether she chose peace or war with Prussia; if war, the king of England promised to fulfil his engagements, and employ his contingent of 12,000 men, as soon as a plan of operations was concerted; if peace, he tendered his good offices to procure an accommodation†. At the same time, Mr. Robinson was instructed to represent the dangerous situation of Europe, the uncertainty of the concurrence of Russia, the difficulties on the side of Saxony, and the divided sentiments of the Dutch. He was ordered to expatiate on the dangerous designs of France, who was luring the king of Prussia, preparing to place the elector of Bavaria on the Imperial throne, consolidating a powerful combination against the house of Austria, and forming magazines and assembling troops on the side of the Rhine. From this aspect of affairs, he was to urge the necessity of gaining the king of Prussia, even by an immediate sacrifice of Lower Silesia and the town of Breslau.

These proposals were received with indignation, and rejected with disdain; the queen of Hungary would not submit to the humiliation of

* Dates of the transactions, from the death of the Emperor to the convention of Ober-Schnellendorf.—Also Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

† Letter from the king of England to the queen of Hungary, January 29, O. S. 1741.—Grantham Papers.

yielding

yielding one of her richest and most valuable provinces, at a moment when she expected her troops to drive the Prussians from Silesia. The whole cabinet, deceived by the insidious assurances of cardinal Fleury, refused to credit the designs imputed to France; and the duke of Loraine and all the ministers claimed immediate succour, as the only means of serving the house of Austria, should France commence hostilities. The queen of Hungary, therefore, indignantly refused to make the smallest cession to Prussia, and declared, that even if deserted by her allies, she would trust the fortunes of her house to the fidelity of her subjects and the valour of her army. The defeat at Molwitz changed the sentiments of the duke of Loraine and the ministers of the conference, and gave weight to the urgent representations of England; but the Queen persisted in her refusal to make the smallest cession, although France now began to act with less reserve, and had nearly brought her designs to maturity. Chapter 20. 1741.

From the death of the Emperor, France had watched the favourable moment to reduce the House of Austria; but with her usual address cajoled the cabinet of Vienna with vague assurances of friendship, and with hopes of concurring to place Francis on the Imperial throne. After the battle of Molwitz, she declared her resolution not to contravene the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, unless compelled to take part in the war against the queen of Hungary. Even in the midst of hostile preparations, and while French agents canvassed for the elevation of the Elector of Bavaria to the Imperial throne, the court of Vienna did not credit the hostile designs imputed to France; nor was the illusion wholly dissipated till marshal Belleisle, who had been appointed embassador to the diet at Frankfort, repaired to the camp at Molwitz to gain the king of Prussia, and to propose a plan for the dismemberment of the Austrian territories.

Besides the elector of Bavaria and the king of Prussia, many other pretenders to the Austrian succession were encouraged by France. Philip the Fifth, king of Spain, avowed himself the direct lineal representative of Charles the Fifth; and founded his pretensions on the Treaty of Partition, concluded in 1522, between Charles and Ferdi-

Chapter 20. 1741.

nand the First, and on the Family Compact in 1617, between Philip the Third and the German Branch; both of which called the Spanish line to the succession, on the extinction of the male descendants of Ferdinand the First. Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, in virtue of his descent from Catherine, second daughter of Philip the Second, now revived an obsolete claim on the Milanese. Even Augustus the Third, notwithstanding his treaty with the queen of Hungary, prepared to assert the right of his wife Maria, eldest daughter of Joseph, in virtue of the Family Compact, by which the succession was entailed on the daughters of Joseph in preference to those of Charles.

According to the plan matured by France, Bohemia and Upper Austria were assigned to the Elector of Bavaria, Moravia and Upper Silesia to the Elector of Saxony, Lower Silesia and the country of Glatz to the king of Prussia, Austrian Lombardy to Spain, and some compensation was to be allotted to the king of Sardinia.

While marshal Belleisle remained in the Prussian camp, Frederic, unwilling to contribute to the preponderance of France in Germany, and to aggrandise the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, made repeated overtures to the king of England, and urged that, however reluctant, he must join with France, should the Queen persist in refusing all offers of accommodation. But the impending danger had no effect on the lofty and unbending spirit of Maria Theresa. She considered the offers of the king of Prussia as insidious, and made only with a view to delay the assistance of the Maritime Powers; and when her consent to accept just and reasonable terms was at length extorted, she refused to specify any condition. As the king of Prussia maintained the same reserve, George the Second commanded lord Hyndford

June 8. to propose the cession of the three duchies of Glogau, Schwibus, and Grunberg; but Frederic, after thanking the king for making at least one step towards an accommodation, by a direct offer, answered, "At the beginning of the war I might have been contented with this proposal; but after the expence I have incurred, and the success of my arms, the offer of one duchy is too small; for I consider Schwibus and Grunberg as part of the duchy of Glogau. Shall I again give them battle

battle and drive them out of Silesia? You will then see that I shall receive other proposals; and the queen of Hungary will tender better conditions; not less than all Lower Silesia, with the town of Breslau. At present I must have four duchies, which lie contiguous to my territories." When lord Hyndford urged that his majesty then had it in his power to conclude an honourable peace, and to shew his magnanimity, by restoring the tranquillity of Germany, Frederic impatiently interrupted him: "Do not, my lord, talk to me of magnanimity! a prince ought first to consult his own interests. I am not averse to peace; but I expect to have four duchies, and will have them." He then dismissed the British minister, without giving any answer to his repeated requests, that he would name the four duchies to which he alluded*. Chapter 20. 1741.

When this account was transmitted to the court of Vienna, and lord Hyndford suggested that the four duchies alluded to, were Glogau, Wohlau, Lignitz and Schweidnitz, the queen of Hungary not only rejected these demands as extravagant, but even disapproved the conduct of the king of England in offering the duchy of Glogau without her consent, and expressed the highest satisfaction that the proposal had been rejected. She also persisted, for a considerable time, in refusing all cessions in Silesia, and only offered to purchase the friendship of the king of Prussia, by a sum of money, and some sacrifices on the side of Flanders and the Rhine. July 4.

It is needless to enter minutely into every event of this negotiation, which was carried on by the mediation of England; but was frustrated by the incompatible characters of Maria Theresa and Frederic, both equally inflexible; one determined to yield nothing on the side of Silesia, and the other resolved to accept no other equivalent.

The negotiation was no less impeded by the inveterate antipathy between George the Second and Frederic; and by the jealousy between lord Hyndford and the baron de Schweikel the Hanoverian minister;

* Lord Hyndford to lord Harrington, Breslau, June 12, 1741. Grantham Papers.

who

Chapter 20. 1741.

who, though apparently acting in concert, were secretly employed in promoting the different interests of George the Second, as king of England and as elector of Hanover*. The respective situations and views even of the English plenipotentiaries were no less discordant: Mr. Robinson, captivated with the attractions and spirit of Maria Theresa, was a zealous enthusiast in her cause, and saw in the conduct of the king nothing but rapacious and inexorable ambition; while lord Hyndford, removed from the influence of those fascinating charms, considered her fortitude as obstinacy, procrastination, or perverseness. Awed by the decisive energy of Frederic, and embarrassed by his bitter sarcasms and keen irony, he was humbled in his presence, and scarcely ventured to make a proposal which was contrary to his inclinations. He is described by the king of Prussia as vain, and confident of his own talents, and therefore easily duped and cajoled; he was also displeased with the personal interference of Mr. Robinson, and wished to retain the whole negotiation in his own hands†.

While Mr. Robinson was endeavouring to rouse the court of Vienna to a sense of their danger, and to draw from the ministers of the Conference the ultimatum of the Queen, a courier from George the Second, who was then at Hanover, brought information that Frederic had signed, on the 5th of June, a treaty with France. The British minister was ordered to urge this transaction as a new and pressing motive to detach the king of Prussia before the exchange of the ratifications, and offered to repair to the Prussian camp with the proposals of the queen of Hungary. Maria Theresa listened to the communication with profound silence; and in reply to his representations, broke out into exclamations and sudden starts of passion, which shewed the despair and agony of her mind. Adverting to his mission to the king of Prussia, she said, "Not only for political reasons, but from conscience and honour, I will not consent to part with much in

* Œuvres Posthumes, vol. i. ch. 3.

† Lord Harrington's, lord Hyndford's, and Mr. Robinson's Dispatches, 1741. Œuvres Posthumes, ch. 3.

Silesia. I am even afraid you will not be authorized to offer Glogau, though perhaps I might be induced to part with that province, if I could be secure of peace on all sides. But no sooner is one enemy satisfied than another starts up; another, and then another, must be contented, and all at my expence. I am convinced of your good will; but I pity you. Your mission to Silesia will be as fruitless as that of count Gotter was here; remember my words." When Mr. Robinson represented that it was in her majesty's power to render his mission successful, and urged that her own fate, the fate of the duke, of her whole family, and of all Europe depended upon her yielding to the hard necessity of the times, she exclaimed, "What would I not give, except in Silesia; let him take all we have in Guelderland; and if he is not to be gained by that sacrifice, others may. Let the princes of the empire, let the king your master only speak to the elector of Bavaria, he may be more flexible, and means may be found to gain him. Oh, the king your master, let him only march, let him march only*!" No other answer could be drawn from this high-spirited woman; and her resolution was strengthened by the arrival of another courier, announcing the signature of a treaty at Hanover, on the 24th of June, which secured to her a subsidy of 300,000l. granted by the British Parliament. The Queen, as well as the duke of Loraine and the whole cabinet, received this news with marks of joy equal to their former despondency, and were lavish in their professions of friendship and gratitude. But their long expected answer, to the earnest demand of the ultimatum, evinced little disposition to purchase the alliance of the king of Prussia. They indulged themselves in a bitter invective against his conduct, affected condescension in overlooking and forgiving his unprovoked invasion, disapproved the offer of Glogau, studiously avoided the mention of the smallest cession in Silesia, and only declared that the Queen was not averse to purchase a peace by a sacrifice on the side of the Low Countries, and by the payment of 2,000,000 florins. After many contemptuous expressions against

Chapter 20. 1741.

* Dispatch of Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, July 2, 1741.

the

Chapter 20. 1741.

the king of Prussia, they concluded with conjuring his Britannic majesty, both as king and elector, to assist the queen of Hungary, and to order the instant march of the stipulated succours, as the common danger would be increased by delay. As if secure of the immediate cooperation of England, count Ostein, the Austrian embassador, delivered a note to the king, requiring his majesty to put his auxiliary troops in motion, to pay the subsidy at the shortest terms, to forward the association of the Circles, and to ascertain the assistance stipulated by the courts of Russia and Saxony *.

In fact, the queen of Hungary was so far from entertaining the smallest inclination to gain the king of Prussia by cessions, that she even formed the chimerical scheme to divide his dominions, to secure the elector of Saxony by the gift of Crossen and the fiefs of Lusatia, which the king had forfeited, in consequence of his felony to the crown of Bohemia; and to detach the elector of Bavaria, by yielding to him either Tuscany, the Milanese, or the Low Countries, in exchange for the district of Bavaria, between Upper Austria and the river Inn. She even attempted to obtain the acquiescence of England in this wild project, by threatening to throw herself in the power of France, and yield Luxemburgh and part of Flanders, rather than gratify the presumptuous demands of the king of Prussia.

But as neither her remonstrances or threats could prevail on England to declare war, without the concurrence of Holland, and as the danger from the Grand Confederacy became more and more imminent, her consent to offer an accommodation with Prussia was at length extorted, by the urgent representations of the duke of Loraine and of her principal ministers. After much hesitation, and many changes and delays in arranging the terms †, she committed the proposals to

* Lord Harrington's and Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

† "The project of cession," writes Mr. Robinson in a letter to lord Harrington, "was drawn up, and the instructions for the proposal of terms to the king of Prussia. The queen, after much struggle forced to approve them, changed them with her own hand, added that she liked one thing too much, or another too little; what with despair, what with reluctance, what with irresolution, spoiled the whole paper, and sent it back to the chancellor so mangled, then sent for it again."

Mr. Robinson,

Mr. Robinson, who was to repair in person to the Prussian camp in Silesia, and to offer Austrian Guelderland and Limburgh; and, at the last extremity, the duchy of Glogau. But, in arranging these proposals, she displayed the strongest aversion to an accommodation; and occasionally exclaimed to Mr. Robinson, who expressed his apprehensions that some of the conditions would be rejected by the king, "I wish he may reject them!" When he took his leave, she recommended her interests to his care; and said, "Save Limburgh, if possible, were it only for the quiet of my conscience; God knows how I shall answer for the cession, having sworn to the States of Brabant never to alienate any part of their country *."

Chapter 20. 1741.

In consequence of these obstacles and delays, Mr. Robinson did not depart for Silesia, till the 30th of July. He reached Breslau on the 3d of August; and, on the 5th, had an audience of the king, in his tent at the camp of Strehlen, accompanied by lord Hyndford, and count Podewilz the Prussian minister.

After some desultory and unconnected conversation, in which the king stigmatized the answer of the court of Vienna as extremely impertinent, Mr. Robinson opened his commission with the offer of Austrian Guelderland, and a florid description of its value and importance. The king, without answering, turned to count Podewilz, and asked, "What have we yet left in Guelderland?" and when the minister replied, "almost nothing," he exclaimed, "Still beggarly offers! What! nothing but a paltry town for all my just pretensions in Silesia?" He here gave way to his indignation; and Mr. Robinson, after some hesitation, added the offer of Limburgh as the ultimatum of the queen of Hungary, exaggerating its advantages still higher than those of Guelderland. But he was interrupted in his encomiums by the king, who ironically asked, "How can the queen of Hungary dare to think of violating so solemn an engagement as that of the Barrier Treaty, which renders every inch of the Low Countries inalienable? I have no desire to aggrandize myself in parts which are useless to me,

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

Chapter 20. 1741.

much less to expend money in new fortifications. But why more fortifications? Am I not fortifying Glogau and Brieg, which are sufficient for one who intends to live well with his neighbours? Neither the French or the Dutch have offended me, nor will I offend them by such *unlawful* acquisitions. Besides, who will guaranty them?" Mr. Robinson answering, that the Queen would obtain the guaranty of England, Russia, Saxony, and even of the States General. "Guaranties!" contemptuously rejoined the king, "who observes guaranties in these times? Has not France guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction? has not England guarantied it? why do you not all fly to her succour?"

The conversation continued for some time in the same tone of contempt and irony on the side of the king; he ridiculed the conduct of those powers who affected to espouse the cause of the House of Austria, and dwelt with great energy on the advantages of his situation. "I am at the head," he said, "of an invincible army, already master of a country which I will have, which I must have, and which is the only object of my views. My ancestors," he continued, "would rise out of their tombs to reproach me, should I abandon the rights they have transmitted to me. With what reputation can I live, should I lightly quit an enterprise, the first act of my reign, begun with reflection, prosecuted with firmness, and which ought to be maintained to the last extremity? I will sooner be crushed with my whole army, than renounce my just rights in Silesia. Have I occasion for peace? Let those who want peace give me what I want; or let them fight me again, and be again beaten!"

This burst of real or affected indignation was accompanied with theatrical gestures; and turning, as if to finish the conversation, he said to Mr. Robinson, "I will accept no equivalent in the Low Countries; and since you have nothing to offer on the side of Silesia, all proposals are ineffectual. I will not only have the four duchies; but, as the court of Vienna has rejected that demand, I revoke it, and require all Lower Silesia, with the town of Breslau." After frequently and peremptorily repeating his last words, he added, "If the Queen does not satisfy me in six weeks, I will have four duchies more."

His indignation seemed to be still further inflamed by the offer of Glogau, which was now made by lord Hyndford; reiterating his demand of all Lower Silesia, he said to Mr. Robinson, "Return with this answer to Vienna; they who want peace will give me what I want." Mr. Robinson, not rebuffed by his peremptory treatment, ventured to propose a negotiation with his minister; but Frederic disdainfully added, "I am sick of ultimatums, I will hear no more of them; my part is taken. I again repeat my demand of all Lower Silesia; this is my final answer, and I will give no other." He then interrupted all further representations; and, taking off his hat, precipitately retired, with looks of high indignation, behind the interior curtain of his tent *.

Thus terminated this extraordinary conference; and Mr. Robinson returned to Presburgh without the smallest hope of bending the inflexible spirit of the king.

* The account of this interesting conference, which exhibits the character and manners of Frederic in so striking a point of view, is taken from Mr. Robinson's Dispatch to lord Harrington, dated Breslau, August 9, 1741; and Œuvres Posthumes, tom. I. p. 180.

CHAPTER 21.

1741.

Hostilities commenced by the Elector of Bavaria—Active Preparations of France—Successes of the King of Prussia in Silesia—Fruitless Negotiations—Second Journey of Mr. Robinson to the Prussian Camp—Perseverance of MARIA THERESA *in rejecting the Demands of the King of Prussia—Her Character and Principles—Situation of her Court and Cabinet—The Duke of Loraine—Ministers of the Conference—Influence of Bartenstein—Deceived by the illusory Assurances of France, and the Hopes of Assistance from England—Enthusiasm of the British Nation in her Cause.*

Chapter 21. 1741.

July 31.

ON his return to Presburgh, Mr. Robinson found the court of Vienna alarmed with the first explosion of the long threatened storm. The elector of Bavaria had commenced hostilities, by taking possession of Passau, and had issued a manifesto, asserting his claims to the whole Austrian inheritance; a French army, under Broglio, preparing to cross the Rhine, was to be entrusted to his command; while another was assembling on the Maes, under marshal Maillebois. The king of Prussia, availing himself of his success at Molwitz, had continued his operations during the progress of the negotiation; after a short siege he had taken Brieg, removed his head quarters to Strehlen, recruited his army among the natives of Silesia, by whom he was regarded as a deliverer, and had recently seized Breslau, which the catholic party had attempted to deliver to marshal Neuperg.

Under this pressure of distress, such was the spirit or infatuation of the queen of Hungary, that she still listened to the delusive professions of France, attempted to gain the elector of Bavaria, by offering to relinquish the Imperial crown, and obstinately refused to comply with the demands of the king of Prussia. After many demurs and quibbling distinctions, concerning the meaning of the term Lower Silesia,

Chapter 21. 1741.

Silesia, the Queen affected to offer a division of the country. A map was accordingly marked with a line of demarcation, and presented to Mr. Robinson, who was desired to repair again to the Prussian camp, and tender this new offer to the king. The British minister in vain represented that this cession was not only far inferior to the demands of Frederic, but even less than the four duchies originally required; and, when he urged that the resolution of the Prussian monarch was taken, it was replied, "The resolution of the Queen is likewise taken; and, if the house of Austria must perish, it is indifferent whether it perishes by an elector of Bavaria or an elector of Brandenburgh *."

With this inadequate offer, and without the smallest hope of success, Mr. Robinson again repaired to Silesia; but, on his arrival at Breslau, Frederic refused to see him, and ordered his minister, count Podewilz, to declare his surprise and indignation that, after so formal and serious a demand of all Lower Silesia, he had presumed to return with so injurious, so dishonourable, and so insidious a project, without any new credentials from his own court. "The offer," it was added, "of the court of Vienna is the highest insult, and every other article of the project captious, as it tends to involve the king in a war with France, and to draw a thorn out of the side of the court of Vienna, and thrust it deeper into the side of the king of Prussia. The king, therefore, will neither see Mr. Robinson himself, nor allow count Podewilz to treat with one whom he had so much reason to be dissatisfied with, especially as the king of England has another minister at his court in whom he places the fullest confidence †." This singular message was concluded with a declaration, "That, as Mr. Robinson valued the friendship subsisting, and to subsist, between the two sovereigns, the continuation of that friendship depended on the haste with which he returned; otherwise, his Prussian majesty would not only be obliged

* "The Queen," writes Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, "had put, in her own hand, in the margin of the brouillon of count Sinzendorf's letter to me, that if the convention was not signed in the terms as delivered to me, she would not be obliged to stand by it; and had enjoined count Sinzendorf to tell me, that she hoped to know in 15 days, *à quoi s'en tenir*."

† Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington.

to

Chapter 21. 1741.

to complain, but would impute such an obstinacy to a desire, in the king of England, of compelling him to treat with a person against whom he entertained such a dislike *."

This contemptuous rejection of Mr. Robinson's intervention, was followed by a letter from Frederic to lord Hyndford, announcing that he had now completed his hostile engagements with France and Bavaria, which annihilated all hopes of an immediate accommodation with the queen of Hungary.

" I have received the new project sent by the indefatigable Robinson. It is no less chimerical than the former. You will tell the court of Vienna that the Elector of Bavaria *shall* be Emperor, and that my engagements with the king of France and the Elector of Bavaria are so solemn, so indissoluble, and so inviolable, that I will never quit those faithful allies to enter into friendship with a crown which cannot, and which will never be reconciled to me. It is no longer time to defend the queen of Hungary, and she must learn to support all the rigour of her destiny. Are these people mad, my lord, to suppose I should be so treacherous as to turn my arms in her favour against my friends; and can you avoid seeing the grossness of the bait they hold out to me? I intreat you not to trouble me again with similar propositions, and to believe me so far a man of honour, as not to violate my engagements†."

In reviewing the progress of this negotiation, on the successful termination of which, even the fate of the house of Austria seemed to depend, we cannot repress our astonishment at the singular infatuation of the court of Vienna; but our surprise will diminish, when we advert to the

* It appears, from the Works of the king of Prussia, that he entertained a personal dislike to Mr. Robinson, for his unshaken zeal in favour of the house of Austria; at the same time, the court of Saxony complained of his supposed partiality to the king of Prussia; and the court of Vienna, of his opposition to their interests and politics. In adverting to this singularity of his situation, Mr. Robinson observes, " I am the unfortunate victim of all three, if not approved by the king my master." Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, Breslau, September 2, 1741.

† Du roi de Prusse à milord Hyndford, September 24, 1741. Walpole Papers.

personal

personal character and principles of the queen of Hungary, the situation of her consort the duke of Loraine, and the views and interests of her ministers and her court. Chapter 21. 1741.

Maria Theresa had been educated as heiress to the indivisible succession of the house of Austria; and had imbibed, from her earliest infancy, high notions of the preeminent dignity and power of her illustrious family. Hence, she determined to assert her rights with inflexible spirit, and not to relinquish a tittle of her just pretensions; on the principle, that her inheritance was a solemn trust, which she could not alienate. She argued that to part with even one province, would be to loosen the guaranties of so many different powers, and of the whole empire, except the Elector of Bavaria; that to touch one part of the foundation of her title, would undermine the whole; and that to gratify one pretender, would be to invite a number of other claimants. To this principle of policy were added scruples of conscience, of which she was highly susceptible, and she considered herself as irrevocably bound by the oath she had taken to support the Pragmatic Sanction. The birth of the archduke Joseph also, which happened in the midst of the negotiation, still further strengthened her resolutions, and increased her scruples not to alienate any part of his future inheritance. March 13.

Although the duke of Loraine had been appointed co-regent, transacted the business of state with the ministers of the conference, and gave audience to foreign embassadors; yet he had little permanent influence in the direction of affairs, as well because the spirit of the government was supposed to reside in the conference, as because the Queen was of too imperious a temper to admit of any participation of real authority. He was, indeed, more distinguished for the comeliness of his person, and the suavity of his manners, than for strength of understanding, or brilliancy of talents; he was fully sensible of his want of influence, and did not scruple to acknowledge that his sentiments had no weight when contrary to those of the Queen. At this period, likewise, he was still less inclined and less able to take an active part in the counsels of the state, in consequence of his sentiments in regard to the king of Prussia, and the peculiar delicacy of his situation. He

was

Chapter 21. 1741.

was well aware that his elevation to the Imperial throne depended principally on the concurrence of the king of Prussia*, and had therefore been early inclined to conciliate his friendship, and credited the sincerity of his professions; but he was afterwards alienated by the contemptuous behaviour and opprobrious language of Frederic, who even charged the duke with suborning an assassin to murder him. In the heat of his resentment he treated with contempt the versatility of the Prussian monarch; and exclaimed to Mr. Robinson, who was urging the weight of his alliance, "If you have him to-day, he will be at the service of France to-morrow; and, if France has him to-day, we may have him to-morrow." Even in the most alarming crisis of the Queen's affairs, though convinced that the safety of the house of Austria depended on an accommodation with the king of Prussia, he could not venture to urge his opinion, in consequence of the unpopularity he had incurred from the ill success of his military dispositions in Silesia, and his recommendation of count Neuperg; but more particularly from the charges which were circulated, that he was willing to sacrifice the territories of the house of Austria, to purchase the electoral vote of Prussia †.

The ministers of the conference were merely the ostensible agents of government. Sinzendorf, Staremberg, and the two Harrachs, were of dispositions rather calculated to embarrass than to facilitate the transaction of business; and Konigseg, who had been recently admitted, was indolent, and neither loved nor understood affairs of state. But though unable to resist the inclinations, or influence the decisions of the sovereign, they were all jealous of the interference of the duke of Loraine, whom they considered as an alien. The great object of count Sinzendorf was to raise his former power on the ruins of Bartenstein's influence; count Staremberg, whom Charles the Sixth had recommended with his dying voice to his daughter, had fallen into

* In an interview with Borcke, the Prussian minister, during the illness of Charles VI. he said, "There is nobody but his Prussian majesty and the king of England that I can rely upon." Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

† Mr. Robinson's Dispatches, 1741.

dotage,

dotage, acted solely from visionary notions of divine inspiration, and changed his mind as often as he conceived himself differently inspired; he peevishly complained of the ill humour and worse politics of Bartenstein, yet was unable to act without his advice. The disastrous situation of affairs had not increased the influence of the Harrachs, or overcome the apathy of Konigseg. Chapter 21. 1741.

At the commencement of the new reign, these ministers, presuming on the age, sex, and inexperience of their sovereign, revolted her high spirit by dictating their advice too magisterially, and by attempting to secure the whole management of state affairs; but neither their characters nor abilities were calculated to conciliate a young queen, who displayed uncommon spirit, great talents for business, and who was eager to receive instructions, that she might be qualified to direct the reins of government.

In this situation she was attracted by the insinuating manners and decisive language of Bartenstein, who, full of expedients, and fertile in resources, was alone capable of initiating her in the affairs of state and the forms of business. His presumptuous confidence, his volubility of tongue, and the facility of his pen, combined to dazzle a young and inexperienced princess; while his assiduity, affected deference to her opinion, and enthusiasm for the house of Austria, won her esteem and confidence. He followed the example of count Altheim towards her father, by endeavouring to inspire her with the same jealousy of her own power, and high opinion of her own abilities; he persuaded her that she ought to be her own minister, while he overwhelmed her with papers and memorials which she had not time to consider, and scarcely to read; he also supplied her with arguments against her ministers, induced her to maintain a secret correspondence with her foreign embassadors, of which he was the agent; and as the duke of Loraine was a mere cypher, he directed the affairs of government with the same absolute sway as during the life-time of her father *.

* This account of Bartenstein is drawn from the dispatches of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Keith, passim; and from a letter of sir Charles Hanbury Williams to the duke of Newcastle, dated Dresden, July 15, 1753, on the state of the court of Vienna.

Chapter 21. 1741.

No person had greater influence in encouraging the Queen to persevere in rejecting all offers of accommodation with Prussia, than Bartenstein, who was irritated against Frederic, for requiring his exclusion from the conferences with Gotter. His implacable spirit being thus roused, he did not restrain his invectives: "The friendship of the king of Prussia," he observed, "is worse than his enmity; nothing but mischief can be expected from him, and the only means of security will be to disarm him. To attempt to rectify the king of Prussia without ruining him, would be as much lost trouble as to wash a blackamoor white."* These sentiments coincided too nearly with those of the Queen, to be counteracted by the earnest representations of the Maritime Powers. His advice was supported, and the perseverance of Maria Theresa encouraged by the occasional admission of two persons into the conference; count Colloredo, son-in-law of count Staremberg, who though a nobleman of calm temper and sound judgment, was imbued with all the pride and prejudices of the Austrian court, and count Kinsky, chancellor of Bohemia, a man of a rash and violent temper, whose principle was rather to risk the fate of the house of Austria, than to cede the smallest portion of its hereditary possessions.

The singular infatuation of the Queen in giving credit to the professions of France, even at the very moment when marshal Belleisle was carrying his hostile designs into execution, was wholly owing to the baneful influence of Bartenstein, who boldly answered for the sincerity of France, and asserted that she would engage in no war during the life of cardinal Fleury. In vain the old ministers of the conference expatiated on the inveterate antipathy of the house of Bourbon; in vain the duke of Loraine made the strongest remonstrances, and in vain the king of England repeatedly developed the dangerous designs of the court of Versailles. The queen of Hungary, influenced by her superior antipathy to the king of Prussia, hoped in the last extremity to disarm France by cessions in the Low Countries,

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, April 4, 1741.

and

and by renouncing the Imperial crown, or if those offers failed of success, that she should be supported by the Maritime Powers and Russia; and in these hopes she was encouraged by the spirit and sentiments of the British nation. Chapter 21. 1741.

In England the unprovoked aggression of the king of Prussia had excited general indignation; and the wrongs of a young, beautiful, and unoffending princess, roused the feelings of the people, and kindled a national enthusiasm. The minister, urged by the importunities of the king, the sentiments of the cabinet, and the public voice, yielded to the torrent. The king concluded an animated speech from the throne, by requesting the concurrence of his parliament in supporting the queen of Hungary, and maintaining the liberties and balance of power in Europe, and this speech was answered by a warm address, and a grant of 300,000 l. to the queen of Hungary *. April 8.

In transmitting the account of these resolutions, count Ostein, the Austrian embassador, declared that this subsidy was extorted by the general voice of the king, parliament, and people, and urged the Queen not to agree with Prussia, because the English would spend the last penny of their money, and shed the last drop of their blood in her support †. Hence the Queen deemed herself secure of being assisted by the whole force of England, and entertained the most sanguine expectations that the example of that nation would be followed by the United Provinces, Russia, and other powers of Europe.

* Journals, Chandler, Tindal. † Memoirs of lord Walpole, p. 224.

CHAPTER 22.

1741.

Delusive Hopes of the Queen of Hungary—Disastrous State of her Affairs—Hostile Operations of France and Bavaria—Progress of the King of Prussia—Neutrality of Hanover—Firmness and Spirit of MARIA THERESA—*Appeals to her Hungarian Subjects—Her Coronation—Speech to the Diet of Presburgh—Rouzes the Zeal of the States—Her Exertions—Concludes an Armistice with the King of Prussia.*

Chapter 22. 1741.

DURING the progress of the unfortunate negotiation with Prussia, all things concurred to strengthen the firmness of the Queen, and to lull her into a fatal security with regard to the designs of France. Louis the Fifteenth, naturally indolent and voluptuous, was more than ever addicted to the pursuit of his amours, and to the pleasures of the chace. Cardinal Fleury, who still held the reins of government, was on the brink of the grave, and seemed averse to plunge his country in a war, which would frustrate the great object of his long administration, the recovery of the finances, and disturb the last moments of his declining life. But his benevolent efforts were counteracted by the party of the marshal and count de Belleisle, who panted for military glory, and were equally skilful in the cabinet and the field. Supported by the French nobility, and aided by the feminine cabal who directed the pleasures of the monarch, they finally roused the spirit of the king, and overcame the feeble opposition of the cardinal*; their plans were mighty and gigantic, tending to no less than to confine the house of Austria within the boundaries of

* Memoires de Richelieu.—Private Life of Louis XV.

Hungary.

Chapter 22. 1741.

Hungary. But even in the midst of the warlike preparations, and while marshal Belleisle was rapidly passing from one extremity of Germany to the other to mature his schemes, the Cardinal had sufficient influence to circumscribe his efforts; and with real or affected sincerity, gave repeated assurances to the court of Vienna, of his pacific inclinations. Even when the French army had actually passed the Rhine, Fleury declared that this aggression was not directed against the house of Austria, but intended only to awe those princes of the Empire who were hostile to France; and so great was the infatuation of the queen of Hungary, that she relied on the sincerity of these professions. But the illusion was dissipated in a moment.

The king of Prussia had scarcely rejected her last offers, before the elector of Bavaria was joined by the French army under marshal Belleisle, and pursuing his success took possession of Lintz, where he was inaugurated duke of Austria. After dispatching a body of troops to Polten, within eight leagues of Vienna, and summoning the capital to surrender, he suddenly turned into Bohemia, and marched to invest Prague, which contained numerous magazines, and was weakly garrisoned. The other French army under Maillebois passed the Maes, and forced the king of England, who was assembling an army for the assistance of the queen of Hungary, to conclude the neutrality of Hanover; by which he engaged, as Elector, not to resist the operations of the allies, nor to oppose the elevation of the elector of Bavaria. Russia, involved in a war with Sweden, by the intrigues of France, was incapable of sending any succour to Maria Theresa; the electors of Saxony, Cologne, and Palatine, joined the grand confederacy; Spain was preparing to make a diversion in Italy, and had already secured the neutrality of Tuscany, Genoa, the duke of Modena, and the Pope; and the king of Sardinia was inclined to assist the house of Bourbon.

In Silesia, the king of Prussia, master of the capital and the greater part of the duchy, was on the point of cutting off the communication between the army of marshal Neuperg and Neiss, with a view to lay siege

Chapter 22. 1741.

siege to that fortress, the possession of which would secure the whole province, and enable him to cooperate with the armies of France and Bavaria.

On surveying this deplorable state of affairs, the cause of Maria Theresa appeared wholly desperate: attacked by a formidable league, Vienna menaced with an instant siege, abandoned by all her allies, without treasure, without a sufficient army, without able ministers, she seemed to have no other alternative than to receive the law from her most inveterate enemies. But this great princess now displayed a courage truly heroic, and, assisted by the subsidies of Great Britain, and animated by the zeal of her Hungarian subjects, rose superior to the storm.

Soon after her accession she had conciliated the Hungarians, by reviving, with the exception of the thirty-first article, the celebrated decree of Andrew the Second *, which had been abolished by Leopold; and

* Voltaire has asserted, and most modern authors have done little more than copy Voltaire, that Maria Theresa swore to observe the whole decree of Andrew the Second, even the thirty-first article, which declares, "Should I, or any of my successors, at any time infringe your privileges, it is permitted you and your descendents, by virtue of this promise, to defend yourselves, without being treated as rebels." But this article was expressly excepted in the oath taken by Maria Theresa. See Voltaire Siecle de Louis XV. and Sacy Histoire de Hungrie, tom. II, p. 448 and 507, who has cleared up this disputed point in the most satisfactory manner. Sacy adds, on consulting the acts of the diet, it does not appear that the States made the least attempt to obtain from their new sovereign the ratification of the *whole* oath of Andrew II. The Hungarians had already suffered too much for the right of declaring war against their monarchs. Instructed by past misfortunes, they were by no means desirous to obtain the confirmation of an illusive privilege, which sanctioned rebellion, and placed under the safeguard of the laws, those seditious citizens whom the laws ought to punish.

Formula of the Oath taken by Maria Theresa, the 25th of June, 1741:

"Nos Maria Theresia, Dei gratiâ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, Sclavoniæ, &c. regina, archidux Austriæ, nupta dux Lotharingæ, ac Barri, magna dux Etruriæ. Quâ præfibati regni Hungariæ, & aliorum regnorum ac partium eidem annexarum regina, juramus per *Deum*. Virginem *Mariam*, ac omnes sanctos, quòd ecclesias *Dei*, dominos, prelatos, barones, magnates, nobiles, civitates liberas, & omnes regnicolas, in suis immunitatibus & libertatibus,

and at her coronation had received from her grateful subjects, the warmest demonstrations of loyalty and affection. Mr. Robinson, who was an eye-witness of this ceremony, has well described the impression made on the surrounding multitude. "The coronation on the 25th was *leste*, magnificent, and well ordered. The Queen was all charm; she rode gallantly up the Royal Mount *, and defied the four corners of the world with the drawn sabre, in a manner to shew she had no occasion for that weapon to conquer all who saw her. The antiquated crown received new graces from her head, and the old tattered robe of St. Stephen became her as well as her own rich habit, if diamonds, pearls, and all sorts of precious stones can be called cloaths."

Chapter 22. 1741. June 25.

> "Illam quicquid agit quoquo vestigia vertit,
> "Componit furtim, subsequiturque decor †."

An air of delicacy, occasioned by her recent confinement, increased the personal attractions of this beautiful princess; but when she sat down to dine in public, she appeared still more engaging without her crown; the heat of the weather, and the fatigues of the ceremony, diffused an animated glow over her countenance; while her beautiful hair flowed in ringlets over her shoulders and bosom ‡. These attrac-

libertatibus, juribus, legibus, privilegiis & in antiquis bonis & in approbatis constitutionibus, conservabimus, omnibusque justitiam faciemus; serenissimi quondam Andreæ regis decreta, (exclusâ tamen & semotâ art. XXXI. ejusdem decreti clausulâ, incipiente *quod si verò nos*, &c. usque ad verba: *in perpetuam*, &c.) observabimus, fines regni nostri Hungariæ, & quæ ad illud quocumque jure & titulo pertinent, non abalienabimus nec minuemus; sed quoad poterimus augebimus & extendemus, omniaque illa faciemus, quæcumque pro bono publico, honore & incremento omnium statuum ac totius regni nostri Hungariæ justè facere poterimus. Sic nos Deus adjuvet, & omnes sancti."

The excepted clause:

"Quod si verò nos, vel aliqui successorum nostrorum, aliquo unquam tempore huic dispositioni contrahere unquam voluerint, liberam habeant harum autoritate, sine ullâ notâ infidelitatis, tam episcopi quàm alii Jobagiones aut nobiles regni universi, & singuli præsentes, & futuri posterique, resistendi & contradicendi nobis & nostris successoribus in perpetuam facultatem."

* Near Presburgh is a barrow or tumulous, called the Royal Mount, which the new sovereign ascends on horseback, and waves a drawn sword towards the four cardinal points.

† Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, June 28, 1741.

‡ Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Vienna, &c. vol. ii. p. 299.

tions,

Chapter 22. 1741.

tions, and the firmness of her mind, kindled the zeal and enthusiasm of that brave and high-spirited people, and to them she turned as to her principal recourse. The grey-headed politicians of the court of Vienna in vain urged, that the Hungarians, who, when Charles fi proposed the Pragmatic Sanction, had declared they were accustomed to be governed by men, and would not consent to a female succession, would seize this opportunity of withdrawing from the Austrian domination. But Maria Theresa formed a different judgment, and her opinion was justified by the event. She felt that a people ardent for liberty, and distinguished by elevation of soul and energy of character, indignantly reject the mandates of a powerful despot, but would shed their blood in support of a defenceless queen, who, under the pressure of misfortune, appealed to them for succour.

Septemb. 13.

Having summoned the States of the Diet to the castle, she entered the hall, in which the members of the respective orders were promiscuously assembled, clad in deep mourning, and habited in the Hungarian dress, with the crown of St. Stephen on her head, and the scymetar at her side, both objects of high veneration to the natives, who are devoted to the memory of their antient sovereigns. She traversed the apartment with a slow and majestic step, and ascended the tribune, from whence the sovereign is accustomed to harangue the states. After an awful silence of a few minutes, the chancellor detailed the distressed situation of their sovereign, and requested immediate assistance.

Maria Theresa then came forward, and addressed the deputies in Latin*, a language in common use among the Hungarians, and in which, as if emulous of the spirit of antient Rome, they preserved the deliberations of the diet and the records of the kingdom. "The disastrous situation of our affairs," she said, "has moved us to lay before our dear and faithful States of Hungary the recent invasion of Austria, the danger now impending over this kingdom, and a proposal for the consideration of a remedy. The very existence of the kingdom

* The Latin is so common in Hungary, that during my travels, I frequently heard the servants and postillions converse and dispute with great fluency in that language.

of

of Hungary, of our own person, of our children, and our crown, are now at stake. Forsaken by all, we place our sole resource in the fidelity, arms, and long-tried valour of the Hungarians; exhorting you, the States and Orders, to deliberate without delay in this extreme danger, on the most effectual measures for the security of our person, of our children, and of our crown, and to carry them into immediate execution. In regard to ourself, the faithful States and Orders of Hungary shall experience our hearty cooperation in all things, which may promote the pristine happiness of this antient kingdom, and the honour of the people." *

The youth, beauty, and extreme distress of Maria Theresa, who was then pregnant, made an instantaneous impression on the whole assembly. All the deputies drew their sabres half out of the scabbard, and then throwing them back as far as the hilt, exclaimed, "We will consecrate our lives and arms; we will die for our king, Maria Theresa!" Affected with this effusion of zeal and loyalty, the Queen, who had hitherto preserved a calm and dignified deportment, burst into tears of joy and gratitude; the members of the States, roused almost to frenzy by this proof of her sensibility, testified, by their gestures and acclamations, the most heartfelt admiration, and, repairing to the diet, voted a liberal supply of men and money.

* I have principally drawn this account from the archives of Hungary, to which I had access by the kindness of count Kollet, and from his communications. He was keeper of the archives, and present at the diet. With his permission I copied the speech, which is here subjoined.—"Allocutio Reginæ Hungariæ Mariæ Theresiæ, Anno 1741. Afflictus rerum nostrarum status nos movit, ut fidelibus perchari regni Hungariæ statibus de hostili provinciæ nostræ hereditariæ, Austriæ invasione, et imminente regno huic periculo, adeoquè de considerando remedio propositionem scripto faciamus. Agitur de regno Hungariæ, de personâ nostrâ, proliibus nostris, et coronâ, ab omnibus derilicti, unicé ad inclytorum statuum fidelitatem, arma, et Hungarorum priscam virtutem confugimus, impensé hortantes, velint status et ordines in hoc maximo periculo de securitate personæ nostræ, prolium, coronæ, et regni quantocius consulere, et ea in effectum etiam deducere. Quantum ex parte nostra est, quæcunque pro pristinâ regni hujus felicitate, et gentis decore forent, in iis omnibus benignitatem et clementiam nostram regiam fideles status et ordines regni experturi sunt."

A similar

Chapter 22. 1741.

A similar and not less affecting scene took place, when the deputies assembled before the throne, to receive the oath of the duke of Loraine, who had been appointed co-regent of the kingdom, by the consent of the diet. At the conclusion of the ceremony, Francis waving his hand exclaimed, "My blood and life for the Queen and kingdom!" and at the same moment the Queen exhibited the infant archduke to the view of the assembly. A cry of joy and exultation instantly burst forth, and the deputies repeated their exclamations, "We will die for the Queen and her family; we will die for Maria Theresa!"*

The vigorous resolutions of the diet, animated by the presence of their sovereign, were supported by the nation at large; and numerous tribes, pouring from the banks of the Save, the Teiss, the Drave, and the Danube, flocked to the royal standard. These troops, under the names of Croats, Pandours, Sclavonians, Warasdinians, and Tolpaches, exhibited a new and astonishing spectacle to the eyes of Europe; and by their dress and arms, by the ferocity of their manners, and their singular mode of combat, struck terror into the disciplined armies of Germany and France. In addition to the Hungarian bands, troops were collected from all quarters, and every nerve was strained to make a grand and vigorous effort. Under the direction of general Kevenhuller, Vienna was put in a state of defence; and the burghers and students vied with the garrison in their resolution to make a desperate resistance.

In this favourable situation of the Queen's affairs, divisions began to arise among her enemies. The haughty deportment of marshal Belleisle, who treated the German princes as vassals of his master, and Germany as a province of France, alienated the allies: the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, eager to share the spoils of the house of Austria,

* In all the accounts of this transaction hitherto given, the Queen is represented as holding up the infant archduke at the time of her speech to the diet. But it appears from the dispatches of Mr. Robinson, who was then at Presburgh, that the archduke was not brought there till the 20th, and was shewn the next day, when the deputies appeared before the throne, to receive the great duke's oath as co-regent of the kingdom. Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, Presburgh, Sept. 23, 1741.

were

were jealous of each other's pretensions, and the elector of Bavaria, either counteracted by France and Saxony, or desirous of obtaining immediate possession of Bohemia, had turned his forces from the siege of Vienna, and hastened to the attack of Prague. The king of Prussia also was alarmed with the rapid progress of the elector of Bavaria, who, if he obtained the crown of Bohemia, might claim Silesia; he was displeased with the imperious conduct of France, and suspicious that the cabinet of Versailles was attempting to prevent his further acquisitions. This jealousy hastened his accommodation with the queen of Hungary; he not only listened with complacency to the proposals conveyed through lord Hyndford, but even made overtures himself to marshal Neuperg; and the house of Austria was saved by the very hand from which it had received the first wound *.

Chapter 22. 1741.

On the return of Mr. Robinson from his second journey into Silesia, the queen of Hungary was sensible of her danger, and convinced of the necessity of gaining the king of Prussia. And as Bartenstein, who had alone encouraged her obstinacy, was irritated by the perfidy of France, and urged that there was no safety to the house of Austria but in an immediate accommodation with Prussia, full powers were dispatched to lord Hyndford, to offer the cession of Lower Silesia, and the town of Breslau.

After some delays and negotiations, Frederic finally delivered his ultimatum, in that brief and decisive style which marked his character: "All Lower Silesia; the river Neiss for the boundary. The town of Neiss, as well as Glatz. Beyond the Oder the antient limits to continue between the duchies of Brieg and Oppelen. Breslau for us. The affairs of religion in statu quo. No dependance on Bohemia; a cession for ever. In return, we will proceed no further. We will besiege Neiss for form. The commandant shall surrender and depart.

* In the account which the king of Prussia gives of this transaction, he affects to consider all the overtures as coming from the court of Vienna; whereas he was extremely impatient to conclude an accommodation, and even made proposals to general Lentulus, by means of colonel Goltz; though, at the same time, Goltz declared, that if the negotiation did not succeed, and was divulged, his master would disavow the proposal. Lord Hyndford's Dispatches.

Chapter 22. 1741.

We will go quietly into winter quarters, and the Austrian army may go where they will. Let the whole be concluded in twelve days." *

This negotiation was protracted by his refusal to enter into formal engagements, and the unwillingness of the court of Vienna to yield the same territory for a bare neutrality, with which they might have purchased his alliance. In the mean time, the progress of the French and Bavarian arms, the conclusion of the neutrality of Hanover, and the manœuvres of the king of Prussia, who had compelled marshal Neuperg to retire from Neiss, hastened the decision of Maria Theresa, and full powers were sent to Neuperg to cede all Lower Silesia, with the towns of Breslau and Neiss, and to secure the best conditions in return. As both parties were equally desirous of a respite, the arrangements were soon made. Frederic, accompanied by colonel Goltz, met marshal Neuperg, general Lentulus and lord Hyndford, at Ober-Schnellendorf, on the 9th of October, and a convention was drawn up and signed by lord Hyndford, to which the king only gave his verbal assent. It contained the cession of Lower Silesia, with the towns of Breslau and Neiss, and the limits specified in the king's ultimatum. It was also settled, that this convention was to be kept an inviolable secret, and if divulged by the court of Vienna, should be considered as null. To preserve appearances, it was agreed, that skirmishes should not be immediately discontinued, and that the siege and surrender of Neiss should proceed in the usual forms. Part of the Prussian army were to take up winter quarters in Upper Silesia, but were not to exact contributions, or make forced enrolments. The king of Prussia promised never to demand from the queen of Hungary the cession of any other territory than Lower Silesia, and the town of Neiss; not to act offensively either against the Queen, the king of England, as elector of Hanover, or any of her allies, after the surrender of Neiss; and not to molest marshal Neuperg in his march into Moravia. It was likewise agreed to endeavour to conclude a definitive treaty before the end of the year †.

* Lord Hyndford's Dispatches.

† Convention de Schnellendorf, in lord Hyndford's letter of October 12, to Mr. Robinson. Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, ch. 4.

The

The king of Prussia affected great anxiety to conceal this transaction from his allies, and even exacted a written declaration from lord Hyndford, that the negotiation had proved fruitless. But although the conduct of Frederic evinced his intention to amuse the court of Vienna, and to renew hostilities whenever it suited his interests; yet this convention was highly advantageous to the queen of Hungary, as it gave her a respite from an active and enterprising enemy, and enabled her to concentrate all her efforts against the French, Bavarians, and Saxons.

CHAPTER 23.

1741, 1742.

Capture of Prague—the Elector of Bavaria crowned King of Bohemia, and Emperor—Success of the Austrian Arms—Conquest of Bavaria—The King of Prussia resumes Hostilities—Seizes Olmutz, and invests Glatz—March of Prince Charles of Loraine—and Retreat of the Prussians into Bohemia—Battle of Czaslau or Chotusitz—Peace of Breslau, with Prussia and Saxony—Successful Operations of the Austrians against the French—Marshal Broglio blockaded in Prague—Changes, favourable to the House of Austria, in England, Holland, and Russia—The King of Sardinia joins the Queen of Hungary—Campaign in Italy—Conquest of Modena—The King of Naples compelled to sign an Act of Neutrality.

Chapter 23. 1741, 1742.

AT this period all Silesia was occupied by the king of Prussia; and Upper Austria, and the greater part of Bohemia, were in the possession of the French, Bavarians, and Saxons. But the armistice with Prussia was scarcely concluded before the queen of Hungary assembled a considerable army to succour Prague, which was menaced by the allied forces. With this view the duke of Loraine drew together the new Hungarian levies at Znaim, and was joined by marshal Neuperg, with the remains of the Silesian army; by count Kevenhuller, with two regiments from the garrison of Vienna*; and soon afterwards by a corps under prince Lobcowitz, who had been stationed at Pilsen, to observe the enemy. Being, by these accessions, at the head of 60,000 men, he hastened to Prague; but arrived within three leagues of the capital only to have the mortification of hearing, that Oct. 26. the enemy had surprised it the preceding night, and that general Ogilvy, the commandant, with a garrison of only 3000 men, had surrendered the citadel. On the same day, the elector of Bavaria made

* Histoire de Marie Therese. Pelzel Geschichte der Boehmen, p. 858.

his

his triumphant entry into the town; was crowned king of Bohemia on the 19th of December; and, after appointing a council for the administration of affairs, took his departure for Frankfort, where the diet of the empire was assembled. Chapter 23. 1741, 1742.

France was now enabled to secure one of her great objects, to wrest the Imperial dignity from the house of Austria. Maria Theresa had flattered herself with the hopes of placing that crown on the head of her husband; and with a view to secure for him the vote of Bohemia, which, according to the constitutions of the empire, could not be vested in a female, conferred on him the co-regency of that kingdom. The legality of this transfer, however, had been contested by the majority of the Electoral College; but as the elector of Bavaria was acknowledged king of Bohemia, the vote was suspended for that election, by unanimous consent.

In consequence of the neutrality of Hanover, by which George the Second was precluded from the exercise of his suffrage in favour of the house of Austria, of the defection of Augustus the Third, and of the hostility of Prussia, the choice of the College fell unanimously on the elector of Bavaria, who was crowned at Frankfort on the 12th of February, 1742, by the title of Charles the Seventh. Jan. 24.

But while Charles thus acquired an empty dignity, he was despoiled of his hereditary dominions. The duke of Lorraine, being foiled in his attempt to relieve Prague, had retired behind the marshes of Budweis, a position occupied by the celebrated Ziska, during the Hussite wars; where he covered the march of the Austrian detachments, which were preparing to penetrate into Bavaria. The plan of the subsequent operations was judiciously arranged, and ably executed, by Kevenhuller, the most fortunate and enterprising of all the Austrian generals. The main army, divided into two bodies, under the duke of Lorraine and prince Lobcowitz, remained in Bohemia, to keep the enemy in check; while Kevenhuller, at the head of 30,000 men, advanced rapidly into Upper Austria, and blockaded Linz, whither a corps of 10,000 French, under general Segur, had been driven by the impetuous assaults of the irregulars under Mentzel, the celebrated

Chapter 23. 1741, 1742.

celebrated partisan. Meanwhile general Berenclau seized the important post of Scharding on the Inn, the key of Bavaria, and routed a corps of Bavarians, detached to succour Linz. Segur, thus deprived of all hopes of relief, was compelled to surrender; and Kevenhuller, pursuing his success, obtained possession of Passau, and became master of all the passes leading into Bavaria.

1742. Jan. 29.

These advantages were the prelude to still greater successes. Kevenhuller, pursuing his plan to cut off the resources of the enemy in Bavaria and Saxony, advanced into Bavaria, and let loose on that country the numerous irregulars which swarmed round his army. He was also assisted by the natives of Tyrol. That brave people, in the most arduous crisis of the Queen's affairs, had taken upon themselves the defence of their country; and now, bursting from their mountains, ravaged the southern parts of Bavaria, and penetrated to the neighbourhood of Munich; while Kevenhuller entered the capital without opposition, on the very day in which the unfortunate Elector was chosen Emperor *.

In the midst of these events the king of Prussia abruptly broke the convention of Ober-Schnellendorf. He was alarmed at the progress of the Austrians in Bavaria, and apprehensive lest the queen of Hungary should again turn her arms to recover Silesia. He had previously entered into a treaty with the elector of Bavaria, and had purchased of him, as king of Bohemia, the country of Glatz for 400,000 crowns; and with a view to secure this new acquisition, and consolidate his conquest of Silesia, he suddenly recommenced hostilities; he dispatched marshal Schwerin to seize Olmutz, and laid siege to Glatz, which surrendered after a desperate resistance †.

Frederic proved himself on this, as on all occasions, the most active and enterprising enemy of the house of Austria. Repairing to Dresden, he endeavoured to rouse the sluggish spirit of Augustus the Third, and passed through Prague in his return to Moravia to concert a plan

* Pelzel, p. 865.

† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. 1, ch. 5.

of

of operations with marshal Broglio. Having rejoined his army soon after the surrender of Glatz, he endeavoured to drive the Austrians from their advantageous position in the southern parts of Bohemia, which would have delivered the French troops in the neighbourhood, and checked the progress of Kevenhuller in Bavaria: he advanced to Iglau on the frontiers of Bohemia, occupied the banks of the Taya, from Znaim to Goedingen, made irruptions into Upper Austria; and his hussars spread terror even to the gates of Vienna *. Chapter 23. 1741, 1742. April 28.

Meanwhile the Austrians were not inactive; a corps of 10,000 men was drawn from Bavaria to cover the capital, and the military force of Hungary assembling on the frontiers of Moravia, threatened the magazines in Upper Silesia, while prince Charles of Loraine prepared to advance at the head of the main army. These movements compelled Frederic to detach a considerable force for the preservation of his magazines, to evacuate Moravia, and retire to the neighbourhood of Chrudim in Bohemia. He was at this juncture quitted by the Saxons; and deriving no assistance from the French, although they had taken Egra and advanced to Piseck, he was left to support singly the whole burthen of the war. April 17.

From the rupture of the armistice to the present juncture, Frederic had not ceased proposing terms of accommodation to the court of Vienna, through the intervention of lord Hyndford; but as he increased his demands on every trifling advantage, and even required the cession of Konigsgratz and Pardubitz in Bohemia, as well as the county of Glatz, the queen of Hungary indignantly rejected all his overtures, and both parties determined to risk the event of a battle. Under these circumstances prince Charles of Loraine advanced from Moravia, whither he had marched to relieve Brunn, passed the frontiers of Bohemia, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the Prussian quarters on the 15th of May. The two armies encountered early on the morning of the 17th. The Austrians, by a forced march, gained May 17.

* Histoire de Mon Tems, in Œuvres Posthumes, tom. i. ch. 5.

Chapter 23. 1741, 1742.

the village of Czaslau on the 16th, and the following morning advanced in four columns to attack the Prussians posted near Chotusitz, who were scarcely formed before the cannonade began. The numbers were nearly equal, and the action was warmly contested on both sides; the Austrians displayed numerous proofs of exalted courage; the infantry retrieved the disgrace which they had incurred at the battle of Molwitz, and the cavalry did not belie their former exertions, but lost the decisive moment by their eagerness for plunder. At length the steadiness and discipline of the Prussian infantry, the improved manœuvres of the cavalry, and above all the activity of Frederic, decided the fortune of the day. The Prussians remained masters of the field of battle, with eighteen cannons, two pair of colours, and 1200 prisoners; but the Austrians retreated in good order, and carried away fourteen standards, two pair of colours, and 1000 prisoners. The loss on both sides was considerable: the king of Prussia computes that of the Austrians in killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters, at 7000 men; and his own was not inferior, and was more sensibly felt, as his cavalry was almost ruined *.

Although the victory was on the side of the Prussians, yet the immediate consequences of this battle were highly favourable to the queen of Hungary, as it rendered both parties sincere in their desires for peace. The king was disappointed of the expected advantages; and the queen of Hungary saw the necessity of detaching an enemy who crippled all her efforts; particularly as a corps of 10,000 men was advancing to reinforce the French army in Bohemia. Frederic lowered his demands, and made overtures of accommodation, in a manner which evinced his extreme anxiety for peace; and lord Hyndford, in consequence of his full powers from the queen of Hungary, signed the preliminaries at Breslau, with Podewilz the Prussian minister, on the 11th of June, which were afterwards ratified by both sovereigns. The queen of Hungary ceded to the king of Prussia in full sovereignty all

* Œuvres Posthumes de Frederic II, tom. i. p. 248—258.—And the Austrian and Prussian accounts in the Annals of Europe for 1742.

Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz, except the towns of Troppau and Jagerndorf, and the high mountains beyond the Oppau. These preliminaries were formed into a definitive treaty, which was signed at Berlin on the 28th of July, under the guaranty of the king of England. Augustus the Third, as Elector of Saxony, was also included in the treaty, and agreed to withdraw his troops from the French army, and to acknowledge the Pragmatic Sanction, which he afterwards fulfilled *. Chapter 23. 1741, 1742.

The Austrian arms began now to be successful in all quarters. Just before the signature of the preliminaries, prince Lobcowitz, who was stationed at Budweiss with 10,000 men, made an attack on Frauenberg; Broglio and Belleisle advanced from Piseck to relieve the town, and a combat took place at Sahay, in which the Austrians were repulsed with the loss of 500 men. This trifling affair was magnified into a decisive victory; and, according to the words of the Royal Historian †, "the battle of Pharsalia did not occasion more sensation at Rome, than did this little combat at Paris." Marshal Broglio, elated with this advantage, and relying on the immediate junction of the king of Prussia, remained at Frauenberg in perfect security. But his expectations were disappointed; Frederic had already commenced his secret negotiations, and prince Charles was enabled to turn his forces against the French. Being joined by prince Lobcowitz, they attacked Broglio, and compelled him to quit Frauenberg with such precipitation, that his baggage fell into the hands of the light troops, and the French retreated towards Branau, harassed by the Croats and other irregulars. The garrison of Piseck, refusing to surrender to a detachment under Nadasti, a body of Croats swam across the river with their sabres in their mouths, and climbing on each others shoulders scaled the walls, and made the garrison prisoners of war ‡. June 8.

* Œuvres Posthumes, ch. 6.—Histoire de Marie Therese.—Koch, Histoire des Traités de Paix, &c. tom. ii. p. 55, 56.

† Œuvres Posthumes, ch. 6.

‡ Mr. Robinson to lord Carteret, Vienna, June 11, 1742; Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. p. 263.—Pelzel, p. 869.

Chapter 23. 1741, 1742.

The Austrians, pursuing their success against the French, drove Broglio from Branau, and followed him to the walls of Prague, where he found Belleisle returned from an unsuccessful journey to prevent the peace of Breslau, and to animate the court of Dresden. After several consultations, the two generals called in their posts, and secured their army partly within the walls, and partly within a peninsula of the Moldau, the front of which was fortified by a strong line of entrenchments.

Prince Charles occupied the White Mountain on the side of the Little Town, and general Festetitz, with 18,000 fresh men from Silesia, was stationed opposite the New Town, and completed the blockade. Soon afterwards the duke of Loraine joined the army, which now amounted to 70,000 men, and the arrival of the heavy artillery enabled the Austrians to commence the siege. Thus, except the Saxons, who were on the point of quitting the allies, and a small corps of Bavarians, the forces, which at the commencement of hostilities had threatened the extinction of the house of Austria, were shut up within the walls of Prague; while a body of 10,000 French under the duke d'Harcourt, who had attempted to advance to the relief of their countrymen, were kept in check on the banks of the Danube by the superior skill and activity of Kevenhuller *.

Besides the success of the armies and the zeal of the people, the cause of Maria Theresa was favoured by an established prejudice prevailing in the Empire, England, Holland, and even in Russia and Denmark, that the liberties of Europe depended on the destiny of the house of Austria, as the only power capable of counterbalancing the house of Bourbon. Maria Theresa, with great address, availed herself of this impression, and negotiated in every court of Europe which was not devoted to her enemies. The first and principal impulse in her favour among foreign nations was given by Great Britain, whose zeal seems to have been increased by a change in the administration. Sir Robert Walpole, whom the court of Vienna had

* Œuvres Posthumes, ch. 6.—Pelzel, p. 870.

always

always considered either as an enemy, or at best as a lukewarm partisan, was driven from the helm, and the management of affairs principally intrusted to lord Carteret, who had proved himself a staunch friend to the house of Austria. The new minister hastened to convey the strongest assurances of his intention to support the queen of Hungary with the whole power of the British empire; nor were his promises belied by the event. Large supplies of men and money were almost unanimously voted by parliament, the subsidies to the queen of Hungary, Denmark, and Hesse Cassel, were continued, England displayed a resolution to enter with vigour into the continental war; and 16,000 men were embarked to form an army in Flanders, in conjunction with the subsidiary troops of Hanover and Hesse, and a large corps of Austrians. The dilatory spirit of the Dutch was roused by these preparations; the States resisted the repeated solicitations of the French embassador to adopt a neutrality, augmented their army and navy, and granted a subsidy of 840,000 florins to the queen of Hungary *.

Chapter 23. 1741, 1742. Feb. 1742.

A change had also taken place in the government of Russia, which afterwards proved highly favourable to the interests of the house of Austria. Elizabeth had overturned the weak and capricious government of the regent Anne, imprisoned the infant Emperor, and occupied the throne of her father Peter the Great; but although she was assisted in this revolution by the intrigues of the marquis de la Chetardie, the French minister, the event was not less disadvantageous to the enemies of Austria. The king of Prussia lost an able adherent by the arrest and banishment of marshal Munich; and the nation roused by the accession of this popular princess, redoubled their efforts against the Swedes, who had experienced a total defeat at Williamstadt, with the capture of 10,000 men †.

Dec. 6, 1741.

In Italy a change equally favourable and unexpected had taken place in the affairs of the queen of Hungary. In consequence of the

* Tindal, book 22, ch. 10. Kerroux Histoire de la Hollande, tom. iv. p. 1186.

† Manstein's Memoirs, p. 300.

danger

Chapter 23. 1711, 1742.

danger which threatened her hereditary dominions, Maria Theresa had been compelled to abandon the defence of Italy, where she could not oppose the great force assembling against her; but the subsidies of England, and the zeal of her Hungarian subjects had no sooner enabled her to stem the torrent on the side of Austria, than she turned her attention to the situation of Italy. She had contrived to retain 15,000 men, and prepared large magazines in Tuscany and the Milanese; but she placed her principal reliance on the friendly disposition of the king of Sardinia, who was alienated by the grasping ambition of the queen of Spain, and perceived that he was to support the burden of a war to secure the Milanese with the title of king of Lombardy, for Don Philip, without reaping for himself any equivalent advantage. To detach so important an ally from the grand confederacy, the queen of Hungary, by the instances of England, was induced to promise some cessions in the Milanese, and to transfer to the king of Sardinia, her claims on the marquisate of Finale, while he engaged to prevent the introduction of foreign troops into Lombardy. But so ambiguous were the terms of this engagement, and so reluctant was the Queen to comply with the demands of the king of Sardinia, that a secret article was added to the convention, by which, on the previous notice of a month, he reserved the power of receding from the alliance *.

In consequence of this temporary agreement, the king of Sardinia espoused the party of Maria Theresa, at the very moment when the duke de Montemar, at the head of the Spanish and Neapolitan forces, had secured the neutrality of the Pope and the concurrence of the duke of Modena, and was hastening to invade the Milanese; and while a French army was preparing to march through Savoy into Italy. By this fortunate event the French were prevented from passing the Alps during the whole campaign, by a part of the Sardinian forces; while the king himself, at the head of the remainder, and assisted by the Austrians, overran the duchy of Modena, and checked the progress of the Spa-

* Muratori, tom. xii. p. 2. p. 96.—Œuvres Posthumes.

niards

niards *. These operations were effectually supported by an English fleet in the Mediterranean; and a squadron under the command of commodore Martin, by threats of an immediate bombardment, compelled the king of Naples to withdraw his troops from the Spanish army, and to engage for the maintenance of a strict neutrality.

This event weakened the Spanish forces in Italy, and prevented them from pursuing their advantages. But as the king of Sardinia drew part of his troops from the combined army to resist the Spaniards, who had entered Savoy under Don Philip, and to defend the passes of the Alps, the remainder of the campaign on the side of Modena was not distinguished by any remarkable event, and the two armies began to take up winter quarters as early as October; the Spaniards occupying the Bolognese and Romagna, and the Austrians and Sardinians the duchies of Modena and Parma †.

* Histoire de Marie Therese.—Muratori Annali, tom. xii. p. 2. p. 98.

† Muratori.

CHAPTER 24.

1742.

Blockade of Prague—Distressed Situation of France—Overtures of Cardinal Fleury—Indignantly rejected by MARIA THERESA—*Attempts to relieve the French in Prague—Advance of Maillebois—Checked by Prince Charles—Masterly Retreat of Belleisle from Prague to Egra*—MARIA THERESA *crowned Queen of Bohemia—Return of Belleisle, with the Remnant of the French Army, to France.*

Chapter 24. 1742.

THE joy and exultation of the court of Vienna at these successes were equalled only by the consternation and despair of cardinal Fleury. The aged minister, worn out with infirmities, seemed to sink even below his natural timidity; he was deeply affected by the internal distresses of the nation, the great scarcity of provisions, the increasing derangement of the finances, and the clamours of the people, who were irritated at the total defeat of those wild schemes of glory, with which the war had been commenced, and trembled at the dangers gathering on their own frontiers.

He saw the king devoted to his pleasures, and governed by a violent and dissolute faction: he saw the troops under the duke d'Harcourt mouldering away on the marshy banks of the Danube; and that army which, in the preceding year, had given law to Germany, cooped up within the walls of Prague, a prey to disease and famine, and with little hopes of escaping from destruction, except by surrendering themselves prisoners of war. He saw his country deserted by Prussia and Saxony, and left without a single ally in Germany, except the new Emperor, who was stripped of his territories, and draining the exhausted coffers of France for his subsistence. He saw the hostile spirit of England pervading every part of Europe, and the house of Austria rising

rising with fresh vigour from its late depression, and forming the center of a grand confederacy against the house of Bourbon. Chapter 24. 1742.

Under these impressions he endeavoured to evade the storm by submission, and to purchase the deliverance of the armies in Germany by an immediate peace. He accordingly made proposals, in a letter to count Konigseg, who commanded the army under the duke and prince Charles of Loraine, in which he exculpated himself, and threw the blame of the war on Belleisle. The only answer, to this weak and humiliating offer, was the circulation of the letter, by order of the queen of Hungary; and a second, in which the cardinal remonstrated against this breach of confidence, was likewise given to the public *.

Notwithstanding this insult, the conferences were afterwards renewed. Marshal Belleisle, who had at first despised the efforts of the Austrians, and deemed himself secure of an honourable retreat, was alarmed at the distress of the army, and appeared sincere and anxious for an accommodation. He offered to evacuate Prague, and to quit the territories of the queen of Hungary, on the condition of retaining the arms, artillery, and baggage. On the other hand, these offers were favourably received by the duke of Loraine, who was desirous to secure the title of king of the Romans by a peace with France. In these sentiments he was confirmed by prince Charles and count Konigseg, from their apprehensions of the difficulties which would result from a protracted siege against a considerable army resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and inspired with the hopes of speedy relief.

But all overtures were disdainfully rejected by Maria Theresa. In answer to the further solicitations of Cardinal Fleury, she said, in the presence of the whole court, "I will grant no capitulation to the French army; I will receive no proposition, no project from the cardinal: Let him address himself to my allies." Adverting to the offers of Belleisle, she exclaimed, "I am astonished that he should make

* These two letters are given in the Annals of Europe for 1742, p. 422. 425.

Chapter 24. 1742.

any advances; he who, by money and promises, excited almost all the princes of Germany to crush me." "I have acted," she added, "with too much condescension to the court of France; compelled by the necessity of the times, I debased my royal dignity, by writing to the cardinal in terms which would have softened the most obdurate rocks; he insolently rejected my intreaties; and the only answer I obtained was, that his most Christian majesty had contracted engagements which he could not violate. I can prove, by documents in my possession, that the French endeavoured to excite sedition even in the heart of my dominions; that they attempted to overturn the fundamental laws of the empire, and to set fire to the four corners of Germany; and I will transmit these proofs to posterity, as a warning to the empire *."

The queen of Hungary was encouraged to reject all overtures from France, by the example of the British cabinet, as well as by the counsels of her own ministers. Lord Carteret, warmly promoted the views of George the Second, to engage in the continental war, and to dismember the territories of France. He was seconded by the zeal of lord Stair, commander in chief of the forces in the Low Countries, who, inspired with an equal antipathy against France, suggested schemes of aggrandisement to the court of Vienna, and proposed that the house of Austria should retain Bavaria, and indemnify the emperor by conquests from the enemy. The ministers of the conference warmly entered into these views, which were congenial to the character and temper of the sovereign; and Bartenstein, the soul of the cabinet, from disappointment and indignation, was no less violent than count Starenberg, "whose Austrian inveteracy against France was petrified through the course of fourscore years †." Hence Maria Theresa not only expected to recover Loraine, and the dominions which had been wrested from her father in Italy, but also to reconquer Alsace, and to retain Bavaria.

* Memoires de Richelieu, tom. 6. p. 189, 190.

† Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

As

As a prelude to these successes, she looked forward to the capture of the French armies in Bavaria, and at Prague, who seemed abandoned to their fate, by the despondency and weakness of cardinal Fleury. Like her enemies, at the commencement of the war, she indulged herself in dreams of conquest and dismemberment, and parcelled out the territories of the Emperor, and of the house of Bourbon, to herself and her allies, as France had divided the inheritance of the house of Austria. She was, however, disappointed in these sanguine expectations; the party in France which had supported the war, gained the ascendency, and strained every nerve to retrieve their affairs, and to extricate the armies from their perilous situation. Secure of the neutrality of the Dutch, and aware that England, without their concurrence, would not venture to commence offensive operations on the continent, the French cabinet formed the bold project of marching the army of Mallebois, which was stationed in Westphalia, towards Prague, a distance of 600 miles, through a country full of defiles, and over-run by the troops of the enemy. This plan was executed with equal promptitude and resolution. A corps being collected in Flanders, to watch the motions of the English, Maillebois advanced by rapid marches towards Bavaria, and arrived, on the 14th of September, at Amberg, in the Upper Palatinate. Here he was joined by marshal Seckendorf*, at the head of the Bavarians; and the duke of Harcourt's army, under the command of count Saxe, who, deceiving Kevenhuller by his masterly manœuvres, had extricated the troops from their dangerous position, and formed a junction with the main army at this critical moment. With this force, amounting to not less than 60,000 men, Maillebois directed his efforts to the side of Prague; after detaching Seckendorf to take possession of Bavaria, he continued his march to Egra, and received the pleasing intelligence, that Broglio, with 12,000 men from Prague, had advanced to the neighbourhood of Leutmeritz, to effect a junction.

* Marshal Seckendorf had quitted the Austrian service, and entered into that of the Emperor, and was appointed commander in chief in Bavaria.

Chapter 24. 1742.

During this period the trenches had been opened before Prague, and the siege pushed with great vigilance, but with little skill or effect. The French were reduced to great extremities from the scarcity of provisions; and for several weeks the soldiers subsisted almost on bread and water, and even horseflesh was considered as a delicacy for the officers and the sick. In this distress they made continual sallies, and

Aug. 12.

though they retarded the operations of the Austrians, and in one instance gained a decided advantage, yet they were still shut up within the precincts of the town *.

On the approach of Maillebois new overtures were made by the duke of Loraine; and his proposals were even transmitted to the French cabinet. But the queen of Hungary issued orders to forbid all conferences, "that count Konigseg might be no longer amused by the fulsome speeches and insidious confidences of Belleisle." Jealous of the authority which her husband seemed disposed to assume, she declared, "she would not suffer a council at the army and a council at Vienna; she disclaimed, disallowed, and disavowed all such pernicious and unsanctioned proceedings, let the blame fall where it would;" she even ordered the duke of Loraine to reject any proposal from France, which did not comprehend cessions in Bavaria, and to elude any condition, however conformable to his own offers, as her whole view and determined resolution were, to destroy the French in Germany †.

In obedience to this mandate, the Austrians continued their operations; but on the approach of Maillebois, prince Charles, leaving a corps of irregulars in the vicinity of the town, advanced to check the progress of the French army. Broglio had seized this opportunity to quit Prague, and hastened to Leutmeritz with his corps of 12,000 men; but prince Charles, being joined by Kevenhuller, occupied the passes of Satz and Caden, and thus obstructed the advance of the army of Maillebois to Prague.

* Pelzel, p. 874. † Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

The

Chapter 24. 1742.

The troops of Maillebois, reduced and debilitated by the fatigues of their long march, were incapable of forcing the defiles; and being deprived of provisions from Saxony, were compelled to quit an exhausted country, and fall back into the Upper Palatinate. From hence the French general endeavoured to alarm the enemy for Upper Austria, and turned towards the Danube, which he passed on the 12th of December; but prince Charles, having anticipated his design, by occupying Passau, which covered that country, Maillebois relinquished all hopes of relieving Prague, and took up his winter quarters between the Iser, the Inn, and the Danube. Broglio, unable to effect a junction with Maillebois, collected provisions and necessaries, and led his troops back to Prague; from whence escaping in disguise, he reached the French army, and assumed the command in place of Maillebois, who was recalled. Dec. 18.

The Austrians being left masters of Bohemia, prince Lobcowitz, with 18,000 men, resumed the blockade of Prague. The situation of the French was soon rendered desperate by the severity of the season, and the want of provisions and fuel. The blockade continued several weeks, and the court of Vienna hourly expected the unconditional surrender of this remnant of the French forces, when they were surprised with the intelligence that Belleisle had effected a retreat.

From the severity of the weather, and the exhausted state of the adjacent country, which had been wasted by order of prince Charles, to the extent of two leagues round the city, prince Lobcowitz had taken up his quarters beyond the Moldau, at the distance of twenty miles. He left only a detachment of hussars to observe the French, whom he considered as incapable of forcing a march of an hundred miles through a country covered with snow, broken by almost impassable mountains, abounding in defiles, and infested by his irregulars, and he was encouraged in this opinion by the state of the enemy, who were debilitated by sickness, and totally unprovided with clothing. Belleisle, availed himself of these circumstances, deceived the inhabitants of the town, and forming 11,000 foot and 3,000 horse into a single column, with 30 pieces of cannon and provisions for twelve days,

Chapter 24. 1742.

days, departed on the night of the 16th of December, leaving the sick and wounded with a guard in the citadel.

He passed through an open country, 30 miles in extent, without receiving any check, except from the desultory attacks of the hussars and light troops, avoided the defiles which were occupied by the enemy, crossed frozen morasses, penetrated through almost impassable woods, and reached Egra on the twelfth day, without losing more than an hundred men from the assaults of the enemy. But no European army ever experienced more dreadful sufferings; the soldiers, without any other subsistence than frozen bread, compelled to sleep on the snow and ice, without a covering, and perpetually harassed by flying parties, perished in great numbers. "The roads," says the historian of Bohemia, "were dreadful to behold; they were overspread with corpses; heaps of one and two hundred men each, with their officers, were found stiffened with the frost, or dead with fatigue *." Twelve hundred men sunk under these distresses; many whose members were frozen, were obliged to undergo amputation at Egra, and the remainder were thinned by the ravages of a dreadful fever. During the whole retreat Belleisle himself, although severely afflicted with the rheumatism, and unable either to walk or ride, was carried in his coach or sedan to all parts where his presence was necessary; he reconnoitered and pointed out the roads, and superintended all the detail of the march. But notwithstanding the losses of his army, he had the satisfaction of preserving the flower of the French forces, of saving every cannon which bore the arms of his master, and of not leaving the smallest trophy to grace the triumph of the enemy.

The remainder of the French troops, amounting to only 6000 men, and those mostly invalids, seemed an easy prey; and prince Lobcowitz, who was irritated at the escape of Belleisle, insisted on their unconditional surrender. But their gallant commander, Chevert, rejected such an humiliating condition, and replied to the officer who bore the summons, "Tell the prince, that if he will not grant me the honours of

* Pelzel, p. 882.

war,

war, I will set fire to the four corners of Prague, and bury myself under its ruins." From a desire to preserve the capital of Bohemia, this condition was accepted, and Chevert marched out with the honours of war, and joined the army at Egra *. Chapter 24. 1742.

This extraordinary and unexpected retreat was unjustly attributed to collusion; but the Empress queen was unable to conceal from her confidants the emotions of her anger and disappointment, and was less gratified by the recovery of the town than chagrined at the escape of her enemies †. She did not however display her disappointment in public, but celebrated the surrender of Prague by a magnificent and gallant entertainment. Among other festivities, it was distinguished by a chariot race in imitation of the Greeks, in which, to exhibit the triumph of her sex, ladies alone were permitted to contend; and Maria Theresa herself, with her sister, entered the lists ‡.

Thus at the termination of the campaign all Bohemia was regained, except Egra; and Maria Theresa was soon afterwards crowned at Prague, to the recovery of which, says her great rival ‖, her firmness had more contributed than the force of her arms. 1743. May 12.

The only reverse which the Austrians experienced in the midst of their successes was the temporary loss of Bavaria, which, on the retreat of Kevenhuller, was occupied by marshal Seckendorf, and the Emperor made his entry into Munich on the 2d of October.

On the 2d of January, Belleisle leaving a garrison at Egra, quitted that town, and reconducted his army to Spire; where it was to cross the Rhine. He thus closed this singular expedition, in which he entered Germany as a legislator and a conqueror, at the head of 40,000 men, and returned to France, humiliated and a fugitive, with only 8,000.

* Memoires de Richelieu, tom. 6. p. 251. —Pelzel, p. 885.

† Mr. Robinson's Dispatches, 1742. In all his letters at this period, he mentions the inveterate animosity of the queen against the French, and the extreme agony of her mind on their escape from Prague.

‡ Fantin Odouard's Histoire de France, tom. 3. p. 329.

‖ Œuvres Posthumes.

CHAPTER 25.

1743.

Death of Cardinal Fleury—Situation of the French Court and Ministers—Favourable Aspect of the Austrian Affairs—Campaign in Germany—Battle of Dettingen—Affairs of Italy—Battle of Campo Santo—Treaty of Worms—Inactivity of the Allies after the Battle of Dettingen—Conclusion of the Campaign—Prince Charles of Loraine espouses the Archduchess Mary Anne.

Chapter 25. 1743.

THE commencement of 1743 was distinguished by the death of cardinal Fleury, who died at Issy on the 30th of January, in the ninetieth year of his age. He had governed France during a period of seventeen years, with the most upright disinterestedness and unblemished integrity *; but he was better calculated to superintend the regulations of peace than to direct the operations of war; and by his attention to the recovery of the finances, had exposed himself to the censure of suffering the marine to fall into decay, and of repressing the military ardour of the nation. Although the spirit and judgment of Fleury had considerably declined during the latter period of his life; yet from his influence over the king, and his long habits of governing, he formed the center of union between the sovereign and the different departments, and directed all the efforts of administration to the pursuit of an uniform system of policy. But his death dissolved this bond of union.

Louis the Fifteenth seemed like an heir emancipated from a long minority, and formed the resolution of directing, himself, the helm of government. He therefore appointed no prime minister; and, in imi-

* He died without debts; but his whole fortune and effects did not amount to more than 80,000 French livres.—Lettres de Van Hoey, p. 97.

tation

tation of Louis the Fourteenth, transacted business with the chiefs of each department. But this transitory ardour soon subsided; his devotion to pleasure again gained the ascendancy; and the conduct of affairs being left to the heads of the different offices, the kingdom was governed by the principal ministers of state, who were independent of each other, and acted with little concert or harmony. Chapter 25. 1743.

These persons were Tencin, Argenson, Orry, Maurepas, and Amelot. Cardinal Tencin, minister of state, was a prelate of lively talents, licentious manners, and ambitious character, who aspired to become a second Fleury. Argenson, entrusted with the department of war, had been chancellor to the duke of Orleans, and was better versed in the subtleties of the bar than in military affairs. Orry, controller-general, was a man of great simplicity of manners, possessed the spirit of order and regularity, and was anxious to continue the parsimonious system of the cardinal, from which he only swerved to gratify the private pleasures of the king; he was, however, disliked by the dissipated courtiers of Louis the Fifteenth, for his firmness in rejecting their importunate demands. Maurepas, who directed the marine, was chiefly distinguished for his wit, vivacity, pleasing manners, skill in court intrigue, and talents for satirical ballads and fugitive pieces of poetry. He was an enthusiast for the improvement of the marine; and all his views were directed to render France the mistress of the sea. Amelot, secretary of state for foreign affairs, had been chosen by Fleury for his quiet and inoffensive manners; and, during the life of the cardinal, was little more than the head clerk in his own office; he possessed a cultivated mind; but his manners were awkward and ungainly, and an impediment in his speech rendered him unfit for negotiation.

Besides the ministers, the court was agitated, and the mind of the king was influenced by the intrigues of Noailles and Richelieu, and by the petty cabals of the mistress. The duc de Noailles, nephew of madame de Maintenon, was devoted to the ancient system of Louis the Fourteenth; and to his suggestions was principally owing the resolution

Chapter 25. 1743.

of the king to become his own minister *. With great talents for business, and military skill, he entered deeply into the intrigues of the court, and covered his ambition under the semblance of simplicity, frankness, and candour. He was hated and thwarted by the ministers, who, though at variance among themselves, united all their efforts against so dangerous a rival. As commander in chief, he was desirous to appropriate all the resources of the state to the improvement of the military department.

Richelieu, by ministering to the pleasures of the sovereign and by his address in court cabals, had acquired some influence; but notwithstanding the support of the mistress †, he in vain endeavoured to secure the direction of foreign affairs, for which he deemed himself qualified by the knowledge he had acquired, and the skill he had displayed, during his embassy at Vienna ‡. To use the words of the royal historian: "This Areopagus governed France; it was properly an aristocracy, or rather a ship which sailed without a compass in a stormy sea, without any certain course, and driven about by the impulse of the winds. Under such an administration the armies did not prosper ‖."

The counsels of France were distracted at home, and her influence rapidly declining abroad, while the cause of Maria Theresa was triumphant in every part of Europe. The zeal of the king and parliament of England had not abated; the subsidy of 300,000 l. was continued to the queen of Hungary; another of 200,000 l. § voted for the king of Sardinia; and the army in Flanders, under the command of the earl of Stair, prepared to cross the Rhine, and to act in Germany as auxiliaries. The States General displayed their hostile disposition to France by furnishing a contingent of 6,000 men, and by preparing

* Millot, Memoires Politiques & Militaires, tom. v. p. 319—332.

† Madame de Chateauroux.

‡ For an account of the ministers and situation of the French court, see Memoires de Richelieu, tom. vii. p. 100—114.

‖ "Cet aréopage gouverna donc la France, c'etoit proprement une aristocratie, ou bien un vaisseau qui naviguant sans boussole sur une mer orageuse ne suivoit pour système que l'impulsion des vents." Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. p. 8.

§ Tindal, vol. xx. ch. 12.

still

Chapter 25. 1743. Feb. 2. 1743.

still further succours; the Swedes, worsted in every engagement, were unable to continue hostilities, and Russia had concluded a defensive alliance with England; Maria Theresa was therefore enabled to turn her whole force against the house of Bourbon.

The first efforts of the campaign were directed on the side of Bavaria. Prince Charles took the field early in May; and, assisted by the counsels of the enterprising Kevenhuller, disconcerted the enemy by the rapidity and decision of his movements. He drove the advanced posts of the French back on the Iser; and, suddenly turning towards Branau, routed, after a desperate attack, a corps of Bavarians strongly entrenched at Erblach, took their standards, baggage, and artillery, and made 6,000 men, with the commander in chief, Minuzzi, and many other officers, prisoners. He then resumed his operations against the French, and compelled Broglio, though reinforced by a detachment of 12,000 men from the army of Noailles, to fall back to the Rhine. During these operations prince Lobcowitz blockaded Egra, drove count Saxe with great loss from the Upper Palatinate, and then advanced towards the Danube to cooperate with prince Charles. At the same time baron de Stenitz made an irruption from the Tyrol, and ravaged the southern parts of Bavaria.

The unfortunate Emperor, alarmed by the rapid progress of the Austrians, quitted Munich with precipitation, and being hopeless of assistance from the French, ordered Seckendorf, who with a small body of troops still held out in Bavaria, to conclude a treaty of neutrality, by which he renounced his pretensions to the Austrian succession, and yielded his dominions to the queen of Hungary, till the conclusion of a general peace. The Bavarian troops were accordingly withdrawn into Franconia; and the Emperor, stripped of all his territories, retired to Ofburgh, an Imperial city, and afterwards to Franckfort *.

The king of England, being relieved from his apprehensions for Hanover by the march of Maillebois into Germany, prepared to take an active part against the French as an auxiliary to the queen of Hungary.

* Histoire de Marie Therese.—Fautin Odouards Histoire de France, tom. iii. p. 938—340.—Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. ch. 8.—Pelzel, p. 885—890.

Chapter 25. 1743.

gary. The British and Austrian troops in the Netherlands, under the earl of Stair, directed their march towards the Main; and, being joined in their way by several corps of Hessians and Hanoverians, passed the Rhine on the 14th of May, and arrived on the 23d in the neighbourhood of Frankfort. Meanwhile, a French army assembled on the Rhine under Noailles, and occupied the banks of the Neckar to retard the march of the allies into Germany, and prevent their junction with prince Charles of Loraine. With a view, therefore, to gain the Upper Main, lord Stair pushed forwards to Aschaffenburgh, where he established his head-quarters; but his progress was arrested by the vigilance of the French general, who occupied the defiles above Aschaffenburgh, and the posts on the Upper Main; and secured the command of the Lower Main by throwing bridges over the river at Selingenstadt. The allied army thus confined to the vicinity of Aschaffenburgh, and unable to draw subsistence either from the Upper or Lower Main, began to experience great scarcity of provisions. At

June 19.

this juncture, George the Second, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland and lord Carteret, arrived at the head-quarters to witness the deplorable situation of his troops, who were reduced to the alternative of surrendering themselves prisoners of war, or of cutting their way through an enemy superior in numbers, and masters of all the defiles.

The arrival of the king infused a new spirit into the army; and it was resolved to force their way to Hanau, the principal depository of their magazines, where a corps of 12,000 Hanoverians and Hessians had just arrived. The army decamped at midnight on the 27th, and Aschaffenburgh was instantly occupied by the French. At the same time a large body of the enemy crossed the river at Selingenstadt, and drew up in order of battle, their right against Welmisheim and the bank of the Main, and their left, covered by a wood, behind the Beck or rivulet of Dettingen, which, flowing in a deep ravine, was passable only by a single bridge. The allies were thus cooped up in a narrow plain, closed with hills, woods, and morasses on the right, and on the left by the Main, the steep bank of which on the opposite side was planted with numerous

merous batteries. Notwithstanding these obstacles, they continued their march, exposed to the incessant fire of the French artillery, and advancing almost to Dettingen, formed on a narrow front as well as the nature of the ground would permit. Though full of ardour, and encouraged by the presence of the king, they could scarcely have surmounted the obstacles of nature and art, had they not been extricated by the inadvertence of the enemy. Chapter 25. 1743.

The duke de Grammont, nephew of Noailles, who commanded that part of the French army which was stationed near the defile of Dettingen, being encouraged by the disorder into which the allies were thrown by the fire of the batteries, and eager to signalise himself, quitted his impregnable position, crossed the rivulet, and advanced into the plain. This blind impetuosity frustrated all the wise dispositions of the commander in chief; he thus rendered useless the French batteries beyond the Main, while his own troops were exposed to a heavy fire, and compelled to engage on equal ground with superior numbers. Lord Stair availed himself of this fortunate circumstance, and was seconded by the presence of the king, and the skill of count Neuperg the Austrian commander. The confederate forces after a general shout, which was the omen of victory, advanced with undaunted resolution, and by their irresistible impetuosity compelled the enemy to give way. Many of the French regiments, particularly the household troops, displayed uncommon valour, but were repulsed with great slaughter; and Noailles who hastened with a reinforcement, was compelled to recross the Main with the loss of 5,000 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

Though the king took no part in the dispositions of this battle, he displayed great personal bravery, and several times led his cavalry and infantry to the charge. The duke of Cumberland was wounded in the leg, and gave a signal proof of his humanity. After the engagement, when the surgeon was preparing to extract the ball, he observed a French musqueteer brought near his tent, dreadfully wounded, "Begin," he said, "by relieving that French officer, he is more wounded than I am; he may want assistance, and I shall not." This victory was purchased by the allies with a considerable loss; but only secured their retreat.

Chapter 21. 1741.

retreat. The king dined on the field, and the army, leaving their sick and wounded to the care of the French, decamped and marched to Hanau *.

The battle of Dettingen may rather be considered as an unexpected and fortunate escape, than as an important and decisive engagement; it was however triumphantly celebrated by the allies, and the exploits of the king compared with those of Marlborough and Eugene. At Vienna it occasioned a delirium of joy; the Queen, in returning from an excursion by water, was hailed by multitudes of people, who, pouring from

July 4. Vienna, crowded the banks of the Danube for the space of nine miles. She entered the capital in a species of triumph, and celebrated the victory by a Te Deum in the cathedral. In making an elogium of George the Second, she expressed, with a mixture of humility and pride, a modest sense of her own unworthiness to deserve these favours from heaven, otherwise than as an instrument in the hands of Providence to raise the house of Austria in her person, in proportion to its recent depression †.

Her sanguine expectations were at this time buoyed up by the favourable state of her own and the allied army, the depression of the

Sept. 7. Emperor, and the despondency of the French. The capture of Egra secured the possession of all her hereditary countries; and prince Charles of Loraine, after forcing the Emperor to agree to a neutrality, had reached the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Manheim, at the head of an army flushed with success, and equal in numbers, discipline, and appointment, to any which had been hitherto assembled by the house of Austria.

The great scheme of dismembering France was now brought to maturity; and prince Charles, accompanied by Kevenhuller, hastened to Hanau to concert with the king of England a plan of operations. The

* Millot Memoires Politiques et Militaires, &c. tom. 336—358.—Œuvres Posthumes de Frederic II. tom. ii. 22—27.—Annales de Maric Therese, p. 53—59.—Tindal—Smollett—Annals of Europe for 1743—Historical Memoirs of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, chap. iii.

† Mr. Robinson to lord Carteret, July 3 and 6, 1743.

combined army, now amounting, by the junction of the Dutch, to 50,000 men, was to cross the Rhine at Mentz, and to occupy Alsace, while prince Charles was to pass that river from the Austrian Brisgau, and over-run Loraine, Franche Comté, and Burgundy*. The king of England accordingly crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and took up his head-quarters at Worms; while prince Charles prepared to penetrate into France in the vicinity of Brisac. But this plan was impeded by the opposite views of the confederate powers, by the disputes which agitated the allied army, by the secret negotiations for peace, and by the discordant counsels of England. Chapter 25. 1743. August 22.

The camp of the allies soon became a scene of discord and confusion; the impetuous temper of lord Stair was irritated by the rejection of his proposal to cross the Main, and pursue the enemy after the late battle; while the Austrian generals, considering their allies as mere auxiliaries, expected to direct all operations according to the views and interests of their sovereign; the Dutch were dilatory and averse to action, and the British troops, jealous of the king's partiality to his German subjects, gave way to national antipathy, and broke out into bitter invectives against the Hanoverians. An army thus composed was not capable of acting with spirit and unanimity; and its operations were still more embarrassed by the complicated negotiations which had been opened for peace.

The Emperor, deprived of his dominions, and disappointed of the subsidies of France, was reduced to extreme necessity, and made overtures for a reconciliation to George the Second, through the medium of prince William of Hesse. Preliminaries were accordingly settled, by which he renounced his claims on the Austrian dominions, broke off his connection with France, and agreed to other conditions advantageous to the house of Austria. In return he was to be acknowledged head of the empire, to receive a provisional subsidy for the maintenance of his dignity, and to be restored to his dominions. George the Second even agreed to advance 300,000 crowns within forty days, and use his influence to gain the concurrence of the queen

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. p. 32.

of

Chapter 25. 1743.

of Hungary. This accommodation was prevented by the aversion of Maria Theresa, who aspired to depose the Emperor, and retain Bavaria, and by the opposition of the council of regency in England *, who were actuated by a jealousy of lord Carteret. But the last, and perhaps the most powerful, cause of the inactivity of the allied army was derived from the desire of George the Second to extort from the queen of Hungary the cessions promised to the king of Sardinia in the preceding year, which she evaded by every possible pretence †.

In Italy, hostile operations had commenced early in the year. The

September, 1742

queen of Spain, irritated with the ill success of the preceding campaign, had recalled Montemar, and given the command to the count de Gages, who had distinguished himself by his enterprising spirit. In the beginning of 1743, while the troops were in cantonments, this imperious woman ordered the new general to attack the enemy within three days, or to resign the command. Gages obeyed this peremptory mandate with equal spirit and address; he secretly drew his troops together, and with his officers slipped from a ball with which he amused the people

Feb. 3.

of Bologna, and marched at the head of his army to surprise the Austrians in their quarters. Though the strictest precaution had been taken to conceal his design, marshal Traun was fortunately apprised of the intended attack, and had assembled his troops at Campo Santo. A desperate engagement took place, which began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued by moon-light till after seven. The Spaniards were superior in number, and in the beginning of the action obtained some advantage over the Austrian cavalry, but were at length compelled to retreat with considerable loss. Having taken several colours, standards, kettle-drums, and cannon, they claimed the victory, which was celebrated by a Te Deum at Madrid. The advantage, however, was decidedly in favour of the confederates, and Traun receiving a reinforcement from Germany, Gages quitted Bologna in March, and retired to Rimini with his army, reduced almost to 12,000 men ‡.

* Memoirs of the duke of Cumberland, ch. 4. † Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

‡ Muratori, v. xii. p. 118.—Annals of Europe for 1743, p. 299.

The

Chapter 25. 1743.

The remainder of the campaign was not equal to this successful commencement. Elated with her successes in Germany, and the hopeless situation of the French troops in Bohemia, the queen of Hungary undervalued the advantages derived from the assistance of the king of Sardinia, and did not consider that his defection might still occasion the certain loss of her dominions in Italy. She, therefore, had thrown obstacles in the way of the promised cessions; and, in answer to the repeated exhortations of George the Second, peevishly exclaimed, "It is the system of England to lead me from one sacrifice to another. I must expose my troops to certain destruction for no other end than to to strip myself of my own accord. Should the cessions to the king of Sardinia be extorted from me, what remains in Italy will not be worth defending, and the only alternative left is that of being stripped either by England or France *." The king of Sardinia, also, with the characteristic avidity of the house of Savoy, grasped at more than he had at first demanded; while the violent and captious spirit of the marquis d'Ormea contributed still further to alienate the court of Vienna. The queen of Hungary, therefore, persisted in her refusal of the promised cessions, and the whole summer passed in fruitless negotiation. At length the king of Sardinia, irritated by these repeated delays, threatened that without an immediate compliance with his demands, he would unite his arms with those of France, Spain, and the Emperor, against the house of Austria. This threat, aided by the representations of England, extorted the reluctant consent of Maria Theresa; and on the 2d of September her plenipotentiary, baron Wasner, signed an offensive and defensive alliance with the British and Sardinian ministers at Worms. 1743.

The queen of Hungary ceded the city and part of the duchy of Placentia, the Vigevanesco, part of the duchy of Pavia, and the county of Anghiera; she likewise yielded her pretensions to the marquisate of Finale, which had been mortgaged to the Genoese; and also engaged to maintain 30,000 men in Italy, to be commanded by the king of Sardinia. The king was to employ 45,000 men under the condition of re-

* Sir T. Robinson's Dispatches.

Chapter 25. 1743.

ceiving an annual subsidy of 200,000 l. from Great Britain, and the sum of 300,000 l. for the liquidation of the mortgage on Finale; and in addition to these sums, Great Britain agreed to send a strong squadron into the Mediterranean to act in concert with the allied forces in Italy.

In the midst of these negotiations the allied armies in Italy continued inactive. But, on the conclusion of the treaty of Worms, prince Lobcowitz, having succeeded marshal Traun in the command, drove the Spaniards from Rimini, and compelled them to retire beyond the Foglia. In consequence, however, of the lateness of the season, both armies took up winter quarters, the Spaniards at Pesaro, Fano, and Senegallia, and the Austrians at Rimini, Forli, and Cesano *.

On the side of the Alps a combined army of French and Spaniards, under Don Philip, re-entered Savoy, and having over-run the whole duchy, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont, by forcing the lines near Chateau Dauphin, which secured the pass of the Alps. Being, however, repulsed with great loss by the king of Sardinia in person, they were compelled, by the approach of winter, to retire into Province and Dauphiné †.

Oct. 7, 8.

During the negotiations for the treaty of Worms, the confederate army in Germany remained inactive, while prince Charles in vain attempted to pass the Rhine near New Brisac. From this period no effectual movement was made, and nothing passed except desultory irruptions of the Austrian irregulars into Alsace and Loraine. In October the combined army retired into winter quarters; the English, Austrians, and Hanoverians in British pay, returned into Flanders; the Dutch marched into Brabant and Guelderland, and the Hessians and other Hanoverians to their respective countries; while prince Charles, leaving part of his army in the Brisgau, dispersed the rest in Bavaria, Bohemia, and Upper Austria. Towards the close of this campaign, the entire recovery of Bohemia was completed by the surrender of the French garrison at Egra, which had held out with unexampled perseverance, and in the midst of distress,

* Muratori, vol. xii. p. 122—130.

† Ibid. vol. xii. p. 122.

greater

greater than their countrymen had suffered at Prague, till the 7th of September*. Chapter 25. 1743.

At the close of the campaign, prince Charles of Loraine returned to Vienna, and espoused the archduchess Mary Anne, sister of the queen of Hungary, to whom he had been long attached; and, as a reward for his great services, was appointed, in conjunction with his consort, to the government of the Austrian Netherlands. She was a princess of a meek and amiable temper; but this happy union was of short duration, as she died in child-bed at the conclusion of the ensuing year.

* Pelzel, p. 889.—Œuvres Posthumes.

CHAPTER 26.

1744.

*France declares War against England and the House of Austria—Attempts to invade England—Louis XV. assumes the Command of the Army in the Netherlands—Progress of the French—Prince Charles passes the Rhine and invades Alsace—Illness of Louis XV.—Irruption of the Prussians into Bohemia—Seckendorf recovers Bavaria—*MARIA THERESA *again appeals to the Hungarians—Army of Insurrection—Prince Charles recrosses the Rhine, and, joined by the Saxons, compels the King of Prussia to evacuate Bohemia—Capture of Friburgh—Conclusion of the Campaigns on the Rhine and in Flanders—Affairs of Italy—Expedition against Naples—The King breaks his Neutrality—Surprise of Velletri—Irruption of the French and Spaniards into Savoy and Piemont—Siege of Coni—Retreat of the Prince of Conti.*

Chapter 26. 1744.

THE winter was passed by the belligerent powers in vast preparations for the ensuing campaign. Hitherto England and France had engaged simply as auxiliaries, without any formal declaration of war, the one in support of the queen of Hungary, and the other in favour of the Emperor and Spain. But this year the two rival nations became principals, and brought forward their whole strength by land and sea in this arduous contest.

At this period the efforts of England were debilitated, and her counsels distracted by feuds in the cabinet, and the violence of contending parties. Lord Carteret, a nobleman of great talents and aspiring temper, appreciated the necessity of taking an efficient part in the continental war; his opinion was supported by the king; but he was opposed by the Pelhams, who were disgusted with his overbearing temper and contemptuous behaviour, and aspired to direct the helm of government;

government; he was also loaded with the virulence of popular indignation, and shared with his royal master the odium which arose from the national antipathy against continental connections. Hence, though the parliament voted the supplies, and acquiesced in the continuance of the Hanoverians in British pay, a sullen spirit of discontent equally pervaded the nation and the cabinet, and crippled all the efforts of the King and his minister to support the cause of the house of Austria *.

Encouraged by these domestic broils, cardinal Tencin, minister of state, who was elevated to the purple by the nomination of the pretender, projected an invasion of England in favour of the dethroned family. Eighteen ships of the line, having on board 4,000 land forces, suddenly appeared off the Isle of Wight, and the son of the pretender, with marshal Saxe who commanded the expedition, came in sight of the English coast. Fortunately, a sudden storm dispersed the armament; and the squadron was driven back in a shattered state to the ports of France. This attempt, though unsuccessful, produced an instantaneous effect; terror and indignation spread through all ranks, the divisions in the cabinet were suspended, the public clamour ceased, the war against France became popular; the parliament voted larger supplies than had ever before been granted, and the cause of the house of Austria was promoted with redoubled enthusiasm †.

March and April.

Nor was France more backward in her hostile preparations; war was formally declared against Great Britain and Austria; and, besides the arrangements for the invasion of England, 100,000 men were assembled on the side of Flanders. The King himself repaired to Lisle to take the command of this force, and, in the space of two months, captured Courtray, Menin, Ypres, Fort la Knoque, and Furnes.

This rapid progress was no less owing to the deficiency of the allied army, and to the incapacity and divisons of the generals, than to the military skill of marshal Saxe, and the enthusiasm of the soldiers, who

* Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chapter 24.

† Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chapter 24.—Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 1.

were

Chapter 26. 1744.

were inspired by the presence of Louis the Fifteenth. Part of the British troops having been drawn into England against the projected invasion, and the other confederates being deficient in their respective contingents, the army, which ought to have amounted to 80,000, did not exceed 50,000 men. Marshal Wade, the commander of the British troops, was a man of a fretful and indolent disposition, and these defects were heightened by his advanced age. He was thwarted by the duke of Aremberg, general of the Austrian forces, who was more anxious to cover his own estates in the vicinity of Hainault, than to act for the advantage of the common cause. Prince Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch, and was shackled by private instructions, was an equal check on his operations, from a fear of irritating the French, whom the States were still desirous of conciliating. These discordant views and characters produced endless divisions, and reduced the allies almost to a state of inaction; while marshal Saxe was at the head of an army almost double in numbers, provided with a train of artillery superior to any ever before brought into the field, and animated by the presence of the sovereign. Being unshackled by instructions, or thwarted by jealousies, he was enabled to give full scope to his great military talents, and to display that vigour and decision which marked all his operations; he bore down all before him, and no obstacle seemed likely to prevent the entire conquest of the Low Countries, when the Austrians burst like a torrent into Alsace.

The defence of Alsace had been intrusted to the marshal de Coigny who posted his principal force on the Queich, while the remnant of the Bavarian troops under Seckendorf entrenched themselves on the side of Philipsburgh; and the banks of the Rhine, from Mentz to Fort Louis, were secured by every precaution. Prince Charles, however, deceived the French commander by detaching general Berenclau towards Gernesheim, as if he intended to effect a passage on that side, while Nadasti and Trenk crossed the Rhine in boats at the head

July 1. of 9,000 hussars and pandours, and surprised three Bavarian regiments posted above Philipsburgh. Under the protection of this corps, bridges were constructed near the village of Schreck, and Prince

Charles crossed the Rhine with his whole army, without loss, while Berenclau effected a passage at Weissenau near Mentz. The Austrian commander successively made himself master of the lines of Spire, Germesheim, and Lauterburgh, secured the important post of Weissemburgh, and thus established himself in the heart of Alsace, with an army of 60,000 men. Chapter 26. 1744.

Meanwhile Coigny retreated to Landau, where he was joined by Seckendorf. With a view to recover the important lines on the Lauter, he attacked Weissemburgh, which was occupied by Nadasti with 10,000 men, and, after a conflict of six hours, succeeded in forcing the entrenchments; but perceiving himself too weak to pursue his success, he retreated on the approach of prince Charles, threw reinforcements into Fort Louis and Strasburgh, and fell back behind the Motter. The Austrians reoccupied Weissemburgh, blockaded Fort Louis, and Prince Charles prepared to enter Loraine; while his irregulars spread terror to the gates of Luneville, and compelled Stanislaus to retire with all his court. In consequence of this rapid success, the king of France, renouncing his projects in the Low Countries, left marshal Saxe to maintain his conquests, dispatched 30,000 men under Noailles to reinforce marshal Coigny, and was hastening to take the command of the army in Alsace, when he was seized at Mentz with an illness which threatened his life. This event, however, did not suspend the march of the troops; Noailles passed the Vosges, and joined Coigny at Molsheim; 10,000 men under the duke d'Harcourt, advanced to Pfalzburgh, and a third corps under Belleisle was assembling in the three bishoprics *.

August 8.

August 13.

Prince Charles was preparing to make head against the accumulated forces which were gathering around him, when he was recalled to arrest the progress of the king of Prussia, who had again resumed hostilities.

Maria Theresa had roused the indignation of many princes of the empire; she had contemptuously rejected all overtures of pacification, and refused to acknowledge the Emperor and the Diet of Frankfort;

* Seckendorf's Leben. vol. ii. p. 348.

she

Chapter 26. 1744.

she did not affect to conceal her resolution to appropriate Bavaria, and had even compelled the natives to take the oath of allegiance. She meditated gigantic projects of conquests in France and Italy; and, elated with the success of her arms, gave suspicions that she had formed the plan of recovering Silesia, and dismembering the Prussian dominions in conjunction with England and Saxony.

Frederic was too jealous of the house of Austria, and too well acquainted with the character of Maria Theresa to remain indifferent to these surmises; and he became the soul of a new confederacy, which again involved the empire in war, and endangered the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria. With his usual secresy he formed
1744. the project of a convention, which was signed on the 13th of May at Frankfort on the Main, with the Emperor, France, the elector Palatine, and the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse. He beheld with alarm the rapid progress of prince Charles in Alsace, and seized this critical opportunity, when the Austrian dominions were drained of troops, to recommence hostilities. He affected great disinterestedness; and in a manifesto which he published on the 9th of August, when the plan of aggression was matured, required nothing for himself, and declared that he took arms only to restore to the German empire its liberty, to the Emperor his dignity, and to Europe repose *.

This declaration was scarcely published before he entered Bohemia at the head of a considerable army, advanced to Prague, after a short resistance forced that capital to surrender, and took the garrison of
Sept. 16. 15,000 men prisoners of war. On the capture of Prague he reduced Tabor, Budweiss, and Frauenberg, and made himself master of all Bohemia to the east of the Moldau. At the same time a corps of Bavarians and Hessians under Seckendorf, making an irruption into Bavaria, reinstated the Emperor in the possession of his capital and the greater part of his electorate.

Although the alarm of these irruptions spread to Vienna, the queen of Hungary was not daunted with this reverse. She recalled the army from Alsace; and, to animate the zeal of her Hungarian subjects,

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. ch. 9.

repaired

repaired on the invitation of the diet to Presburgh, and roused the spirit of the nation in her defence. Count Palfy, the venerable palatine of Hungary, set up the great red standard of the kingdom, as a signal for a general insurrection *; 44,000 men instantly took the field, and another body of 30,000 held themselves in readiness as an army of reserve. "This amazing unanimity," to use the words of a contemporary historian, "of a people so divided amongst themselves, as the Hungarians, especially in point of religion, could only be effected by the address of Maria Theresa, who seemed to possess one part of the character of Elizabeth of England, that of making every man about her a hero. We have in this respect a true picture of her character in a letter she wrote to old Palfy, with a present of her own horse richly caparisoned, with a gold hilted sword, ornamented with diamonds, and a ring of considerable value. Chapter 26. 1744.

"Father Palfy,

"I send you this horse, worthy of being mounted by none but the most zealous of my faithful subjects; receive at the same time this sword, to defend me against mine enemies; and take this ring as a mark of my affection for you †. "Maria Theresa."

The wildest enthusiasm, in favour of this captivating princess, spread from the aged palatine to the meanest vassal of the kingdom; the numerous hordes of Hungary flocked to the royal standard, and being joined by 6,000 Saxons, and an Austrian corps under Berenclau, hastened to the defence of Bohemia.

At this critical juncture, prince Charles, having reached the frontiers of Loraine, was exposed to imminent danger; and the repassage of the Rhine seemed almost impracticable in the face of a superior force. Fortunately, however, the sudden illness of Louis the Fifteenth suspended the operations of the French; and the Austrian commander was enabled to concentrate his forces, and recross the Rhine in the vicinity of Spire, in the presence of the army commanded by Noailles, with no August 23.

* A general levy is called in Hungary an army of insurrection.

† Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 76.

Chapter 26. 1744.

other check than a trifling attack of his rear guard *. This important passage, effected without loss or delay, enabled him to push on rapidly towards Bohemia, and he directed his march through Suabia to Donawerth, where he arrived on the 9th of September. Leaving the command to marshal Traun, he repaired to Vienna to concert future operations, and rejoined the army on the frontiers of Bohemia.

Although the king of Prussia had secured Prague, Tabor, Budweiss, and Frauenberg, and held the greater part of Bohemia, his troops were reduced to extreme want of provisions, and his communications were totally interrupted by hordes of irregulars. In this situation he was surprised with the arrival of the Austrian forces on the banks of the Wotawa; who, having been joined by the Saxons, threatened to cut off his retreat to Prague. Being thus exposed to a superior force, he was driven from post to post, and compelled to evacuate Bohemia with a considerable loss of men, who were killed and captured in various skirmishes, or who perished from the hardships of the march and the severity of the season †.

Soon after the retreat of the Austrians and the recovery of Louis the Fifteenth, the campaign on the Rhine was closed by the siege of Friburgh, the bulwark of anterior Austria, which was invested by marshal Coigny on the 30th of October. The attacks were directed by the celebrated count Lowendahl, a Swedish officer, who had recently entered into the service of France; but the town was defended by general Damnitz, with such spirit that it held out till the 28th of November, and was not taken without the loss of 18,000 men on the side of the besiegers. In the Netherlands marshal Saxe, though weakened by the reinforcements sent to the army of Alsace, maintained his conquests with the remainder of his troops, and baffled the inefficient efforts of the allies.

* From the Memoirs of Noailles it appears that Louis the Fifteenth had sent positive orders for the army not to engage the Austrians before his arrival, and that Noailles could not venture to disobey those orders.

† Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, tom. ii. ch. 10.—Heinrich, vol. viii. p. 181.—Tindal.—Histoire de Marie Therese.

In

In Italy the discordant views and mutual jealousies of Maria Theresa and the king of Sardinia prevented the good effects which might have been derived from their recent union. The king was anxious to secure his own dominions on the side of France, and to conquer the marquisate of Finale; while Maria Theresa was desirous to direct her principal force against Naples, and recover possession of the two Sicilies. Hence, instead of cooperating for one great object, their forces were divided; and, after an arduous and active campaign, the Austrians were nearly in the same situation as at the commencement of the year. Chapter 26. 1744.

Prince Lobcowitz being reinforced, compelled the Spaniards to retreat successively from Pesara and Senegallia, attacked them at Loretto and Reconati, and drove them beyond the Fronto, the boundary of the kingdom of Naples. 1744. March 13.

Alarmed with the advance of the Austrians, the king of Naples broke his neutrality, quitted his capital at the head of 15,000 men, and hastened to join the Spaniards. But prince Lobcowitz pursuing his advantage, sent a detachment into the province of Abruzzo, and dispersed manifestos to excite a rebellion in favour of the house of Austria. Unable, however, to advance through so mountainous a country, the Austrian commander turned towards Rome, with the hopes of penetrating into Naples on that side; and, in the commencement of June, reached the neigbourhood of Albano. His views were anticipated by the king of Naples, who dividing the Spanish and Neapolitan troops into three columns, which were led by himself, the duke of Modena, and the count de Gages, passed through Anagni, Valmonte, and Monte Tortino, and reunited his forces at Veletri, in the Campagna di Roma. In this situation, the two hostile armies, separated only by a deep valley, harassed each other with continual skirmishes. At length prince Lobcowitz, in imitation of prince Eugene at Cremona, formed the project of surprising the head-quarters of the king of Naples. In the night of August 10th, a corps of Austrians, led by count Brown, penetrated into the town of Veletri, killed all who resisted, and would have surprised the king and the duke of Modena

Chapter 26. 1741.

in their beds, had they not been alarmed by the French embassador, and escaped to the camp. The Austrian troops, giving way to pillage, were vigorously attacked by a corps of Spaniards and Neapolitans dispatched from the camp, and driven from the town with great slaughter, and the capture of the second in command, the marquis de Novati.* In this contest, however, the Spanish army lost no less than 3,000 men. This daring exploit was the last offensive attempt of the Austrian forces. Prince Lobcowitz perceiving his troops rapidly decrease by the effects of the climate, and the unwholesome air of the Pontine marshes, began his retreat in the beginning of November, and, though followed by an army superior in number, returned without loss to Rimini, Pesaro, Cesano, and Immola; while the combined Spaniards and Neapolitans took up their quarters between Viterbo and Civita Vecchia†.

In consequence of the expedition against Naples, the king of Sardinia was left with 30,000 men, many of them new levies, and 6,000 Austrians, to oppose the combined army of French and Spaniards, who advanced on the side of Nice. After occupying that place, the united army forced the intrenched camp of the Sardinians, though defended by the king himself, made themselves masters of Montalbano and Villafranca, and prepared to penetrate into Piemont along the sea coast. The Genoese, irritated by the transfer of Finale, were inclined to facilitate their operations; but were intimidated by the presence of an English squadron which threatened to bombard their capital.

The prince of Conti, who commanded under the infant Don Philip, did not, however, relinquish the invasion of Piemont, but formed the spirited project of leading his army over the passes of the Alps, although almost every rock was made a fortress, and the obstacles of nature were assisted by all the resources of art. He led his army, with a large train of artillery and numerous squadrons of cavalry, over precipices and along beds of torrents, carried the fort of Chateau Dau-

July.

* Buonamici de Rebus ad Velletras Gestis, p. Muratori, tom. xii. p. 134.

† Muratori, p. 141.

phin,

phin, forced the celebrated Barricades *, which were deemed impregnable, descended the valley of the Stura, took Demont, after a slight resistance, and laid siege to Coni.

The king of Sardinia having in vain attempted to stop the progress of this torrent, which burst the barriers of his country, indignantly retired to Saluzzo, to cover his capital. Being reinforced by 6,000 Austrians he attempted to relieve Coni, but was repulsed after a severe engagement, though he succeeded in throwing succours into the town. This victory, however, did not produce any permanent advantage to the confederate forces; Coni continuing to hold out, the approach of winter, and the losses they had sustained amounting to 10,000 men, compelled them to raise the siege and repass the Alps, which they did not effect without extreme difficulty †.

* This pass forms the entrance of the valley of Stura, and is a chasm scarcely twenty feet broad, between two steep precipices. It was defended by a triple entrenchment with a covert way, and by the rapid torrent of the Stura.

† Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 2. p. 144.—Desormeaux Histoire d'Espagne, tom. v. p. 487.—Fautin Odouards Histoire de France, tom. iii. p. 422.—Memoires de Richelieu—Tindal.

CHAPTER 27.

1745.

Death of the Emperor Charles the Seventh—Pretended Conspiracy in Russia—Views of the King of Prussia—Situation of the People and Ministry of England—Alliance of Austria with Augustus the Third—Treaty of Fuessen with the new Elector of Bavaria—Conduct of the Cabinet of Vienna—Campaign in Flanders—Battle of Fontenoy—Campaigns in Italy and Germany—Battles of Hohen—Friedberg, and Sohr—Invasion and Conquest of Saxony—Peace of Dresden.

Chapter 27. 1745.

THE regret of Maria Theresa at the ill success of her arms in Italy and Flanders, the capture of Friburgh, and the prospect of still greater losses in those distant parts, did not equal her exultation at the discomfiture of the king of Prussia. She considered the recovery of Silesia as certain, and regarded all other objects as secondary concerns. She even carried her views still further, and from the spirit of retaliation, formed the project of dismembering his hereditary dominions. In pursuit of this favourite scheme she overlooked her own weakness, and expected her allies to become passive instruments in promoting her views.

At this juncture an event happened which seemed to insure success to her projects, and opened new scenes of grandeur to her aspiring mind. Charles the Seventh, who was naturally of an infirm constitution, was worn out with grief, at the depression of his own fortunes, and the sufferings of his exhausted country. Though restored to a temporary possession of his capital, he was in hourly apprehension of being again driven from the seat of his ancestors, and reduced to a precarious dependence on France. In this state of alarm and anxiety he was afflicted with a severe attack of the gout, when one of his domestics officiously related the defeat of a French and Bavarian corps

at Neunec, which was aggravated by their dastardly behaviour. This sudden communication of a disastrous event affected the sensitive mind of the unfortunate monarch, the disorder remounted to his stomach, and proved fatal *. Chapter 27. 1745.

Charles the Seventh expired at Munich on the 20th of January, leaving a memorable example to his posterity not to aspire to a dangerous pre-eminence, without power, without resources, and without those transcendent abilities which so arduous a situation required. He was a prince of an amiable and liberal disposition, but his amiable qualities often degenerated into weakness, and his liberality into profusion. In his last moments he testified his regret for having ruined himself and his country to become an Imperial pageant in the hands of France, and exhorted his son to reject a fatal dignity, and to regain his electoral territories by a speedy accommodation with the house of Austria †. 1745.

The death of the Emperor opened a new scene of intrigue and contention in every court of Europe. France, in particular, renewed her efforts either to wrest the Imperial crown a second time from the house of Austria, or to secure an honourable peace by consenting to the election of the duke of Loraine. With this view her agents tampered with the princes of Germany; at the court of Munich they exhorted Maximilian Joseph, the new elector, to revive the pretensions of his family on the Austrian succession, and to become a candidate for the throne of the empire. They were no less eager to secure Augustus the Third, and tendered every bait which could lure the ambition or avidity of that vain and profuse monarch, by offering enormous subsidies, an increase of territory on the side of Bohemia, and even the Imperial crown ‡.

France likewise endeavoured to secure at least the neutrality, if not the concurrence of Russia. She alarmed the fears of the suspicious Elizabeth, by accusing the court of Vienna of being implicated in a

* Mr. Robinson's Dispatch to lord Harrington, Jan. 30.

† Mr. Robinson's Dispatches.

‡ Mr. Villiers to lord Harrington, Dresden, 15 Feb. N. S. 1745. Grantham Papers.

conspiracy,

Chapter 27. 1745.

conspiracy, formed by some discontented nobles and ladies of the court, to restore Ivan, the relative of Maria Theresa. The unguarded conduct of the marquis de Botta gave colour to this accusation. During the regency of Ann, Botta had been Austrian minister at the court of St. Petersburgh, and had in vain attempted to engage Russia in support of the queen of Hungary. Being sent to Berlin he maintained a correspondence with the family of Lapookin, and the discontented nobles, and perhaps too warmly censured the conduct of Elizabeth. Several of this party being arrested and tortured, confessed that they had formed a conspiracy for dethroning the Empress, and had been encouraged by Botta to expect the protection of the queen of Hungary and of the king of Prussia. In consequence of this confession, several of the suspected conspirators were tried and condemned for high treason, and Lapookin, his wife, son, and sister were knooted, their tongues cut out, and sent to Siberia. The French cabinet availed themselves of this circumstance to embroil the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh, and again dispatched the marquis de Chetardie with the hope that he would effectually exert his influence over the mind of Elizabeth. But the queen of Hungary defeated their views by imprisoning Botta, and disavowing his conduct, and by gaining the chancellor Bestuchef. Through his influence the intrigues of la Chetardie were disclosed to the Empress, and he was ordered to quit St. Petersburgh in two hours, and conveyed to the frontiers almost like a criminal. Hence the plans of France were disconcerted, and the cause of the house of Austria became triumphant at St. Petersburgh *.

Although the king of Prussia had hitherto outwardly affected to cooperate with the French, that he might secure the possession of Silesia, he was secretly displeased with their conduct; and unwilling to concur

* Manstein, in his Memoirs, has given the best account of this supposed conspiracy, p. 280, 373—376.—It is also detailed in a loose and partial manner by the king of Prussia, Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. p. 41—46.—This conspiracy appears to have been only a petty cabal of some discontented nobles and ladies of the court, who offended Elizabeth by commenting too freely on her amours. See Travels in Russia, b. iv. ch. 4.

in

in placing a new sovereign on the Imperial throne, who could only be a phantom of dignity, and dependent on the will and bounty of France. He therefore made overtures to George the Second, to renew his accommodation with the house of Austria, while he pressed his military preparations for the ensuing campaign with his accustomed energy *.

Chapter 27. 1745.

The British cabinet were interested to oppose the intrigues of France, and to secure the Imperial crown to the duke of Loraine; but they were irritated by the unjustifiable breach of the treaty of Breslau, which had arrested the successful progress of the Austrian arms in France. On the first intelligence of the Prussian invasion, they had assisted the queen of Hungary with an additional supply of 120,000l. † and were disposed to cooperate in the recovery of Silesia, though not to second her impolitic and impracticable plans for the dismemberment of the Prussian territories. The nation, however, was in a state of ferment and disorder; the outery against the Hanoverians had arisen to an alarming height; just fears were entertained of an invasion in favour of the Pretender; the cabinet was distracted by internal feuds; and lord Carteret, the only minister who possessed the confidence of the king, and was capable of conducting the war with energy and effect, had been compelled to resign. The Pelham administration had succeeded; the helm of government was eagerly grasped by the duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of high honour and not deficient in talents, but of a jealous and querulous disposition, personally disagreeable to the sovereign, and opposed in the cabinet by several of the other ministers, and even occasionally by his brother Mr. Pelham, who all re-echoed the clamours of the nation for peace ‡.

In this distracted state, the efforts of England were ill concerted and ill directed; and though the cause of the house of Austria was still popular, the people began to be oppressed with the burdens

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. p. 114.

† Sir T. Robinson's Dispatches.

‡ Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch, 26.

Chapter 27. 1745.

of a continental war. The parliament, however, voted liberal supplies for the continuance of hostilities; 6,000 Hessian troops were again taken into British pay; and, to allay the outcry against the Hanoverians, they were transferred to the service of the queen of Hungary, who was gratified with an additional subsidy of 200,000l. *

The views of England being wholly directed to the humiliation of France, vigorous preparations were made to open the campaign in the Netherlands; a fleet was stationed in the Mediterranean to cooperate with the allies in Italy, and the British cabinet endeavoured to concentrate the whole force of the house of Austria on the same object. For this purpose they attempted to rouse the dilatory spirit of the Austrian court, and to overcome the obstinacy of the queen of Hungary. Before the death of Charles the Seventh, the Queen had attempted to effect a reconciliation with that prince; but her demands were too imperious and exorbitant; she wished to appropriate great part of Bavaria, and to give the Emperor an indemnity in Italy or the Low Countries, or by an equivalent to be conquered from France. Even on the death of the Emperor, when the new elector refused to assume the title of archduke, and to accept the Imperial crown, the punctilious spirit of the Austrian cabinet retarded an accommodation until the 22d of April, when, at the earnest exhortations of the British cabinet, the Queen agreed to a treaty which was signed at Fuessen. The Elector renounced his pretensions to the Austrian succession, and engaged to guaranty the Pragmatic Sanction, to dismiss the auxiliary troops in his electorate, and to give his vote for the duke of Loraine; while Maria Theresa acknowledged the validity of the late Emperor's election, and renounced her claims on the Bavarian dominions †.

The same causes concurred to embarrass the negotiations with Augustus the Third. With a view to counteract the union of Franckfort, a quadruple alliance had been concluded at Warsaw on the 8th of

* Tindal—Sir T. Robinson's Dispatches.

† Sir T. Robinson's Dispatches.—Koch, tom. ii. p. 61.

January,

January, between the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the Maritime Powers, by which Augustus engaged to support the Pragmatic Sanction, and to furnish 30,000 troops for the relief of Bohemia, on the consideration of receiving a subsidy of 150,000 l. from the Maritime Powers. This treaty had not been formally ratified, when the death of the Emperor intervened, and Augustus took advantage of that event to sell his alliance at a higher price. To counteract the tempting proposals of France, it became necessary to secure his amity by offers equally liberal. Appreciating the importance of his alliance, he demanded some duchies in Silesia, which would secure him a free passage between his Saxon and Polish dominions; but Maria Theresa disdainfully rejected this proposal, and was no less unwilling to yield a portion of Silesia, which she could only recover by conquest, than she was to accede to its first cession. These and other disputes, arising from the capricious character of Augustus, and the unbending temper of Maria Theresa, protracted the negotiation during several months, till the progress of the Prussian arms, and the unceasing remonstrances of England, accelerated the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed at Leipzig on the 18th of May.

The treaty of Warsaw was considered as the basis of this alliance; but separate and secret articles were arranged between the queen of Hungary and the king of Poland, relative to the partition of the conquests which they expected to make from the king of Prussia. The duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz were to be restored to the queen of Hungary, except the circles of Zullichau and Schweibus, which were to be assigned to the king of Poland, with the duchies of Magdeburgh and Crossen, and the Prussian part of Lusatia*.

* The king of Prussia accuses George the Second of being accessary to this scheme for partitioning his territories, but without sufficient reason; for the British cabinet consented only to promote the recovery of Silesia, in case no accommodation could be effected between Austria and Prussia, as is evident from Sir Thomas Robinson's Dispatches.—Hertzberg Recueil des Deductions, Manifestes, Declarations, Traités et autres actes et ecrits publics, &c. depuis 1756, jusqu' à 1778, tom. i.

Chapter 27. 1745.

During these negotiations, the court of Vienna were distracted by opposite views and discordant interests; their great object was the recovery of Silesia; and the Queen, though anxious to raise her husband to the Imperial dignity, even declared that without Silesia the crown of the empire would be of no value. The duke of Loraine had long been ambitious to acquire a regal title. Humbled by the superior dignity of his consort, and affected with the reserved and haughty deportment of the ministers, who considered him as a stranger without efficient power or real consequence, he had endeavoured to obtain the title of king of Bohemia; and as Maria Theresa was not of a disposition to submit to a divided authority, he looked forward to the acquisition of the Imperial crown, as the great object of his future hopes and importance. Yet, awed by the imperious temper of his consort, he concealed his anxiety, and affected a resolution rather to relinquish that high dignity, than to purchase it by the smallest diminution of the Austrian succession. The ministers were jealous lest this elevation should increase his influence, but could not venture openly to oppose the wishes of the Queen. They were therefore lukewarm in his cause, repeatedly declared that the crown of the empire ought not to be put in competition with the recovery of Silesia, or the cession of a single province; and even insinuated that it might be restored to the Austrian family in the person of the archduke Joseph, who, though a minor, might be raised to the Imperial dignity like Frederic the Second*. In consequence of these discordant views the negotiations were conducted with more than usual dilatoriness; but, all the ministers were unanimous in rejecting overtures for an accommodation with the king of Prussia.

The campaign was first opened in Flanders. While the allies were wasting time in negotiations, the French took the field; marshal Saxe assembling his forces between Dunkirk and Valenciennes, invested Tournay on the 25th of April, with an army of 80,000 men, and was joined by the King and the Dauphin in the beginning of May. The allies, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, under the direction of marshal Konigseg, consisted of British, German, and Dutch

* Sir T. Robinson's Dispatches.

troops,

troops, with not more than 8,000 Austrians, and scarcely amounted to 50,000 men. The duke of Cumberland, however, collecting his forces, hastened to the relief of Tournay, and at the beginning of May encamped between Bougines and Moubray, within musket-shot of the enemy's advanced posts, with an intention of compelling them to engage or raise the siege. Chapter 27. 1745.

The French army occupied an eminence, with the village of Antoin on their right, and Fontenoy in their center, strongly fortified, while their left extended to the wood of Barry beyond Vezon, which was defended by formidable redoubts. Along their front was a small plain, descending gradually from their camp, and the ground was embarrassed by defiles, coppices, and hedges, and where it was level, intersected by lines of different heights. Marshal Saxe had also fortified his position with numerous entrenchments, which were defended by two hundred and sixty pieces of artillery.

Against this force, so greatly superior in numbers and position, the allies directed their attack. On the evening of the 10th they dislodged the French advanced posts from the defiles in front of their camp, and early on the 11th the action began. The Dutch on the left were to advance on the side of Antoin, and flank the village of Fontenoy, and the British and Hanoverians, who formed the center and right, were to attack the left and center of the French, on the side of Fontenoy and Vezon. General Ingoldsby, with a detachment of English, was ordered to storm the redoubt in front of the village of Vezon, and the prince of Waldeck to attack that of Fontenoy.

This disposition was arranged with consummate skill, and would probably have decided the fortune of the day; but Ingoldsby, either from negligence or misapprehension did not attack the redoubt, and the prince of Waldeck was repulsed. The British and Hanoverian infantry, however, advanced with undaunted resolution, notwithstanding the tremendous fire of artillery, and formed in a line between Fontenoy and the wood of Barry, while the Dutch occupied the space between Fontenoy and Antoin. The British and Hanoverians bore down all before them, and compelled the enemy to retire three hundred

Chapter 27. 1745.

dred paces behind Fontenoy; but at this critical moment the Dutch were panic struck, and fled with precipitation. The English, Hanoverians, and Austrians, now exposed on every side to a tremendous fire, began to give way; when the duke of Cumberland rushing into the thickest of the action, animated them by his words and gestures; called them countrymen, reminded them of Blenheim and Ramilies, and exclaimed, "It is my highest honour to be at your head; I scorn to expose you to a danger to which I would not expose myself." He was seconded by Sir John Ligonier, "who," to use the expression of an eye-witness *, "fought like a grenadier and commanded like a general;" and marshal Konigseg displayed equal intrepidity, though bruised at the commencement of the action by a fall from his horse. Encouraged by the presence and example of their generals, the troops rallied, directed their efforts with redoubled ardour against the center of the French, and by the fury of their charge seemed to dissipate whole battalions. Victory had almost declared in their favour; Konigseg congratulated the duke of Cumberland on the success of the day; marshal Saxe gave orders for a retreat; and the French king and dauphin, enveloped in a cloud of fugitives, were in danger of being swept away in the route, or taken prisoners.

At this moment the victory was wrested from the allies by a trifling circumstance, which at any other juncture would scarcely have deserved notice. At the suggestion of the duc of Richelieu, four pieces of artillery were pointed against the troops, who continued to advance in a firm and compact body, and the rapid and well directed fire of this small battery, at a distance scarcely exceeding forty paces, had a stupendous effect. The allies, unsupported by their cavalry, thinned in their ranks, and fatigued with slaughter, were thrown into disorder, and the French cavalry and gens d'armes, with the Irish brigade, who

* Captain Yorke, aid-de-camp to the duke of Cumberland, third son of the earl of Hardwicke, and afterwards well known as sir Joseph Yorke and lord Dover. The particulars relative to the duke of Cumberland and Sir John Ligonier are taken from a letter dated May 16, 1745, from Mr. Yorke, the late earl of Hardwicke, to Mr. Walpole.

had

had been kept as a reserve, attacked them in front and flank. The contest was short but bloody; the confusion soon became general, and the commander in chief deemed it prudent to order a retreat, which was conducted with great skill and deliberation, and without the loss of a single standard. The French remained on the field, while the allies retired to Lessines near Aeth, leaving their wounded at Bruffoel, where they were afterwards made prisoners *.

Few engagements have been attended with more dreadful carnage than that of Fontenoy; both parties suffered equal loss, and shared equal honour; but the result of the battle was most fatal to the allies; Tournay surrendered on the 22d of May, and the citadel on the 21st of June; and this strong and important fortress was dismantled by the conquerors. The remainder of the campaign was merely defensive on the side of the allies; the duke of Cumberland, with part of the British troops, was recalled to England, by the invasion of the Pretender; and before he quitted the continent witnessed the capture of Ghent, Oudenard, Bruges, Dendermonde, Ostend, Neuport, and Aeth, which all shared the fate of Tournay.

The affairs of Italy were equally disastrous; the queen of Hungary being incapable of reinforcing her army, the king of Sardinia could not cope with the superior numbers of the French and Spaniards, who were now joined by the Genoese. Indignant at the transfer of Finale, the government of Genoa had concluded the treaty of Aranjuez, as a counterpoise to the treaty of Worms, and engaged to bring 10,000 men into the field, with a train of artillery. In return, the house of Bourbon guarantied all the possessions of the republic, and agreed to furnish a monthly subsidy of 12,000 l. and all the contracting parties engaged to cooperate in procuring a settlement in Italy for the Infant Don Philip. The Spanish, Neapolitan, and Modenese forces under the duke of Modena and general Gages, and the confederate

* This account of the battle of Fontenoy is principally taken from the London Gazette, the French relations in the Memoirs of Richelieu and Noailles — Voltaire's Guerre de 1741—Some private letters from captain Yorke to Mr. Walpole in the Walpole Papers; and Memoirs of the duke of Cumberland.

troops

Chapter 27. 1745.

troops under Don Philip and Maillebois, united near Acqui, and being joined by the Genoese amounted to 70,000 men. They then poured into Italy, on one side over-ran the greater part of the Tortonese and the Milanese, and on the other, forcing the passage of the Tanaro, which was defended by the king of Sardinia, drove him under the walls of his capital. Don Philip entered Milan in triumph on the 16th of December, and received the oaths of the inhabitants; and thus, in a single campaign, Tortona, Placentia, Parma, Pavia, Cazale, and Aste were wrested from the Austrians and Sardinians, and the citadels of Alexandria and Milan closely blockaded *.

These losses on the side of Flanders and Italy were not compensated by the recovery of Silesia, to secure which the queen of Hungary had abandoned her distant dominions.

Frederic at the beginning of 1745 was in a critical situation; his discomfiture in the preceding campaign, had lowered his military reputation, though it had not depressed his courage. The death of the Emperor had dissolved the union of Franckfort, the French, expelled from Germany, had turned their whole attention to the Netherlands; and the king of Prussia exposed alone to the united arms of Austria and Saxony, considered "the victory of Fontenoy as of no more advantage to him than a victory on the banks of the Scamander or the capture of Pekin †." His treasure began to diminish; he had with difficulty recruited and reorganized his army, and his apparent solicitude for peace had increased the intractable spirit of the court of Vienna, who considered his proposals rather as a symptom of weakness than of sincerity. His great mind, however, rose superior to the difficulties of his situation; and his prudence and valour contributed equally to rescue him from his embarrassments.

The month of April was passed in skirmishes between the advanced posts of both armies on the frontiers of Silesia and the county of Glatz; and, aware of the intention of the Austrians to penetrate by Landshut, the King assembled his principal force in the neighbour-

* Muratori Annali, tom. xii. p. 2. p. 164—179.

† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. p. 201.

hood

hood of Schweidnitz, and prepared to withdraw his troops from Upper Silesia. In May a considerable action took place between the forces under the margrave Charles, who were on their march from Upper Silesia, and a body of Austrian irregulars, which terminated to the advantage of the Prussians. Frederic, however, was not dazzled by this partial success; according to his own maxim, that "in war artifice often succeeds better than force," he assumed the appearance of dejection and alarm, in order to increase the presumption of the Austrians. Deceived by this artifice, prince Charles hastened to open the campaign. At the latter end of May he assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Konigsgratz and Jaromitz, and being joined by the Saxons at Trotenau, on the frontiers of Lower Silesia, he purposed to penetrate by the passes at Friedberg and Landshut, and cut off the communication of the King with Lower Silesia and his hereditary dominions. Chapter 27. 1745.

At the approach of the Austrians, Frederic ordered his corps at Landshut to fall back, suffered them to cross the mountains unmolested, and seemed only anxious to secure his retreat to Breslau; but passing by Schweidnitz, he collected his army between that town and Jauernick, and drew up his main body behind the wood of Nonnen and in the neighbouring ravines. Prince Charles, from the higher ground, perceiving only a few scattered corps, was deluded by these appearances, and still more misled by the reports of spies, whom Frederic himself condescended to deceive; he therefore hastened to gain the center of Silesia, advanced on the 2d of June to Hohenfriedberg, and dispatched the Saxon auxiliaries to seize Strigau, which was occupied by a Prussian detachment. Arriving late in the evening, they encamped above Strigau, fatigued with their march; and at break of day were suddenly attacked by the Prussian advanced guard, and driven from the heights, which were immediately occupied with artillery. The Saxons rallied on the neighbouring hills, but were dispersed by the cavalry, and totally defeated, before the Prussian army had formed.

Chapter 27. 1745.

Prince Charles, who was encamped in the plain below Hohenfriedberg, attributed the firing to the assault of Strigau, and not believing that the whole Prussian army was advancing against him, was surprised by an attack on both his wings almost at the same instant. In the midst of the confusion both wings were compelled to fall back; and, at this critical moment, a corps of Prussian cavalry, which had been kept in reserve, passing through their own infantry, fell with irresistible fury on his center, and decided the fate of the day. Notwithstanding this masterly surprise, the Austrians behaved with great gallantry and resolution, and from the avowal of the king of Prussia himself, conducted their retreat to the mountains with consummate skill. The battle continued seven hours with great fury; the loss on the side of the Prussians did not exceed 2,000 men, while that of the Austrians and Saxons was not less than 4,000 killed, 7,000 prisoners, with 200 officers, 4 generals, 76 colours, 4 standards, 8 pair of kettle drums, and 66 pieces of artillery *.

Prince Charles, followed by the Prussian army, continued his retreat into Bohemia, and took a strong position at the confluence of the Adler and the Elbe, while the Saxons encamped on the other side of the Elbe. The king of Prussia advanced, and posted himself between Ruseck and Divitz on the Adler. In this position the two armies remained during three months; prince Charles waiting for reinforcements, and Frederic too prudent to attack an almost impregnable camp. The King, however, was not elated by his recent victory, but renewed his proposals for peace through the mediation of the king of England, on the same terms as he had before offered. These overtures were warmly supported by George the Second, who appreciated the necessity of detaching the king of Prussia, and made the strongest remonstrances to the court of Vienna. But Maria Theresa was not

* Sir Thomas Robinson's Dispatches to lord Harrington — Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. ch. 12.—The Austrian and Saxon accounts in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1745—And Muller's Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

daunted

daunted by the recent defeat, and still looked forward to the recovery of Silesia. Chapter 27. 1745.

The cabinet of England, convinced that nothing but absolute necessity would extort the consent of the queen of Hungary, resolved to alarm her with threats of discontinuing the subsidies, unless she sent the stipulated number of troops into Italy and Flanders. With this view sir Thomas Robinson demanded an audience, which he opened by stating the amount of the annual subsidy advanced in support of the house of Austria. "England," he said, "has this year furnished one million seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-three pounds, not to mention the three-fourths expected by the electors of Cologne and Bavaria. The nation is not in a condition, in a war like the present, to maintain the necessary superiority in the most essential parts, and, by endeavouring to provide for so many services, will fail in all; the force of the enemy must therefore be diminished; and as France cannot be detached from Prussia, Prussia must be detached from France: This return the English nation expect for all their exertions in favour of the house of Austria. The question is not whether the king of Prussia shall be reduced, but whether the prosecution of the war against France and Prussia will not reduce the allies to accept any terms proposed by those powers. What is to be done, must be done immediately, and at once, while France is hesitating concerning the subsidies demanded by the king of Prussia, which, if once granted, will fix him irrevocably. The king of Prussia," he continued, "cannot be driven from Bohemia this campaign; but by his voluntary retreat, your majesty may dispatch effectual succours into Flanders to check the rapid progress of the French, which not only threatens the Netherlands, but menaces the very existence of the Maritime Powers, in whose fall the house of Austria will be involved." After again exhorting her to consent to an immediate accommodation with the king of Prussia, he concluded: "This is the only inducement of the Maritime Powers to continue the war; by this alone the election of the Great Duke can be secured, the weight and influence of

Chapter 27. 1745.

the whole empire obtained, and France reduced to honourable and solid terms of peace."

The Queen listened to this harangue with more than ordinary patience and complacency; she interrupted him but seldom, and said, "Nothing can equal my gratitude to the King and the English nation, and I will shew it by every means in my power. I will consult my ministers to-morrow morning, and my chancellor shall acquaint you with my answer; but whatever may be determined in my council with respect to the Prussian accommodation, I cannot spare a man out of the king of Prussia's neighbourhood. Perhaps a regiment or two of horse, and as many of infantry, may be sent into Italy; but the rest, in time of peace as well as in time of war, will be necessary for the immediate defence of my person and family."

The remainder of the conversation, which consisted of abrupt questions, replies, and rejoinders, is too interesting to be abridged or altered, and is therefore given in the words of the minister:

"I said, amongst 70,000 men, which were affirmed to be employed against Prussia, enough might be found for all purposes; and arguing with such diffidence of the king of Prussia was proving too much. Treaties enough had been made with Louis the Fourteenth, were it only out of present necessities, and in hopes of recovering." She answered, "I cannot spare a man." My reply was, if her troops were so necessary for her personal defence, those of England would be found too soon more necessary at their own home. She asked, "What harm will there be if the Dutch accept the French neutrality?" I replied, no other than that every Englishman must in such a case put up his sword. She demanded, "why are there less hopes of detaching France than Prussia?" I said, because the king of Prussia would more easily make a peace to preserve what he had, than France to give up, as she must, what she had acquired, and was in so fair a way of acquiring, in the Low Countries. She expressed her eagerness for another blow with the king of Prussia; and upon my shewing the just diffidence of the Saxons, she affirmed, "that prince Charles was able

able alone to give another battle." "That battle, Madam," I answered, "if won, would not conquer Silesia; if lost, your majesty is ruined at home." "Were I," she exclaimed, "to agree with him to-morrow, I would give him battle this evening! But why so pressing now? Why this interruption of operations by no means to be despaired of? Give me only to October, and then you may do what you will." That October, I said, will be the end of the campaign in all parts, and will be that very fatal moment when we have reason to fear we shall be obliged to accept the conditions France and Prussia together shall think proper to impose upon us. "That might be true," she answered, "were the same time to be employed as you propose in marching from Bohemia to the Rhine, and from the Rhine to the Low Countries. But as for my troops, I know none of my generals who would not refuse to command such marching, or rather inactive armies; and as for the Great Duke and prince Charles, they shall not. The Great Duke is not so ambitious as you imagine of an empty honour, much less to enjoy it under the tutelage of the king of Prussia; but I shall write to know his sentiments fully. The imperial dignity! is it compatible with the fatal deprivation of Silesia? Good God! give me only till the month of October; I shall then, at least, have better conditions." Chapter 27. 1745.

The British minister then delicately touched on the discontinuance of the subsidies. He urged, that unless an accommodation was effected with the king of Prussia, no further assistance could be expected from the British parliament or the States General; and requested the Queen to give an immediate and specific answer. "For this reason," she replied, "I have given you so expeditious an audience, and have summoned my council to meet so early; though, let whatever be decided there, I see what will be executed elsewhere with or without me*."

The tenor of the answer may be collected from this audience; and it is unnecessary to repeat the equivocations by which the Austrian ministers were compelled to soften a direct refusal. At length the British

*Sir Thomas Robinson to the earl of Harrington, August 3, 1745.

cabinet,

Chapter 27. 1745.

cabinet, perceiving the inflexible spirit of Maria Theresa, secretly concluded a convention with the king of Prussia, at Hanover, by which George the Second guarantied the possession of Silesia, on the terms of the treaty of Breslau, and promised his instances to procure the accession of the States General and of the other European powers, and to obtain from the elector of Saxony the renunciation of his claims on Silesia. It was also stipulated that a mutual guaranty of each other's dominions should pass between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia; and Frederic agreed to support the election of the duke of Loraine. The king of England engaged to use his endeavours to gain the approbation of the court of Vienna, and to procure an immediate suspension of arms.

The communication of this convention was received at Vienna with marks of high displeasure, and the resentment of the Queen was still further inflamed by the prevaricating and insulting conduct of the king of Prussia. After exacting a solemn promise of secresy from the British ministers, he instantly spread the intelligence that peace was concluded throughout his army; proposed to prince Charles a suspension of arms, till he could receive orders from Vienna; and used every artifice to throw the odium of continuing hostilities on the queen of Hungary. Hence the mutual aversion of the contending parties was increased; the Queen and her ally, the elector of Saxony, indignantly rejected the convention, and prince Charles was peremptorily ordered to risk another battle, although the greater part of the Saxons had been already withdrawn to defend their own country from a Prussian invasion.

Prince Charles, being joined by the long-expected reinforcements, drew near the Prussians, who were encamped at Jaromitz near the confluence of the Metau, the Aupe, and the Elbe. Aware of the strength of their position, he did not venture to attack the enemy; but surrounding them with his irregulars, cut off their communications, intercepted their convoys, and harassed them with continual alarms. At the same time a corps of Hungarians, having surprised the fortress of Cosel in Upper Silesia, extended their incursions to Schweidnitz and

and Breslau, where the Prussian magazines were deposited. Frederic, thus straitened on every side, after sending a detachment to retake Cosel, retreated to Staudentz, and was followed by prince Charles, who advanced to Koenigshoff, and watched the favourable moment for an attack. Chapter 27. 1745.

The Prussian army being reduced to 18,000 men by the absence of numerous detachments, and greatly distressed for want of provisions, Frederic was preparing to quit Bohemia, and return by Trotenau into Silesia. But his design was anticipated by prince Charles, who, covering his movements by his irregulars, gained the right of the Prussian camp, and opened a tremendous cannonade before the break of day. Frederic, at this moment concerting with his generals the order of his march, was taken by surprise; and though he had sent out a detachment to reconnoitre the preceding evening, was ignorant of the approach of the Austrians till they were discovered by the grand guards of his camp. Under these circumstances, prince Charles seemed secure of victory; his army was nearly double in number to the Prussians, and his irregulars were calculated to augment, by their impetuous and desultory attacks, the confusion of a surprise, or to harass a retreating enemy. But he was opposed by a rival far superior in skill and activity, and by troops remarkable for their steadiness and valour; while his own were shamefully deficient in discipline, and exhibited proofs of cowardice which had not hitherto tarnished the Austrian arms.

The King, sensible of the danger which would attend a retreat by roads embarrassed and intricate, and in the face of so superior a force, instantly determined to risk the fate of a battle. The Prussians, though exposed half an hour to the fire of twenty-eight pieces of artillery, formed with astonishing precision, and wheeling a quarter circle to the right, presented a front parallel to the enemy, while the cavalry of the right attacked the Austrian squadrons, which were disadvantageously posted, and threw them into disorder. The Austrian cavalry panic-struck with this impetuous charge, could not be rallied either

Chapter 27. 1745.

either by menaces, exhortations, or the example of the generals; and prince Lobcowitz, after killing three officers for cowardice, was jostled by his own men into a ditch, where he lay with three contusions. The irregulars also were guilty of the greatest disobedience and disorder; instead of augmenting the first surprise of the Prussians, by a furious attack in flank and rear, they did not arrive in time; and the only corps of hussars who reached the camp of the enemy were employed, during the heat of the action, in pillaging the baggage.

The Prussian infantry now advanced, and after three successive repulses, carried the batteries; the Austrians were driven from height to height, and a retreat, begun without orders, was covered by general Daun with a few regiments of infantry, and two of horse. The right wing of the Austrians remained quiet spectators of the whole scene, neither attacking nor being attacked by the king of Prussia, who had not brought his left into action, and drew a considerable part of his forces from that wing to support his right and center.

In this confusion it appears rather a matter of wonder that the defeat of the Austrians was not attended with greater carnage, for not more than 4,000 were killed and 2,000 taken prisoners, with twenty-two pieces of artillery, ten colours, and two standards. They were pursued only to the village of Sohr, from which the battle takes its name, and threw themselves into the forest of Silva. On the side of the Prussians, the king himself owns that 1,000 were killed and 2,000 wounded; but his loss was undoubtedly greater, as his troops were exposed to a long and warm cannonade in forming, and experienced a spirited resistance from a part of the Austrian army. Frederic, indeed, candidly acknowledges that he committed many errors, and attributes the victory no less to the steadiness of his own troops, than to the confusion and want of discipline among the enemy. He seems to have been deeply impressed with the danger to which he was exposed, and is reported to have exclaimed, "Since the Austrians

have

have not been able to beat me this time, they never will beat me*." Prince Charles also did not calculate on the wonderful resources of his great rival; and, too confident of success, had made his dispositions to harrass the retreat of the enemy, not to resist an attack. This victory was attended with no other disadvantage to the Austrians, than the disgrace of being defeated with a far inferior force; and it was soon followed by the retreat of the king of Prussia from Bohemia, the frontiers of which country were too much exhausted to support his army. Chapter 27. 1745.

During the campaigns in Flanders, Italy, and Silesia, the disasters of the house of Austria were only compensated by the election of Francis to the Imperial crown. An Austrian army, under the command of Francis himself, kept the French in check on the banks of the Rhine, while the diet assembled at Frankfort, and continued its sitting without interruption. All the electoral votes, except Brandenburgh and Palatine were obtained; even the vote of Bohemia was acknowledged as vested in Maria Theresa, with only the opposition of the two protesting electors; and as no other candidate made his appearance, the duke of Loraine was elected in the usual forms on the 13th of September, and on his coronation on the 4th of October, assumed the title of Francis the First†.

Maria Theresa was present on this occasion; and from a balcony testified her triumph by first crying "Long live the Emperor Francis the First!" which was re-echoed by the acclamations of the spectators‡. Thus she had the satisfaction of placing the Imperial crown on the head of her illustrious consort, and securing its restoration to her family, by whom it had been worn for an uninterrupted period of

* Account of the battle of Sohr in the Grantham Papers—Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. ch. 13.—Muller—Warnery Commentaires sur les Commentaires de Turpin, tom. i. p. 201.—Heinrich.

† Puetter's Historical Development, b. 11. ch. 5.

‡ Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 74.

Chapter 27. 1745.

above 300 years. From Frankfort the Empress-queen visited the army at Heidelberg, amounting to 60,000 men; was received by the Emperor himself at the head of the troops; passed between the lines, saluting each rank with her usual affability and dignity; dined in public under a tent; and, on her departure, distributed a gratuity to each soldier.

Although the finances of the Queen had long been in a state of extreme dilapidation, and although she was reluctantly compelled to appropriate the church plate in her dominions, she was unwilling to close the campaign with dishonour; she persevered in rejecting all overtures from the king of Prussia, and meditated projects of retaliation and vengeance. Instead of sending her troops into winter quarters, she formed the bold design of uniting her forces with those of Saxony, to march to Berlin, and dismember the territories of that formidable rival, who had first broke the indivisibility of the Austrian succession. She was instigated by the declaration of the empress of Russia, that if Frederic invaded the electorate of Saxony, a corps of Russians should make an instant irruption into Prussia. But this bold project was disconcerted by the foresight and activity of the Prussian monarch: at the very moment when she deemed herself most secure of success, she received the intelligence that Frederic had

Nov. 23. surprised and defeated a division of the Saxon troops at Hennendorf, and driven prince Charles from Silesia into Bohemia, with the loss of 5,000 men; that another army under the command of the prince of

Dec. 15. Anhalt, having totally routed the Saxons at Kesselsdorf, the King

18. had entered Dresden in triumph, and over-ran the whole Electorate. On this alarming information the Empress-queen, whom her own disasters could not affect, and whom no enemies could intimidate, was softened by the misfortunes of her ally; and, though she had publicly declared she would part with her last garment to recover Silesia, she sacrificed her own interests and desire of vengeance to the necessities of Augustus the Third. She accepted the mediation of Great Britain; and signed, on the 25th of December,

the peace of Dresden, which confirmed to Prussia the possession of Silesia and Glatz; and in return Frederic evacuated Saxony, acknowledged the suffrage of Bohemia, and the validity of the Imperial election *.

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii.—Hertzberg Memoire Historique, in his 8th Dissertation, p. 205.—Histoire de Marie Therese, ann. 1745.—Koch. Histoire des Traités de Fuessen et de Dresde, tom. ii. p. 64—69.

CHAPTER 28.

1746, 1747.

Rebellion in Scotland—Capture of Brussels and rapid Progress of the French in Flanders—Battle of Raucoux—Successful Operations of the Austrians in Italy—Death of Philip the Fifth—Accession of Ferdinand the Sixth—The French and Spaniards evacuate Italy—Genoa taken by the Austrians—Disputes between the Austrians and Sardinians—Invasion of Provence—Genoa recovered by an Insurrection of the Natives—Ineffectual Negotiations for Peace—Perseverance of Maria Theresa—Defensive Alliance between Austria and Russia—Preparations for the Campaign—Renewal of Hostilities—Operations in Provence—Retreat of the Allies—Blockade and Relief of Genoa—Operations of Marshal Belleisle—Attack of the Post of Assietta—Retreat of Belleisle—Rapid Progress of the French in the Netherlands—Their Irruption into Holland—Revolution and Establishment of the Stadtholdership—Battle of Lauffeld—Retreat of the Allies—Siege and Capture of Bergen-op-zoom—Naval Victory of Admiral Hawke.

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

THE rapid progress of the Prussian arms against Saxony was ultimately a fortunate circumstance for the House of Austria; as it overcame the obstinacy of Maria Theresa, and reduced her to the necessity of concluding peace with an enemy, against whom she had in vain sacrificed her best troops, and who clogged all her operations for the security of her distant dominions. This accommodation was the more fortunate at this period; as England, embarrassed with a rebellion at home, was compelled to withdraw great part of her forces from the Netherlands to resist the Pretender, who, after defeating the royal troops, had penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, and threatened the capital itself. It was not till the 27th of June, 1746, that the battle of Culloden, gained by the duke of Cumberland, suppressed the rebellion; but a considerable time elapsed before the country was sufficiently tranquil to allow the government to turn their attention to foreign affairs, and renew their efforts in the Low Countries.

This

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747. Feb. 20, 1746.

This interval was seized by the French with their usual alacrity. Before the Austrians could assemble a sufficient force in Flanders, marshal Saxe opened the campaign with the important capture of Brussels, on the 4th of May, Louis the Fifteenth made his triumphal entry; Mechlin, Louvain, Antwerp, Mons, Charleroy, and Namur, were successively besieged and taken; and, before the end of September, all the Austrian Netherlands, except Luxemburgh and Limburgh, fell into the hands of the French. Prince Charles, who had assumed the command of the army, which did not amount to less than 70,000 men, seemed only a mere spectator of these repeated losses. Severely afflicted by the death of his wife, he was unable to pay his usual attention to the affairs of the field; the troops were panic struck with the superior ascendancy of the French artillery under the skilful direction of marshal Saxe; and a general negligence and want of spirit pervaded the confederate army, until the arrival of sir John Ligonier.

Soon afterwards the allies engaged in the only general action which took place during the whole campaign. After the capture of Namur, they posted themselves between Maestricht and Liege, with a view to cover Holland, and harrass the French, should they take winter quarters in Brabant. In this position they were suddenly attacked on the 11th of October; and, after a desperate resistance, compelled to retreat across the Maes. The loss of this action, which was called the battle of Raucoux, from a village occupied by the confederates, was principally owing to the superior skill of marshal Saxe, and to the want of artillery among the confederates; but the retreat was ably covered by sir John Ligonier at the head of the British horse; the army passing the Maes, took up winter quarters in the duchies of Luxemburg and Limburgh, and the French occupied the territories which they had recently conquered *.

The campaign in Italy was of a far different nature. The Empress-queen having sent a reinforcement of 30,000 troops, the Austrians and Sardinians became greatly superior to the enemy: Asti, Milan,

* Tindal—Memoires de Noailles—Memoires de Richelieu.

Guastalla,

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747. Guastalla, and Parma, were retaken; and the victory of St. Lazaro, gained by prince Lichtenstein over the united forces of France and Spain commanded by Don Philip, secured their ascendancy.

June 17.

In the midst of these successes, the death of Philip the Fifth, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, intervened; and the turbulent spirit of Elizabeth Farnese being no longer predominant in the cabinet of Madrid, the counsels of Spain became more moderate under the auspices of the new monarch.

Ferdinand the Sixth, son of Philip the Fifth, by his first wife Anna Maria of Savoy, was a prince of a meek and unaspiring temper, and wholly governed by his consort Barbara princess of Portugal, who was friendly to England, and partial to her relation the queen of Hungary; a favourable change in the politics and conduct of Spain was therefore instantly perceived; the command of the army was taken from the active and enterprising count Gages, and the troops were ordered to evacuate Italy. The French and Spaniards retreated to Nice, and crossed the Var into Provence, leaving garrisons in Vintimiglia and Antibes *. Genoa, thus abandoned to her fate, was unable to make any effectual resistance against the forces of Austria and Sardinia: the King occupied Finale and the Riviera di Ponente; the Imperialists took Novi, Voltaggi, and Gavi, and seized the pass of the Bocchetta, while the English fleet blockaded the port by sea. The Genoese thus shut up on every side, capitulated almost at the discretion of the conquerors, and agreed to deliver up the city to the queen of Hungary, with the garrison as prisoners of war, and all the artillery and warlike stores of the Republic. In addition to these rigorous terms, the Doge and six senators were to repair to Vienna, to implore forgiveness; and four senators were to be delivered as hostages for the fulfilment of the articles. In consequence of this capitulation, the marquis de Botta, took possession of the town in the name of the Empress-queen, with a body of 15,000 men; while the remainder of the combined army encamped in the Genoese territory.

Sept. 5, 1746.

* Sir Benjamin Keene's Dispatches—Muratori Annali d'Italia.

The

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

The success of the campaign began to occasion jealousies between the allied powers, and gave rise to violent disputes in regard to their future operations. The Austrian commanders, in conformity with the treaty of Worms, were desirous to invade Naples, which would have fallen an easy prey, while the greater part of the troops were employed with the French and Spanish army in France, and the English fleet cut off all succour by sea. But this attempt was opposed by the king of Sardinia, who was jealous of the preponderance of the Austrians in Italy, and by the English, who were desirous of making a diversion in the south of France. After much delay the allies resolved to invade Provence; but it was not till the 30th of November that count Brown passed the Var, and with the assistance of the English fleet, laid siege to Antibes. At this juncture an insurrection at Genoa first turned the tide of success.

From the moment of the capitulation, Botta had loaded Genoa with every species of indignity and oppression. Besides putting his troops into free quarters, and other vexations, in less than three months he exacted contributions to the amount of 24,000,000 florins, and compelled the government to deliver up the jewels which had been lodged as the pledge for a loan advanced to the house of Austria. He also exiled many of the nobles, and suffered his troops to commit the most brutal excesses among the people and peasantry. At length the natives were roused to the height of fury and despair, and a petty insult occasioned a general insurrection. The king of Sardinia having refused to furnish artillery for the siege of Antibes, the Austrians had recourse to the ordnance surrendered at Genoa. A crowd being assembled on the removal of a mortar, the carriage broke down, and a German officer struck a native who refused to assist in drawing it to the harbour; a tumult arose, the Genoese wounded the officer, and a shower of stones compelled the Austrians to retire. During the night the insurgents increased, supplied themselves with weapons by forcing the armourers shops and magazines, barricadoed the streets, and being directed by French officers and senators in disguise, and joined by the peasantry, drove

Dec. 5—9.

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

drove the Austrians from Genoa and its territory, with the loss of 8,000 men, all the artillery and baggage. Having secured the passes, the city re-assumed the appearance of independence and tranquillity.

This unfortunate event increased the misintelligence between the Austrians and Sardinians. Charles Emanuel had disapproved the exclusive occupation of Genoa by the Austrians; and the Empress-queen was alarmed, lest after the capture of Savona he should march against Genoa, and seize the prize which had been lost by the impolitic and brutal conduct of Botta. This misintelligence retarded the commencement of operations, until the inhabitants had time to place themselves in a respectable posture of defence, and were strengthened by reinforcements from France *.

Notwithstanding this disastrous event the affairs of Italy wore a more favourable aspect than since the beginning of the war; and Maria Theresa looked forward with hopes, either of reconquering Naples and Sicily, or of avoiding new cessions to Spain, and of recovering those which she had made to the king of Sardinia, by dismembering the Genoese territories.

But her views were frustrated by her incessant disputes with the court of Turin, and by the lassitude of the Maritime Powers, who were desirous to conclude a ruinous war of which they supported the principal burthen, and for the prosecution of which both Maria Theresa and the king of Sardinia had constantly failed in bringing forward their stipulated contingents.

In fact the war for the Austrian succession, which had raged with unremitted fury for five years, had already changed its principles and direction. At the commencement it was wholly confined to the Austrian dominions in Germany; and the principals in the contest were the elector of Bavaria, afterwards Emperor, the elector of Saxony, and the kings of Spain and Prussia, on one side, and the queen of Hungary supported by the king of Sardinia on the other; England and

* Muratori Annali d'Italia, anno 1746.—History of the Revolutions of Genoa from its establishment to the conclusion of the peace in 1748, vol. iii. p. 139 & seq.

Holland

Holland had at first only furnished subsidies, and France came forward as an auxiliary. The enemies of the house of Austria, except Spain, had gradually withdrawn from the contest, or had been converted into allies; England had now taken a principal part in the war; and France, feebly assisted by Spain, stood singly exposed to the united arms of Austria, Sardinia, part of the German empire, and the Maritime Powers. Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

All the belligerent powers, however, impressed with the calamities and suffering under the burthens of war, were sincerely desirous of peace, except the Empress-queen, who, irritated at the loss of Silesia, and dissatisfied with the cessions required for the king of Sardinia, hoped, by the prosecution of hostilities, to obtain some compensation by conquests from the house of Bourbon. England and France, on whom the continuance of the war and the fate of Europe depended, were equally anxious for peace, and endeavoured to obtain more advantageous conditions, by a strenuous exertion of their natural strength and resources. France pushed her conquests in the Low Countries, the only part where the Maritime Powers were vulnerable; England endeavoured to ruin the French marine, and, by seizing some of the colonial possessions, to secure an equivalent for the restoration of the Netherlands. The views of the two nations were respectively successful: France overcame all the force brought forward by the allies in defence of the Netherlands; while England, by repeated victories, destroyed the French marine in detail, and captured the Isle of Cape Breton, with the important fortress of Louisbourg, which commanded the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and was the key of Canada.

Negotiations had been opened between Spain and England, and between France and the United States. Since the accession of Ferdinand the Sixth, the court of Madrid had announced sincere dispositions for peace, if it could be obtained without the dishonour of abandoning their allies, and on the condition of securing an establishment for Don Philip in Italy. A negotiation was accordingly first com-

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

menced at Lisbon, under the mediation of Portugal, by means of Mr. Keene and count Rosenberg, the British and Austrian plenipotentiaries. A second was soon afterwards opened at the Hague, through the medium of Macanas, the earl of Sandwich, and count Harrach, the Spanish, British, and Austrian ministers; but both were frustrated by the artifices of the queen-dowager Elizabeth Farnese, and by the refusal of Maria Theresa to renounce her claims on Naples and Sicily. Still, however, the Spanish court continued favourably disposed towards England, and evinced a disposition to conclude hostilities on honourable terms *.

The Dutch, exposed to imminent danger by the loss of the Low Countries, and threatened with an immediate invasion, proffered their interposition to effect an accommodation with the house of Austria; but this proposition, though accepted by France, being peremptorily rejected by Maria Theresa, the States made private overtures to settle a plan for a general peace. France consented, and proposed to yield the Netherlands, in return for the restitution of Cape Breton, as the basis of the preliminaries. Great Britain soon became a party in this negotiation; and conferences were opened at Breda in the beginning of October, between the French, English, and Dutch plenipotentiaries. The negotiations, however, were soon suspended by the refusal of the French to admit the Austrian and Sardinian ministers, and were finally broken off by the discordant views of the belligerent powers, particularly by the Empress-queen, who hoped that France would be humbled by the enormous preparations making for the ensuing campaign.

Feb. and April, 1746.

She had concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with Russia, for the reciprocal succour of 30,000 men in case of an attack †; and a convention had been settled at the Hague between the allies, which, if effectually executed, would have arrested the progress, or repelled the attacks of France. The States General and Great Britain were to furnish each 40,000 men; the Empress-queen engaged to supply

May 22, 1746.

* Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch. 29.

† Rousset, tom. xix. p. 460.

60,000 in the Netherlands, besides garrisons, and 10,000 in Luxemburgh; also 60,000 in Italy, who, in conjunction with 30,000 Piedmontese, were to attack France on that side, while 15,000 kept in check the king of Naples. To give vigour to these preparations, England agreed to maintain a powerful squadron in the Mediterranean, and, in conjunction with the States General, to anticipate the payment of the subsidies to the Empress-queen, and furnish an additional sum of one hundred thousand pounds *.

This stupendous plan was soon proved impracticable; the Dutch, though urged by the duke of Cumberland and the earl of Sandwich, refused to publish a formal declaration of war against France; and, deluded with the hopes of effecting an accommodation, were tardy in their preparations. The king of Sardinia was almost equally remiss; and the Empress-queen herself was unable to complete her contingent, even with the addition of raw recruits and irregular troops. In consequence of these delays and of this deficiency, the campaign of 1747 was unfavourable to the allies. Count Brown continued to press the siege of Antibes, and to devastate Provence; and although by the loss of Genoa his communication with the English fleet was in danger of being cut off, and marshal Belleisle was advancing at the head of a considerable force, yet the generals of the combined armies unanimously resolved in a council of war to maintain their position. But at this juncture a courier arrived with orders from Vienna, and count Brown instantly repassed the Var, contrary to the opinion of the Austrian and Sardinian generals. Feb. 3.

The motives of this retreat, which was warmly censured by the allies, were derived from want of provisions and the weakness of the army, which, in consequence of the re-inforcements detached to Botta, scarcely exceeded 25,000 men; but more particularly from the desire of Maria Theresa to retake Genoa, and to punish, as she said, the perfidy perjury and rebellion of the natives, more atrocious than even

* Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 298—Heinrich, vol. viii. p. 235—Kerroux Histoire de la Hollande, p. 1201.

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

the massacre of the Sicilian vespers *. Although she deemed the recovery of the city necessary to retrieve the credit of her arms, and to promote the success of the campaign, yet she did not condescend to conciliate the king of Sardinia, whose assistance alone could promote her views. Before this period several petty disputes had arisen concerning the division of the spoils in the captured places, and particularly of the artillery taken at Placentia, and the command of the army, which, by the treaty of Worms, was to be intrusted to the king of Sardinia. The capture and revolution of Genoa furnished additional subjects of dispute. The king had been displeased at the exclusive capitulation with the Austrians; and he grasped at the possession of Savona, which he had recently taken, with the Riviere di Ponente, in addition to the marquisate of Finale, and the cessions made by the treaty of Worms. Maria Theresa, on her part, insisted on an equivalent for these acquisitions, either from the dismemberment of the Genoese territory, or by the recovery of Naples and Sicily.

These unfortunate disputes obstructed the operations against Genoa. At length a compromise was effected, and 6,000 Sardinians joined the Austrians; but this succour came too late, and neither of the allied powers would furnish the heavy artillery necessary for a siege, lest it should fall into the hands of the French. The besiegers, if they may be so termed, hoped rather to reduce the town by famine than by regular approaches; for they continued a distant blockade without raising a single battery, until they were alarmed by the approach of the French and Spanish forces under marshal Belleisle. As the speedy recapture of Genoa had been confidently and repeatedly announced, both the Austrians and Sardinians were unwilling to incur the disgrace of first raising the siege; and a kind of punctilious etiquette was observed between the king of Sardinia and count Schulenburgh; the Austrian general refused to retire without positive orders from the king, and the king declined giving those orders, because he did not consider the Austrian forces as under his command †. This frivolous

* Sir Thomas Robinson's Dispatches—Muratori, anno 1747.

† General Wentworth to Sir Thomas Robinson, Turin, July 8, N. S. 1747.

contest,

contest, however, was soon terminated by the advance of Belleisle; the King withdrew his troops to defend the passes of Piedmont; the Austrians, having gained the point of honour, followed his example; and thus, instead of an invasion of France, Italy itself was menaced by a French army. Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

During these transactions Belleisle had crossed the Var in June, and made himself master of Nice, Montalbano, Villafranca, and Vintimiglia, and thus compelled the allies to raise the siege of Genoa. He then, with his characteristic temerity, proposed to threaten Turin by an irruption on the side of Dauphiné; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish general, and even of the French court, dispatched his brother the chevalier de Belleisle with 15,000 men to force a passage through the valley of Susa, which was defended by almost impregnable posts, and by numerous bodies of Austrians and Sardinians. The detachment reached the Assietta, on the road to Exilles, a formidable intrenchment occupying the summit of a steep acclivity, strengthened with palisades, furnished with a numerous artillery, and defended by eighteen Sardinian and three Austrian battalions. These obstacles did not restrain the ardour of the French; animated by the recollection of the assault of Chateau Dauphin, they advanced to the attack; being twice repulsed with a dreadful carnage, Belleisle placed himself at their head, and rushing forwards, planted the French standard on the works. In attempting to pull down the palisades, he received several wounds, which disabled his arms; he then seized the palisades with his teeth, and in this frantic effort received his death in the midst of 4,000 killed and 2,000 wounded. The loss of the commander decided the fortune of this rash enterprise; the remainder of the troops retired to Briançon *; and marshal Belleisle himself fell back to Nice. July 19.

In this expedition the French and Spaniards were no less divided than the Austrians and Sardinians; but though Belleisle was unable

* Muratori, tom. xii. P. 2. p. 289—Voltaire—Odouards Fantin Histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 188—Memoires de Noailles, tom. vi. p. 234.

to

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

to make any permanent impression in Italy, he effected his grand object, the relief of Genoa. The increasing disunion between the Austrians and Sardinians, and the total want of necessaries among the Austrians, obstructed their subsequent operations, and prevented them from deriving any advantage from his retreat. After a few unimportant movements, both armies retired into winter quarters in the month of October *.

The dilatoriness, weakness, and disunion of the allies were never more conspicuous than during the campaign in the Netherlands; and their conduct formed a striking contrast with the vigour and decision of the French. The command of the army was intrusted to the duke of Cumberland, who had recently distinguished himself in the suppression of the rebellion: but the greatest military talents could not have supplied the enormous deficiency of force; for Great Britain alone furnished her stipulated numbers, and the contingents of the Empress-queen, and of the Dutch, were scarcely two-thirds of their quota. Although the duke of Cumberland put his army in motion before the French, he could not undertake any effectual operation, for want of magazines, and even of the necessary subsistence, occasioned by the negligence of the Austrian and Dutch commissaries. He thus harassed his troops without advantage; while marshal Saxe remained quietly in cantonments between Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels, plentifully supplied with every necessary, and preparing to carry the war into the heart of the United Provinces on the advance of the season.

In the mean time the French cabinet amused the Dutch with affected demonstrations of friendship, and hoped, by menaces and intrigues, to force the States General into a neutrality. With this view their minister at the Hague presented a memorial, which, though filled with high professions of regard and proffers of accommodation, concluded with announcing the intention of the French

* Muratori.

king

king to carry his arms into the territory of the Republic, not as an enemy to France, but as an ally to the house of Austria, promising to consider the countries and fortresses which the French army should occupy, as a deposit to be restored when the States should cease to furnish succours to his enemies. To enforce these menaces, the very day in which the memorial was presented, Lowendahl, with 20,000 men, entered the Dutch territory, and in less than a month reduced Sluice, Sas van Ghent, and Hulst, and made 5,000 men prisoners. Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

This irruption, though successful, effected the very measure which the French most deprecated, the restoration of the Stadtholdership. On his first entrance into the territory of the Republic, Lowendahl declared to two Dutch officers, that the invasion was made by the connivance of the government, and they must not be surprised if the French met with little resistance. This assertion seemed to be confirmed by the speedy surrender of the fortresses; and the partisans of the house of Orange availed themselves of the consternation, occasioned by the approach of the French, to circulate the affidavits of these two officers. The people, who in all popular governments naturally suspect treachery in misfortune, were roused almost to frenzy, and exclaimed, that they were reduced to a worse situation, even than when invaded by Louis the Fourteenth; and as they were betrayed by their own rulers, it became a duty to their country to change the form of government, and to restore the ancient constitution, under which the States had so long prospered.

The insurrection began at the town of Vere, in Zealand; the burghers assembled tumultuously, and required the magistrates to raise William Henry Friso, prince of Orange, to the Stadtholdership. This demand was instantly complied with; the other towns of Zealand followed the example, and the Prince was the same day appointed by the States, Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the Province. This great and sudden change was effected with little disorder; the remaining Provinces concurred in the appointment, and,

on

Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

on the 15th of May, he was solemnly installed by the States in the office of Captain-General and Admiral of the Union *.

But this revolution, though contrary to the views and interests of France, was too late to produce any material effect on the events of the campaign. The prince of Orange, who now assumed the command of the Dutch forces, was of a sanguine disposition, pompous manners, and punctilious temper; unskilled in military affairs, and yet unwilling to act in subservience to his brother-in-law the duke of Cumberland. His presence and interference, therefore, contributed rather to thwart than to promote the operations of the allies.

In order to cover Maestricht, which was threatened by the French, the allies took post on the Maes; and, after several movements on both sides, were attacked in the vicinity of Maestricht, by marshal Saxe with the whole French army. He directed his principal efforts to cut off the allies from Maestricht, and the whole of the action fell on the British, Hanoverians, and Hessians, who formed the left wing, and were posted near the village of Val or Lauffeld, from which the battle received its name. This post was so obstinately contested, that the village was four times taken and retaken; till at length the superior skill of marshal Saxe, and the persevering valour of his troops, gained the day, and the allies were compelled to retire beyond Maestricht. In the retreat, the British infantry were in imminent danger of being cut off, but were saved by the exertions of the cavalry under sir John Ligonier, who was made prisoner; and thus sacrificed his own liberty to the safety of the army. In this action both the commanders narrowly escaped being taken; the duke of Cumberland was once enveloped in a squadron of French horse; and marshal Saxe, in directing the attack, was impelled by his ardour into the very ranks of the enemy. The French army suffered most severely in this conflict; for the allies lost no more than 5,000

July 2.

* Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 306—Letter from lord Sandwich to Sir Thomas Robinson, Hague, April 30, 1747—And from Sir Everard Fawkener to Sir T. Robinson, dated Head Quarters, at Banwell, June 16.

men

men, and marshal Saxe acknowledged to sir John Ligonier, that on his part 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, with 1,000 officers, were killed and wounded. This defeat was erroneously imputed by the English nation to the pusillanimity of the Dutch, and even to the treachery of the Austrians*; but it was owing to the want of concert among the allied forces, and to the skilful dispositions of marshal Saxe. Chapter 28. 1746, 1747.

The success of the French, however, did not enable him to invest Maestricht, the garrison of which was considerably reinforced. But after amusing the allied army for some time, count Lowendahl was detached with 30,000 men to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom, an enterprise which was deemed so impracticable that it only exposed the commanders to censure, and excited little alarm in the United Provinces. This fortress was the master-piece of Cohorn, and had already bid defiance to the attacks of the French; it was connected with an entrenched camp, and its communication with the sea could not be intercepted; the works were defended by a numerous garrison; the lines occupied by the prince of Saxe Hilburghausen, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons; and a powerful reinforcement was hourly expected. The trenches were opened on the 15th of July, and, after the usual advances, which were attended with considerable loss, slight breaches were effected in the rampart in the beginning of September. The governor, who was eighty years of age, presuming too much on the strength of the place, neglected the necessary precautions, and Bergen-op-Zoom was taken by surprise early in the morning of the 15th; the assailants penetrated even to the middle of the town, with scarcely any opposition, and the governor himself was almost surprised in his bed. The garrison, however, assembled in one of the squares, made a gallant defence; and when overpowered by numbers, retreated through the opposite gate.

* Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 312. who probably spoke the general opinion of the nation in imputing the loss of the battle to the conduct of the Austrians and Dutch. But in the account of the battle of Lauffeld, sent by sir Everard Fawkener to sir Thomas Robinson, he does not give the slightest hint of any treachery on the side of the Austrians: Dated Head Quarters at Rubelt, July 16.

Chapter 28.
1746, 1747.

This extraordinary event was imputed to treachery; but it appears to have proceeded solely from the negligence of the centinels, and from the great age of the governor, who was incapable of going the rounds, and inspecting the necessary arrangements. The capture of Bergen-op-Zoom was the last important event of this unfortunate campaign, and both armies soon afterwards retired into winter quarters *.

The ill success of the allies was in some degree compensated by the victory of admiral Hawke, who fell in with a French squadron off Cape Finisterre, which was convoying the West India fleet, and took six ships of the line. This victory crippled the French marine, and contributed to accelerate the conclusion of peace †.

* When I was at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1771, I made particular inquiries relative to this extraordinary event, from many officers who were present at the siege, and from their several accounts, I was convinced that no treachery could be imputed to the governor; though a centinel or two may probably have been bribed to leave the sally-port open, or admit the French troops.

I learned two anecdotes from colonel Douglas, concerning two natives of Scotland, then officers in the Highland regiments, which are worthy of being commemorated:

Francis Maclaine defended the waterfort with about sixty men; he resolutely held out; though his party was soon reduced to twenty-five, he refused to surrender prisoner of war, and Lowendahl allowed him to capitulate. The fire of this small party was so brisk, that the French imagined they were more numerous than they really were. This gallant officer was in 1777 second in command of the Portuguese forces, and a great favourite of the marquis de Pombal.

Hector Maclaine occupied a work with only five men. Being summoned to surrender, he answered, "We shall certainly be overpowered by numbers, but we hope to destroy, in the attempt, a far greater number of the French; and I am determined to die rather than surrender myself and my men prisoners of war!" The French general, astonished at this spirit, allowed him to capitulate, and he and his five men marched out with a drum beating, and the honours of war. He was afterwards a colonel in the East India company's service.

† Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 322.

CHAPTER 29.

1748, 1749.

Various Overtures for a General Pacification—Dissentions between the Courts of Vienna and London—Convention of the Hague—Disputes with the King of Sardinia—Feeble State of the Dutch—Alarming Progress of the French—Negotiations for Peace at Breda and Aix la Chapelle—Opposition of MARIA THERESA*—Signature of the Preliminaries—Obstacles to the Conclusion—Signature of the Definitive Treaty—Dissatisfaction of the Court of Vienna.*

Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

DURING this campaign proposals for a general pacification were renewed by France. After the battle of Lauffeld, marshal Saxe made overtures to his prisoner, sir John Ligonier, with a frankness and cordiality which seemed to prove the sincerity of his court; the basis of his plan was a mutual restitution of all conquests, and an establishment for Don Philip. These overtures were communicated to the British cabinet, and by them submitted to the allies; but as the Empress-queen refused to give any specific explanation of her intentions, and as the prince of Orange, who was eager to signalise his new command, vehemently protested against entering into any negotiation, the overtures were peremptorily rejected *; and at the close of the year preparations were made to prosecute the ensuing campaign with increasing vigour.

But, from the discordant views and relative situations of the different powers, so many difficulties occurred in forming a specific plan, as plainly indicated the approaching dissolution of the confederacy. During the preceding year constant altercations had taken place between the courts of Vienna and London; and the British cabinet had incessantly remonstrated against the deficiency of the Austrian con-

* Memoirs of Lord Walpole, p. 327.

Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

tingents. They represented, that both in Italy and the Netherlands the Austrian armies amounted to scarcely more than half the stipulated numbers; they enumerated, with minute precision, the enormous subsidies paid by the Maritime Powers to the Empress-queen, and dwelt on the constant failure of her promises. They therefore proposed, that in future only half the subsidies should be paid at the commencement of the year, and the remaining half reserved until the Austrian contingents were ascertained to be complete and effective, by the inspection of British officers; and even declared their intention to make a deduction proportionate to the deficiency in the beginning of the campaign. Count Bathiani, the Austrian commander in the Netherlands, refused to accede to these propositions; and when they were submitted to the court of Vienna, the Empress-queen did not refrain from expressing her high indignation at so degrading a proposal. She declared, that she had always supplied her stipulated contingent, and remonstrated against the unfairness of excluding the irregular troops, and estimating the numbers in the middle of the campaign, when the army must have experienced a considerable diminution from action, sickness, and desertion. She urged also the imprudence of draining her hereditary dominions of her best troops, while she was menaced by such neighbours as Prussia and Turkey; disgusted likewise with repeated details of the annual subsidies, she indignantly asked, "Has one farthing of the antecedent subsidies ever been diverted; and have I not, in every campaign, exerted my whole force to the utmost?" She justly observed, "All the stipulations of the future convention shall be punctually fulfilled, as far as circumstances will allow; but as the greatest expences necessary for opening a campaign are incurred in the winter, so those preparations must be more or less effective in proportion to the subsidies advanced during that season *."

It was not, therefore, without the greatest difficulty, that a convention was concluded at the Hague in the beginning of January, between Austria, the Maritime Powers, and Sardinia. The Empress-queen

* Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Chesterfield; Vienna, Sept. 8, 1747.

agreed

agreed to furnish 60,000 men in the Low Countries; Great Britain and Holland 6,000 each; in Italy, the Empress-queen was to maintain 60,000, and the king of Sardinia 30,000. Maria Theresa reluctantly agreed to the proposal of making part of the subsidies depend on the completion of the stipulated contingent; and one-fourth of the 400,000l. was to be deducted if the armies were not ascertained to be complete before the end of April; the payments to the king of Sardinia were to be made on the same terms *. In addition to the vast force proposed for the defence of Holland and the security of the Low Countries, 30,000 Russian auxiliaries were taken into the pay of the Maritime Powers, by a treaty signed the 30th of November, and had commenced their march before the end of the year.

Notwithstanding the signature of the convention, no specific plan of operations for the campaign in Italy was arranged, and the regulation of the affairs of that country was attended with insuperable difficulties, in consequence of the disputes which arose relative to the Treaty of Worms. That treaty contained positive and eventual stipulations; the positive stipulations regarded the cessions to the king of Sardinia; the eventual, the partition of the conquests made from the enemy, particularly the recovery of Naples and Sicily, and the transfer of Finale. The Empress-queen, to use the diplomatic language of the court of Vienna, insisted on a perfect reciprocity with regard to the execution of the treaty: she refused to renounce her claims on Naples and Sicily, because she considered her right to those countries as guarantied by the Treaty of Worms; and insisted, that if the house of Austria received no advantage, the king of Sardinia should not be the only gainer. For this reason, she demanded, either the restoration of those possessions, or an equivalent at the expence of the king of Sardinia; and when the British cabinet made a distinction between the positive and eventual stipulations, she ordered her ministers to enter into no discussion on the meaning of that treaty.

* Convention pour l'Année 1748, in the Grantham Papers.

The

Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

The paper war continued with greater violence than ever between the courts of Vienna and Turin, and, in addition to the former disagreements, new disputes arose relative to the command. In conformity with the letter of the Treaty of Worms, the Austrians insisted that the king of Sardinia should command the army, but not the detachments; the King, on his part, refused to sign the convention, unless he was intrusted with the same authority as the duke of Cumberland in the Low Countries. A modification of this article was at length effected by the intervention of the British cabinet, and the King was invested with the command of detachments from the main army. This accommodation, however, did not contribute to the adjustment of a plan for the ensuing campaign. Charles Emanuel wished to retain the principal part of his force for the defence of his own dominions, the Empress-queen was anxious to recover Naples and Sicily, and the king of England urged the necessity of commencing operations with the siege of Genoa. Both the Austrians and Sardinians acknowledged the expediency of this measure, but argued that it could not be undertaken without additional subsidies; and the king of England could only be induced to make a verbal promise of reimbursement at the conclusion of the campaign. It would be tedious to dwell on these unfortunate disagreements, which evinced such mutual distrust, and sufficiently displayed the necessity of a speedy accommodation, had the affairs in the Low Countries been less unfortunate.

Maria Theresa, not dejected by these divisions, meditated some brilliant enterprise in Italy, which she sanguinely hoped would be crowned with success. She anticipated the arrival of the Russians in the Low Countries; flattered herself that the Dutch would make a desperate resistance; and that the army under the duke of Cumberland would be enabled to commence offensive operations; but, in the midst of these sanguine expectations, she was confounded with the signature of the preliminaries.

The conferences at Breda had been transferred, by mutual agreement, to Aix la Chapelle, and in the mean time all the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers, except those of Spain and Genoa, assembled

at the Hague, Count Kaunitz, afterwards so long distinguished as the prime minister at Vienna, was the Austrian plenipotentiary; and the Empress-queen could not have selected a more firm and able supporter of her rights. The plenipotentiaries for the other powers were, for Great Britain, the earl of Sandwich, who here opened his diplomatic career with an ability and judgment above his years; the count de St. Severin was deputed on the part of France, who, by his candour and affability, was peculiarly calculated for this delicate office; and on the side of the Dutch, no less than five were employed, at the head of whom was count Bentinck, a man of high integrity, and devoted to the party of the Stadtholder and the interests of England. The embassador from the court of Madrid was don Masones de Lima, a punctilious and formal Spaniard; and the count de Chavannes, a shrewd and supple Italian, from the king of Sardinia. For the sake of form, plenipotentiaries were also received from the republic of Genoa, and the duke of Modena. The effective part of the negotiation wholly centered in the British and French plenipotentiaries; and as both parties were equally desirous of peace, the negotiation was concluded almost as soon as it commenced. The first formal overtures were made by St. Severin to the earl of Sandwich on the 27th of March, and on the 30th of April the preliminaries were signed between England, France, and Holland.

The sudden conclusion of this negotiation was no less owing to the deplorable state of the United Provinces than to the frankness and sincerity of France. When the duke of Cumberland joined the army in the commencement of March, he was astonished with the mismanagement and unexampled supineness of the Dutch: Instead of 50,000 men, who, according to the promise of the prince of Orange, were to assemble in the vicinity of Breda, not 10,000 could be collected, and those in want of arms, clothing, accoutrements, and every other necessary. He was even obliged to detach nineteen battalions for the defence of Breda, by which means he could not gather a sufficient force on the side of the Maes, to join the Austrians, for the protection

Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

tection of Maestricht *. The finances also were so much dilapidated, that the Dutch government was unable to advance the 100,000l. which they had engaged to pay for the march of the Russian troops, and had ineffectually endeavoured to raise a loan of 300,000l. in England. In this situation the capture of Maestricht was inevitable, and the French, masters of that fortress, might have penetrated into the heart of the United Provinces, without experiencing any effectual opposition from a weak and distracted government, and from a people discontented, exhausted, and spiritless.

In the secret conferences between the English and French plenipotentiaries, the principal difficulties were, the restitution of Finale, which had been guarantied to the king of Sardinia, and the cession of a territory in Italy for the establishment of Don Philip. But the impending loss of the United Provinces, and the apprehensions lest France should raise her demands on the surrender of Maestricht, which was invested, extorted the consent of England; the mutual restitution of all conquests was made the basis of the preliminaries, and Parma and Placentia were assigned to Don Philip. These conditions were submitted to the Austrian and Sardinian plenipotentiaries. Count Kaunitz, however, not only refused his consent to any further dismemberment of the Austrian territories, but insisted on the complete execution of the Treaty of Worms, and threatened that his Mistress would resume the cessions made to the king of Sardinia, if she was compelled to give an establishment to Don Philip. Count Chavannes, with equal obstinacy, objected to the restitution of Finale, and demanded an equivalent for Placentia, which was yielded to his Master by the Treaty of Worms. In consequence of their refusal, and of the absence of the Spanish and Genoese ministers, the English, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries, separately signed the preliminaries; an immediate suspension of arms was stipulated for the Low Countries; and the French were permitted, for the sake of form, to take possession of Maestricht.

* The duke of Cumberland to the earl of Sandwich.

Maria

Maria Theresa was not unacquainted with the progress of the negotiation, as the necessity of an immediate peace to save the United Provinces was repeatedly urged to her minister count Kaunitz, and information transmitted by him to Vienna, that her concurrence was required by the three contracting powers. But the first formal notification of the intended conditions was made to the Empress in person by Sir Thomas Robinson. She received, with the highest marks of indignation, a proposal so contrary to her interests, her principles, and even to the repeated professions of the British cabinet, that they would require no further dismemberment of her territories. She scarcely allowed the minister time to execute his commission, before she burst out into the most bitter reproaches: "You, sir," she exclaimed, "who had such a share in the sacrifice of Silesia; you who "contributed more than any person in procuring the additional "cessions made to the king of Sardinia; do you still think to persuade "me? No; I am neither a child nor a fool! Your accounts about "the Dutch are exaggerated; a countenance may be still held, and "there is still force to support that countenance. If you will "have an instant peace, make it; I can accede, can negotiate for "myself. And why am I always to be excluded from transacting my "own business? My enemies will give me better conditions than my "friends; at least they will not refuse a peace, which they want as "much as I do, for any dispute remaining between me and the king of "Sardinia, about a little territory, more or less, or for the interpretation of a treaty. And who tells you Spain so much as desires "Parma and Placentia? She would rather have Savoy: place me where "I was in Italy before the war, and I will establish the Infant; but "YOUR KING OF SARDINIA must have all without one thought or "care for me! The treaty of Worms was not made for me, but for "him singly! Good God! how have I been used by that court! "THERE IS YOUR KING OF PRUSSIA! Indeed, indeed, all these "circumstances, at once, rip up too many old and make real new "wounds."

Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

May 1.

Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

She listened to the asseverations of the British minister, concerning the distressed state of the Dutch, and his attempts to explain the treaty of Worms, with sullen indignation; and then ironically demanded, "Am I to hear of Limburgh too for the Palatine, or of refunding the "capitals of the Genoese, which have been confiscated in these coun- "tries?" Sir Thomas Robinson, in reply, read a passage in a letter from the duke of Newcastle to this effect: "An establishment for Don Philip, "which, in the opinion of the king of England, cannot be more mo- "derate, or liable to less inconvenience, than by yielding the duchies of "Parma and Placentia, to revert to the present possessors, should "Don Philip succeed to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, in con- "sequence of the accession of Don Carlos to the crown of Spain, "on the death of the present king without issue male." This intima- tion roused her haughty spirit still farther, and she concluded the audience with exclaiming, "What, return to the PRESENT pos- "sessors!" and, accompanying her words with a significant gesture, added, "No, no! I will rather lose my head*!"

No persuasion could bend the Empress-queen until the prelimi- naries were signed; when, finding herself unable to resist the will of the contracting powers, she reluctantly yielded, and, after many fruitless protests, and violent remonstrances, her plenipotentiary ac- ceded to the preliminaries on the 18th of May.

In consequence of the discordant interests and relative situations of the respective powers, the arrangement of the definitive treaty was attended with many difficulties; but none of the contracting parties so much obstructed the peace as the court of Vienna. To gain opportu- nities of cavil and delay, the Empress-queen objected to the conclusion of a general treaty, declined acting as a principal, and urged that the different parties should enter into separate engagements. When this proposal was over-ruled, she refused to revoke her protests relative to the cessions made to the king of Sardinia, although the demand was warmly supported by the British cabinet, and she declined any expla-

* Sir Thomas Robinson's Dispatch to the duke of Newcastle, May 1, 1748.

nation

nation beyond the articles of the preliminaries. Her own resolution, and the firmness of Kaunitz, at length carried these points.

But no subject furnished greater obstacles than the discussions relative to the Barrier Treaty. Kaunitz declared that the signature of the preliminaries between the Maritime Powers and France, without the participation of the Empress-queen, had abrogated that as well as all preceding treaties. Numerous disputes also took place between him and the Dutch plenipotentiaries. The Dutch insisted that the Barrier towns should be delivered to them and the Empress-queen, conjointly as sovereigns; a proposition which was peremptorily rejected, as an infringement of her prerogative: on the contrary, while she acknowledged the right of garrison, she insisted that even those towns, which from the destruction of the fortifications were rendered incapable of defence, should not be restored to the Dutch. From the perseverance of both parties the mediation of England was for a considerable time ineffectual. France refused to interfere in the dispute, or to deliver the Low Countries provisionally to the Maritime Powers; and Maria Theresa persisted in her resolution, from a consciousness that England would induce the Dutch to recede, rather than suffer the Low Countries to remain in the hands of the French. This dispute, however, nearly occasioned the rupture of the negotiation; and both the Austrian and Dutch plenipotentiaries had positive instructions not to yield. At length the influence of England prevailed; Count Bentinck was persuaded to disobey his instructions, and Kaunitz consented to a convention which revived that part of the Barrier relating to the Dutch garrisons; but preserved the sovereign rights of his Imperial mistress. On the same principle the Empress-queen objected to the specification of the Barrier Treaty among those renewed by the definitive peace. This objection excited the jealousy of the Dutch; but the British cabinet wisely overlooked this punctilio, deeming the Barrier Treaty virtually renewed by the confirmation of that of 1731.

Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

Another obstacle arose relative to the subsidy paid by the House of Austria to the Dutch for the maintenance of the garrisons: Kaunitz insisted that this subsidy should cease, because the Barrier Towns were no longer capable of defence; and, as all the influence of Great Britain could not terminate this dispute, it was left to future discussion. A serious disagreement also subsisted between the House of Austria and England. The arrears of the subsidy stipulated by the convention of the Hague, amounting to 100,000l. were urgently demanded by the Empress-queen, and as peremptorily refused by the British cabinet, on the plea that the Austrian contingents had not been complete. Kaunitz threatened in vain that he would not accede either to the preliminaries or the definitive treaty, till this demand was liquidated, and even after the signature withheld his ratification, without a declaration that the arrears should be discharged. The refusal of the British cabinet occasioned many threats and haughty remonstrances; but the demand was not complied with till after the signature of the preliminaries *.

The ill humour of the court of Vienna was apparent during the whole progress of the negotiation. The Empress-queen even endeavoured to obtain possession of the Low Countries without acceding to the definitive treaty; but her hopes were frustrated by the prudence and firmness of the British cabinet, who found it necessary to extort her accession by threatening to sign without her. Sir Thomas Robinson being appointed plenipotentiary at the congress, the disagreeable task of communicating this intelligence to the Empress-queen was assigned to Mr. Keith, his successor at Vienna. She received the new minister with her usual benignity, and testified a grateful sense of the assistance which had been derived from England, with many expressions of per-

* These circumstances are taken from the dispatches of the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Sandwich, and sir Thomas Robinson, during the course of the negotiation. From a confidential letter of the duke of Newcastle to Mr. Keith, it appears that the payment of the arrears was owing to his interference in opposition to the rest of the cabinet.

sonal

sonal regard towards the King. But when Mr. Keith requested her concurrence in the peace, and was proceeding to announce the resolution of his court, the high-spirited princess interrupted him, and exclaimed with great emotion, "I already know too much of that business, and will leave that part of your commission to be settled between you and my ministers *." Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

Besides the disputes with the House of Austria, the conclusion of peace was retarded by difficulties in which the other contracting powers were equally involved. One of these difficulties arose from the march of the Russian troops, who were advancing through Upper Silesia towards Franconia. Their approach alarmed the king of Prussia, and excited the apprehensions of France, while the allies were suspicious lest the French might be tempted to avail themselves of their superiority in the Netherlands, should the Russians retire to their own country. These mutual jealousies were at length terminated: by a provisional convention, the march of the Russian troops was suspended, and an equal number of French were to quit the Low Countries; the Maritime Powers at the same time agreed that the Russians, while in their pay, should not enter into the service of any other state. Another difficulty was derived from an oversight of the plenipotentiaries who concluded the preliminaries. The fourth article settled the reversion of the duchies of Parma and Guastalla on the House of Austria, and of Placentia on the king of Sardinia, should Don Philip succeed to the crown of Naples. This stipulation contravened the third treaty of Vienna of 1739, which secured to Don Carlos the right of transferring Naples and Sicily to any of his younger children, should he succeed to the crown of Spain. The Empress-queen, however, did not reject an arrangement which removed to a greater distance the prospect of the reversion of Parma and Guastalla; but the king of Sardinia refusing to yield the reversion of Placentia, the king of Naples withheld his accession to the treaty.

* Mr. Keith to the duke of Newcastle, Sept. 10, 1748.

At

Chapter 29. 1748, 1749.

At length the definitive treaty was signed at Aix la Chapelle, on the 18th of October, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, and Holland, and was acceded to by Spain on the 20th, by the Empress-queen on the 23d, and by the king of Sardinia on the 7th of November. By this treaty the election of the Emperor was acknowledged; and the House of Austria obtained the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction. Maria Theresa recovered the Low Countries, but was obliged to restore her conquests in Italy, to confirm the cession of Silesia and Glatz to the king of Prussia, and to yield the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla to Don Philip. She likewise ratified the cessions made by the treaty of Worms to the king of Sardinia, of the Vigevenasco, part of the Parmesan, and of the county of Anghiera *.

Thus terminated a bloody and extensive war, which at the commencement threatened the very existence of the House of Austria; but the magnanimity of Maria Theresa, the zeal of her subjects, and the support of Great Britain, triumphed over her numerous enemies, and secured an honourable peace. She retained possession of all her vast inheritance, except Silesia, Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; she recovered the Imperial dignity, which had been nearly wrested from the House of Austria, and obtained the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction from the principal powers of Europe. She was, however, so dissatisfied, that her chagrin broke out on many occasions, and on none more than when Mr. Keith requested an audience, to offer his congratulations on the return of peace. Her minister was ordered to observe, that compliments of condolence were more proper than compliments of congratulation, and insinuated that the British minister would oblige his mistress by sparing a conversation, which would be highly disagreeable to her, and no less unpleasing to him †.

* Articles of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in Rousset—Koch, tom. ii. p. 74—82.

† Mr. Keith to the duke of Newcastle, Nov. 6, 1748.

CHAPTER 30.

1749—1756.

Internal Regulations and beneficial Improvements introduced into the Civil and Military Administration—State of the Cabinet—Characters of Counts Uhlfeld, Colloredo, Kevenhuller, and Baron Wasner—Disgrace of Bartenstein—Elevation and Character of Kaunitz—Disagreements between the Courts of Vienna and London, relative to the Election of the Archduke Joseph as King of the Romans, and to the Barrier Treaty.

MARIA Theresa employed the interval between the Peace of Aix la Chapelle and the commencement of the seven years war, in healing the wounds inflicted on her countries during the preceding hostilities. She had felt from fatal experience the danger which had threatened her vast empire, from the weak and unprovided state in which her father had left his dominions; she had learned, from the example of her formidable rival the king of Prussia, the advantages resulting from an efficient and disciplined army, and well furnished treasury; she was convinced from the superficial manner in which the treaty of Aix la Chapelle had glossed over various pretensions and disputes among the belligerent powers, that the peace could be considered as little more than a suspension of arms; and that another bloody war would take place, before the equilibrium of Europe could be settled on a more permanent basis. She conceived great apprehensions from the alarming rise of the House of Brandenburgh, and from the civil and military talents of Frederic the Second, and was sensible that the only effectual method to maintain the respect due to her political consequence, was by holding herself in constant readiness for hostilities. Impressed with these sentiments, she turned her principal attention to the regulation of her finances, and the improvement

1749—1756.

Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

ment of her army; the successful manner in which she carried these objects into execution is recorded by the Royal Historian, and his testimony cannot be suspected of partiality in favour of a princess, whom he styles his "ambitious, vindictive, and implacable enemy *."

"Maria Theresa prepared in the secresy of the cabinet, those great projects which she afterwards carried into execution. She introduced an order and œconomy into the finances, unknown to her ancestors; and her revenues far exceeded those possessed by her father, even when he was master of Naples, Parma, Silesia, and Servia. Having learned the necessity of introducing into her army a better discipline, she annually formed camps in the provinces, which she visited herself, that she might animate the troops by her presence and bounty. She well understood and practised the art of enhancing the value of those distinctions which, however trifling, are rendered important by the manner of bestowing them; of recompensing the officers, calling forth abilities, and exciting a general emulation and zeal for her service. She established a military academy at Vienna, and collected the most skilful professors of all the sciences and exercises, which tend to elucidate or improve the art of war. By these institutions the army acquired, under the auspices of Maria Theresa, such a degree of perfection as it had never attained under any of her predecessors; and a woman accomplished designs worthy of a great man †."

To descend from this general account of her beneficial regulations to a more specific detail. Great abuses and delays had long subsisted in the administration of justice, which was under the cognizance of the same tribunals as the police. With a view to remedy these evils, the administration of justice was separated from the department of the police; provincial chanceries were abolished, and a supreme tribunal erected, to which all causes were submitted in the last resort throughout the Austrian dominions, except Hungary, in which kingdom the sovereign

* "L'Imperatrice-reine ennemie ambitieuse et vindicative; d'autant plus dangereuse qu'elle etoit femme, entetée de ses opinions, et implacable."

† Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, tom. iii. p. 26.

could

could not make any innovation without the consent of the diet. The general direction of the finances, police, and every other branch of business which was comprehended under the denomination of justice or law, was entrusted to another great council, the president of which submitted a weekly report to the Empress.

A new system was also introduced into the administration of the finances; the number of useless collectors was diminished, and the mode of anticipating the revenues by assignments abolished; the ordinary and extraordinary taxes were rendered permanent for a term of years; many exemptions were annulled, and the perception rendered more simple and regular. Hence the revenues of the House of Austria, which, in the time of Charles the Sixth did not exceed 30,000,000 florins, were increased to 36,000,000, notwithstanding the loss of Naples and of Silesia, which duchy alone produced six millions, and a regular fund was established for the maintenance of a standing army of 108,000 men in the hereditary countries, exclusive of the forces in Italy and the Netherlands*. The troops were also partly distributed in Austria and Bohemia, instead of being solely stationed in Hungary, from whence they could not immediately be drawn in cases of urgent necessity.

No less beneficial alterations were made in the military department; each regiment had hitherto been exercised in a different mode, which had produced great confusion on the day of battle; an uniform system was accordingly digested, under the superintendance of count Daun, who had already served with much distinction in the course of the preceding war, and was afterwards the great opponent of Frederic the Second.

Every department of government bore witness to the application and attention of the Empress-queen, although both her education under Charles the Sixth, and the conduct of those who principally conducted the helm of affairs since her accession, had tended to create an

* Minute des Arrangemens interieurs des Pays Hereditaires de S. M. l'Imperatrice-reine—Mr. Keith to the duke of Newcastle, May 10, 1749. Keith Papers.

Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

aversion to business, and a diffidence of her own capacity. Her father had laboured to secure to her the succession of his vast dominions; but had not endeavoured to render her capable of governing them; he had indeed admitted her at the age of fourteen into the council of state, where she diplayed an attention above her years; but this admission was a mere ceremony. Charles excluded her from all knowledge of political affairs; and, on his death, she was unacquainted even with the common forms of business.

At this period the ministers of the conference were, in the aggregate, still weaker and more inefficient than those who presided at the head of affairs when she acceded to the throne.

The death of count Sinzendorf, the chancellor, which happened in 1742, was a great loss to the court of Vienna *. Though indolent and voluptuous, he was easy of access; though impetuous in his manners, he was open to conviction; he derived considerable credit from his long and tried services for more than thirty years, and he was eager to counteract the malign influence of Bartenstein.

He was succeeded by count Uhlfeld, who had filled the office of embassador at the Hague and at Constantinople; and whose unexpected promotion to this high station was a singular proof of the jealousy of the Empress, and the cunning of Bartenstein. The public voice, and the wishes of the court, pointed out count Harrach; but Bartenstein found means to influence the decision of his sovereign, by insinuating that the credit and talents of count Harrach would give him greater ascendancy in the council of state than became a subject; while count Uhlfeld, with inferior talents, was a man of a more pliant disposition,

* "We have had," writes sir Thomas Robinson to Mr. Weston (Feb. 10, 1742) "a great loss in count Sinzendorf; his defects may have been great, but then they "are properer to spoil a flourishing state; "his better qualities were more eminent "in adversity. As for myself, I cannot "but be preparing you for the particular "want I may have of him. A certain "gentleness of manners, a like easiness of "access at all hours, made business to a "stranger familiar, agreeable, and in"structive. We shall, for some time at "least, have a want both of his experi"ence and of his very house, which was "the only place of a general political "rendezvous here."

and

and would not presume to urge his opinion in opposition to the will of the sovereign. Uhlfeld was indeed a minister suited to the temper and genius of the referendary. He was honest and well intentioned; but slow in his comprehension, confused in his ideas, and indolent both from habit and want of capacity; he was fond of mystery, and of a captious, cavilling, and suspicious temper. To these mental disqualifications was added a difficulty of hearing, which embarrassed those who negotiated with him. By his taste for magnificence and parade, he had become involved in his circumstances, and was therefore rendered dependent; hence he was wholly governed by Bartenstein, to whom he owed his elevation, and was as submissive to him as he was overbearing to others *. Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

The deaths of Staremberg, Harrach, and Kinsky, had increased the overgrown power of the referendary; and the ministers of the conference, Colloredo, Kevenhuller, and marshal Bathiani, bowed before the idol, or were unable to resist his superior credit.

Rhodolph Joseph, count and afterwards prince Colloredo, was a man of high quality and of a truly noble and elevated mind; he was candid and generous in his disposition, yet stiff and precise in his manners, and of moderate capacity. He possessed little personal credit, being regarded with jealousy by Maria Theresa, in consequence of his dependence on her consort, as vice-chancellor of the empire. But, although he had been compelled to give way to the superior influence of Bartenstein, he was of too high and independent a spirit, to conceal his sentiments, and incessantly, though hitherto ineffectually, opposed the impolitic advice of the referendary.

John Joseph, count Kevenhuller, was great chamberlain of the court, as well as minister of the conference. He was a man of mode-

* A singular instance of his submission to Bartenstein is recorded in the dispatches of Mr. Keith.

Bartenstein having drawn an offensive memorial unknown to the Empress, the ministers of the conference dispatched it to the Austrian minister in London. Remonstrances were made against the imperious style of this paper, by Mr. Keith, before the conference, and count Uhlfeld, taking the blame to himself, entered into a vindication of the paper, while Bartenstein stood by, exhibiting marks of the utmost contempt and indifference.

Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

rate talents, little capacity for business, and wholly subservient to the will of Bartenstein, whom he affected to idolize.

Marshal Bathiani, an Hungarian nobleman of high distinction, was a veteran of more skill in military than in civil affairs; and derived his principal consideration from his office of governor to the archduke Joseph, a place of more honour than influence.

The Empress, though jealous of being governed, and peremptory in her resolutions, was extremely diffident of her abilities, from a due consciousness of her own inexperience; hence she assiduously examined memorials and counter-memorials, and spared no endeavours to form a just and decisive opinion on every subject of importance. From the same motive, she not only deliberated with the Emperor and her own cabinet counsellors, but listened with great patience to the long and contradictory expositions of foreign ministers; and repeatedly consulted some of her own subjects who were not in office, and in whose abilities and honesty she confided.

Among these the most conspicuous was baron Wasner, who had long been Imperial minister in England, and returned to Vienna after the peace of Aix la Chapelle. He was a man of strong sense and great capacity, of a frank and open disposition, and well versed in foreign affairs. He was held in high estimation by the Empress, and often consulted by her, either in person, or by means of Koch, her cabinet secretary. His known favour excited the jealousy of Bartenstein; and the presumptuous referendary never condescended to discourse with him on business, even when sent by the Emperor himself. Wasner strongly inculcated the necessity of an union with the Maritime Powers, whom he represented as the best and only friends of the House of Austria; and exposed the folly of imagining that France would assist in the recovery of Silesia, the bait constantly held out by Bartenstein*.

From such a motley assemblage of discordant counsellors, and impelled by such contradictory motives in the conduct of foreign affairs, Maria Theresa fluctuated in continual uncertainty. She was teased by

* Mr. Keith to the duke of Newcastle, April 10, 1749.

the

the remonstrances of the foreign embassadors, who were frequently referred by Bartenstein to count Uhlfeld, and by count Uhlfeld to Bartenstein, and had even condescended to request the British minister to conciliate the friendship of Bartenstein, "that things," as she said, "might go on more smoothly*." But a princess of her high spirit and jealous temper could not long submit to such humiliation for a mere subaltern in office. She was disgusted with the presumption and petulance of the referendary; and as she became more acquainted with business, and acquired in the school of adversity a greater confidence in her own powers, she perceived the weakness and incapacity of her cabinet, and deeply felt the necessity of entrusting the administration of affairs to a person of tried integrity and talents, and qualified by his rank for so important a station. She accordingly fixed her choice on count Kaunitz, who was then embassador at Paris.

The elevation of Kaunitz to the office of chancellor and the supreme direction of foreign affairs, forms a remarkable epoch in the reign of Maria Theresa; because to the counsels of that minister must be principally attributed the alliance with France, and the change of the political system hitherto pursued by the House of Austria.

Anthony Wenceslaus, first count and afterwards prince of Kaunitz Rietberg, who directed the counsels of Austria for a period of almost forty years, was son of Maximilian Ulric count of Kaunitz, governor of Moravia, and embassador at Rome, by Mary Ernestina daughter and heiress of Ferdinand Maximilian, last count of Rietberg. He was born in 1711; and, after receiving an excellent education under the care of his father, completed his studies at the university of Leipzig, where he made an early and rapid progress in that diplomatic knowledge which contributed to his rise. After travelling through the different courts of Germany, France, and Italy, he was appointed chamberlain to the emperor Charles the Sixth, aulic counsellor, counsellor of state, and member of the chancery, or secretary of state's office for foreign affairs. Being eminently noticed for his diplomatic talents, he was sent envoy to the court of Turin; and the first

* Mr. Keith's Dispatches.

dispatch

Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

dispatch which he wrote to Uhlfeld was drawn in so masterly a manner, that the count, in presenting it to Maria Theresa, said, "Behold your first minister*." In 1744, he was removed from Turin to Brussels, in the character of plenipotentiary, and intrusted with the direction of affairs in the Low Countries, under the archduchess Marianne and prince Charles of Loraine. In 1748, he was appointed embassador and plenipotentiary to the congress of Aix la Chapelle, and highly distinguished himself for his skill in negotiation, and for the firmness with which he supported the interests of the House of Austria.

Soon after the conclusion of the definitive treaty, he repaired to Vienna, and obtained the confidence both of the Emperor and Empress, by whom he was secretly consulted in every affair of importance, and was frequently employed in qualifying and altering the captious memorials of Bartenstein. But, although he swayed the counsels of the court of Vienna, he acted in so discreet a manner as not to excite umbrage even in the suspicious mind of the referendary, and still less among the ministers of the conference. In September 1751, he was deputed embassador to Paris, where his conduct contributed still further to increase the predilection of his sovereign. At length, unable to restrain her disgust at the overweening petulance and insolence of the referendary, she recalled Kaunitz, in 1753, to assume the principal administration of affairs, and "expected his arrival with the same impatience as Henry the Eighth looked for the return of Cranmer when he was tired of Wolsey†." On his arrival, Bartenstein, after some ineffectual endeavours first to intimidate, and afterwards to

* From the late countess of Thun, the daughter of count Uhlfeld.

† Dispatch of sir Charles Hanbury Williams to the duke of Newcastle, Dresden, July 15, 1753. Sir Charles, who was minister at Dresden, was privately dispatched by the duke of Newcastle, to gain an insight into the situation and principles of the court of Vienna, and to remonstrate against the infractions of the Barrier Treaty. He remained at Vienna during the arrangements for the elevation of Kaunitz, and the dismission of Bartenstein; and from his interesting account the particulars of this chapter are principally drawn.

conciliate

conciliate him*, was removed, and promoted to the vice-chancellorship of Bohemia, with the title of privy counsellor; at the same time count Uhlfeld was created grand master of the court, with a pension, and the payment of his debts. The other ministers of the conference remained in place; Kaunitz was installed in the chancellorship with general approbation, and his first measure was to introduce a new arrangement into the office for foreign affairs. Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

Kaunitz was in the forty-third year of his age when he was called to the supreme direction of affairs. In person he was tall and slender, but not ill proportioned; his countenance was not animated, but expressive of sense and sagacity; his features were regular, and his eye keen and penetrating. This minister, justly described by the Royal Historian, as "so frivolous in his taste, so profound in business †," was finical in his dress, and coldly and affectedly polite in his demeanour. From his residence at Paris, he had caught the characteristic gallantry of the French nation; with the phlegm and sedateness of a German he blended the airs of a petit maitre, and was no less vain of his person than of his abilities. An inordinate self-love was his predominant foible; and a too great consciousness of his superior

* "Bartenstein," writes sir Charles Hanbury Williams, "flattered himself, even after the arrival of count Kaunitz, that he should not be turned out, and thought to intimidate that minister, by throwing out very publicly, that if there was to be any change in the management of affairs at Vienna, he would continue to serve up the papers as usual; but that if any minister pretended to make alterations in any of his performances, they must change the whole, for he would neither make nor suffer any corrections in what he had once finished. But upon count Kaunitz's arrival he began to shew some fear, which was perceived by his coming regularly for the three first days, to make his court to that minister, without being once able to gain admittance, and at last he left a card, upon which was wrote 'Mons. Bartenstein has been three days following to pay his respects to count Kaunitz.' But neither his threats nor his civilities had any effect, and count Kaunitz not only got him removed from his employment, but has already put the office for foreign affairs upon a new footing, in imitation of those of England and France, and all his commis and clerks are persons of his own, very little known at Vienna."

† "Cet homme si frivole dans ses gouts, si profond dans les affaires." Œuvres Post. tom. iii. p. 41.

abilities

Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

abilities and influence, rendered him vain, opinionated, presumptuous, and overbearing. He possessed great abilities, a perspicuous method of transacting business, and explaining the most complicated affairs, an accurate knowledge of the state of Europe, and an indefatigable zeal for the service of his Imperial mistress. To these qualities were added incorruptible integrity, skill in negotiation, impenetrable secresy *, profound dissimulation which he carried even to duplicity, and a semblance of candour and openness by which he acquired the confidence of those with whom he treated, even while deceiving or opposing them.

Kaunitz was called to the helm of state at a time when the relative situation of the House of Austria had been essentially changed by the rise of the House of Brandenburg, and when the court of Vienna was involved in endless disputes with England.

To prevent the renewal of war, in case of the death of the emperor Francis, and to establish the preponderance of the House of Austria in the Empire, the British cabinet were desirous of raising the archduke Joseph to the dignity of king of the Romans. This project, however wise in theory, was, in the present state of Europe and the Empire, equally chimerical and impracticable. The only votes on which they could depend were those of Bohemia, Hanover, and Mentz; even the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, who were most friendly to the House of Austria, could not be secured without considerable subsidies, nor those of Palatine and Cologne, without the concurrence of France and Prussia, who were decidedly hostile to the measure. Yet so eager were the English ministry to gain this point, that they even gave subsidies to Bavaria and Saxony in time of peace, though contrary to the established usages of the country, and to the sense of the nation †. But these subsidies were insufficient to obtain a majority of

* "Kaunitz," as sir Robert Keith observes in one of his letters to lord Caermarthen, "has no confidents nor even intimates, and therefore his designs are impenetrable."

† Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch. 35.

votes;

votes; and the Imperial court was called upon not only to contribute their share, but to gratify the electors in their numerous pretensions on the House of Austria; and the extraordinary privileges which they required from the head of the Empire. Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

This negotiation spread into as many different branches as there were different Electors; new demands were continually started, and new cessions required, till at length the court of Vienna declared their inability to make any additional sacrifice. Even the ministers most devoted to the Maritime Powers complained of the eagerness with which this object was urged, as it gave, they said, ill-intentioned persons an opportunity of insinuating that England, by supporting these repeated demands, took a pleasure in stripping the House of Austria; and the Emperor himself frequently hinted to the British minister that such a precipitancy ill accorded with the slow and cautious mode of proceeding in the cabinet of Vienna. These gentle remonstrances only augmented the eagerness of the English ministry: they made remonstrances on remonstrances; expressed their surprise that the court of Vienna should be insensible to their own interest, and even urged that the union between the House of Austria and the Maritime Powers depended on a speedy concurrence. Such indiscreet and peremptory demands had a fatal effect on the sensitive mind of Maria Theresa, whose greatest foible was a jealous regard of her own honour; she was unwilling to be indebted to a foreign power for the establishment of the Imperial dignity in her family; she declared that in every instance her compliance had only encouraged new demands, and that even the crown of the Empire might be purchased at too dear a price*.

Another cause of dissatisfaction between the courts of Vienna and London was derived from the language held in the memorials and papers of the British cabinet, who assumed a high tone of superiority, expatiated on their great and important services which had saved the House of Austria from ruin, and imperiously demanded a return of

* Mr. Keith's Dispatches, passim, 1750—1753.

Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

gratitude. Their zealous friend baron Wasner frequently represented the fatal effects of such unconciliating language; Kaunitz exhorted them to respect the sex, and consider the temper of the Empress-queen, and not irritate her by ungenerous reproaches. The Emperor remonstrated against some harsh expressions used to the Imperial minister at London; even the Empress herself complained to Mr. Keith of the arrogant and peremptory style of the English papers, which, though it had no effect on her, gave a handle to ill-intentioned persons; and requested that milder terms might be employed. This complaint was too justly founded; Mr. Keith often declined delivering the haughty messages and declarations which he was ordered to communicate to the Empress in person, and more than once incurred the censure of the King and ministers for his delicacy and good sense*. The Austrian cabinet retorted with equal spirit and rancour, and the communications between the two courts degenerated into a paper war.

In addition to the original disputes relative to the affairs of the Netherlands, new difficulties had arisen. As we have already observed, no specific arrangements had been made for a new treaty of commerce during the reign of Charles the Sixth; and soon after the accession of Maria Theresa, the conferences at Antwerp were broken up without effect. The ensuing war, in which the Maritime Powers lavished their blood and treasure in support of the House of Austria, suspended the feuds which had been excited in the discussions relative to the Barrier Treaty; but the precipitate conclusion of the preliminaries again renewed the altercations, and rendered the Empress-queen still less disposed to gratify the Maritime Powers. With the intention of bringing the point to an issue, the Austrian plenipotentiary would not agree to the specification of the treaty of Barrier among those renewed by the definitive peace; and the Empress-queen established a new tariff in the Netherlands, which placed the trade of her subjects on an equality with that of England and Holland. She justified this alteration by declaring, that the Maritime Powers had

* Mr. Keith's Dispatches.

forfeited

forfeited the privileges which they derived from the twenty-sixth article of the Barrier, by not concluding a treaty of commerce within the two years specified by the treaty of Vienna in 1731.

On the contrary the Maritime Powers urged that the twenty-sixth article of the Barrier was not a mere provisional and temporary stipulation, but absolute and permanent, though subject to be altered by common consent; and therefore still remained in full force till the three contracting parties should concur in forming a treaty of commerce.

In addition to this source of contention, the dilapidated state of the Barrier Towns gave rise to new disputes. The court of Vienna declined paying the arrears due to the United States before the war, and withheld the annual subsidies, on the ground that many of those towns being demolished or incapable of defence, the subsidies ought to be appropriated to the repairs of the fortifications, and the establishment of a regular military force.

All attempts to adjust these differences were ineffectual; and the negotiation was protracted, or rather languished, till Kaunitz was placed at the head of affairs. During his residence at Brussels he had paid particular attention to the resources and riches of the Netherlands, and had formed a plan for raising the revenues and extending the commerce. He had therefore exerted all his influence to procure their emancipation from the shackles of the Barrier. It was disgraceful, he urged, for so powerful a sovereign to suffer her frontier towns to be garrisoned by foreign troops, as if her own forces were insufficient to guard her territory; and he represented the annual subsidy as a memorial of dependence and subjection. He proposed to employ the whole revenue for the maintenance of a large body of troops, by which the Barrier would be more effectually defended than by Dutch garrisons; and by his suggestions Maria Theresa was induced to remonstrate against the Barrier Treaty at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, and afterwards refused to pay the annual subsidy.

At his proposal the three powers delivered their respective claims; a project was formed, and the difference relative to the subsidies and

Chapter 30. 1749—1756.

arrears seemed nearly brought to a conclusion; but the commercial disputes produced insuperable difficulties. The Maritime Powers contended * that the Netherlands, conquered with their blood and treasure, were delivered to the House of Austria as a deposit, on the condition of defending those territories against the French; that according to the principles of the grand alliance, the natives were debarred from the exercise of their trade, and the sovereign had no right to extend their commercial privileges. The Low Countries, it was urged, were the only cement of the connection between the House of Austria and the Maritime Powers; and, by the breach of the Barrier Treaty, that cement would be dissolved.

This mode of argument, which treated the sovereigns of the House of Austria as mere guardians of the Low Countries, was galling to the pride and spirit of the court of Vienna; Maria Theresa was shocked with the haughty and unqualified style in which these arguments were urged; and her constant reply to the representations of the British court, evinced her unalterable resolution not to submit to their dictates: "Am I not sovereign," she exclaimed, "in the Low Countries; and is it not my duty to protect my subjects, who have been too long oppressed by the Barrier Treaty, and deprived of the advantages which all other nations enjoy †?"

* The earl of Holderness to Mr. Keith, April 26, 1754.

† Sir Charles Hanbury Williams to the duke of Newcastle, July 15. "These expressions," he observes, "she repeated so loudly as to be heard by those in the next room."

CHAPTER 31.

1756.

Causes which occasioned the Separation of the House of Austria from the Maritime Powers—Intrigues of Kaunitz at Paris—Negotiations for an Union with France—Contests in America—England requires Assistance from the House of Austria—Discussions on that Subject—Convention between England and Prussia—Progress and Conclusion of the Treaty between the House of Austria and France—Opposition of the Emperor, the Ministers, and the Family of the Empress-queen.

SUCH, at this juncture, was the frail tenure of the long established connection between the House of Austria and England; and a no less essential change had taken place in her relative situation, from the increasing power and resources of the king of Prussia. The rapid aggrandizement of the House of Brandenburgh, which Leopold, Joseph, and Charles had promoted as a counterpoise to the House of Bourbon, seemed likely to destroy the equilibrium of the German empire, and threatened the loss of that preponderance in Europe, which had been hitherto possessed by the House of Austria. The attention of Kaunitz was naturally directed to this new phenomenon in the political world; the humiliation of the Prussian power, so ably exerted by a great and enterprising monarch, seemed the primary object of all his plans, and he formed the bold, and seemingly extravagant design of effecting this object by an alliance with France: his views were promoted by the change which had been gradually wrought in the mind of his Imperial mistress.

At an early period of her reign, Bartenstein had succeeded in instilling into her mind suspicions of the Maritime Powers, and had artfully availed himself of the disagreeable discussions which had accompanied the various negotiations for the cession of Silesia. The loss of that valuable

Chapter 31. 1756.

valuable province had sunk deep into her mind; like Mary of England, in her regret for the capture of Calais, she might have exclaimed that Silesia was written in her heart; and she could not see a native without bursting into tears*. The cessions extorted from her in Italy furnished new fuel for discontent: and her disgust was still further aggravated by the remonstrances against the infractions of the Barrier Treaty, the disputes towards the close of the war; and the signature of the preliminaries, without her participation, contributed to render the breach irreparable.

In the course of the negotiations for the peace of Aix la Chapelle, the Empress-queen had attempted to conciliate France, and Kaunitz had even secretly offered the cession of part of the Low Countries, provided Louis the Fifteenth would assist in recovering Silesia†. The Empress-queen, not disconcerted at the rejection of this proposal, renewed her overtures to Blondel, chargé d'affaires at Vienna, and
1751. afterwards to the marquis d'Hautefort, the French embassador‡; and at the same time Kaunitz was dispatched to Paris with instructions to promote this great object.

During his embassy he laboured with continual assiduity and address to soften the inveterate enmity of the French court, and to loosen the connection between France and Prussia. He insinuated to the ministers that the aggrandizement of Prussia was their work, and that they had hitherto received no other return than ingratitude from a sovereign who was governed solely by his own interest. To strengthen these impressions which gradually began to take effect, he paid assiduous court to the marchioness of Pompadour, with whom he had opened a correspondence during the negotiation for the peace of Aix la Chapelle, and employed every species of flattery to induce her to second his views. At his suggestion the pious and high born Maria Theresa did not scruple to write in the most confidential terms of friendship and

* Sir Thomas Robinson's Dispatches.
† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 41.—Memoires de Richelieu, tom. vii. p. 241.
‡ Duclos Memoires Secrets, tom. ii. p. 398.

equality to the mistress of Louis the Fifteenth; and when Kaunitz apologized for requiring so great a sacrifice, she replied, "Have I not flattered Farinelli*?" The low-born favourite, enraptured with the attentions and familiarity of the greatest sovereign in Europe, employed all her influence to promote the wished for alliance. The projects and intrigues of Kaunitz seemed even on the point of being crowned with success, when they were frustrated by the insinuations of the king of Prussia who retained many adherents at the court of Versailles, and by the timidity of the favourite, who hesitated at taking upon herself the responsibility of recommending an alliance with the inveterate enemy of France, in opposition to the opinion of the cabinet, and to the deep rooted prejudices of the nation†. Chapter 31. 1756.

In the midst of these intrigues Kaunitz was recalled to Vienna, and placed at the head of affairs. But though defeated in his attempts to vanquish the prejudices of the court of Versailles, he did not for a moment lose sight of his great object; and count Staremberg, his successor at Paris, was instructed to pursue the same line of conduct, and to watch for a favourable opportunity of securing the concurrence of France. At the same time, either to lull the suspicions of the Maritime Powers, or from the dread of breaking off a long established for an uncertain alliance, Kaunitz affected a great enthusiasm for the antient connections of the House of Austria. Before his departure for Paris he had been the secret channel of communication between the British minister and the Empress, and had provided for the continuance

* Dispatch of Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, Paris, August 20, 1761. Farinelli, the celebrated singer, had been called to Madrid during the reign of Philip the Fifth, and was at this time in high favour with Barbara queen of Ferdinand the Sixth.

† "Count Uhlfeld, some weeks ago, in "a conversation with a foreign minister "at this court, upon the subject of the alliance with France, said, 'it has always 'been a measure we wished for;' and that "count Kaunitz had been very near strik-"ing the same stroke in 1751 at Paris; "but had been disappointed of it by some "false representations made to the court "of France at that time by the king of "Prussia." Mr. Keith to the earl of Holdernesse, Sept. 20, 1756. See also Duclos, tom. ii. p. 400.

of

Chapter 31. 1756.

of the correspondence through Koch*, the cabinet secretary; he also now called himself the champion of the antient system, and declared that his mistress could neither expect friendship nor service from the court of Versailles †.

At this juncture he seems even to have fluctuated between the fear of losing England, and the dread of being disappointed in his attempts to conciliate France. At one period he exerted all his efforts to draw Great Britain into his views; he expatiated on the ambitious, restless, and turbulent spirit of the king of Prussia, and endeavoured to inflame the enmity between the courts of London and Berlin, which had been aggravated by disputes relative to the possession of East Friesland, and by the refusal of the king of Prussia to discharge a loan advanced by the English merchants on some districts in Silesia. He charged Frederic with forming a project, in conjunction with France, to excite the Turks against the House of Austria, with a view to seize that opportunity of appropriating Polish Prussia; he also urged the court of London to guaranty the Saxon and Polish dominions of Augustus the Third, and accede to the fourth secret article of the treaty of 1746, between the House of Austria and Russia, which stipulated that should Prussia attack either of the two Empresses, or the Republic of Poland, the two powers should engage to reconquer Silesia. But the British cabinet refusing to break the engagements contracted by the treaties of Breslau and Dresden, Kaunitz suffered the causes of misunderstanding between the House of Austria and England to operate in their full force, and resumed his intrigues at Versailles with redoubled ardour. The disputes which had now arisen between England and France, presented to this artful minister a favourable opportunity of forwarding his views.

* "The Empress herself," observes Mr. Keith, "approved this mode, and said, I have consented without hesitation to the proposal of count Kaunitz; I am happy in this opportunity of giving you a convincing proof of my confidence, and I hope you will consider it in that light, as you are the only person who has or shall have a correspondence of that nature."

† Sir C. H. Williams to the duke of Newcastle, July 15, 1753. Mr. Keith's Dispatches, passim.

By

By the twelfth article of the peace of Utrecht, France had ceded to England Nova Scotia or Acadia, *according to its antient limits.* This vague expression had occasioned disputes between the two countries, which were renewed by an article of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, specifying, "that all things should be placed on the same footing as before the war." England, therefore, claimed that territory according to the limits assigned in the commissions of the French officers, and by the preceding treaties, which comprised the whole tract lying between the River St. Lawrence, Pentagoet or Penobscot, and the Atlantic Ocean; while the French, on the authority of some antient maps and historians, restricted the limits of Acadia to the south eastern part of the peninsula comprehended between the capes of St. Mary and Canso *. During these discussions, the establishment of an English company trading to the Ohio occasioned new contentions; and the French endeavoured to confine the Colonists towards the west, by building a line of forts between their settlements on the Mississipi and the province of Canada. Disputes also arose relative to the islands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. As neither party was willing to relinquish their respective claims, the contest was likely to be decided by the sword; and a new continental war seemed inevitable. Chapter 31. 1756.

In this state of affairs England required the House of Austria to fulfil the existing treaties, and repay the assistance so liberally furnished in the last war; and urged the Empress-queen to specify the force she would bring forwards in defence of the Low Countries, and of the Electorate of Hanover, if attacked by France and Prussia. But Kaunitz amused the British cabinet with vague assurances and impracticable plans, was explicit in no other instance than in repeating and enforcing the necessity of dismembering the Prussian dominions; and when the commencement of hostilities with France compelled the British cabinet to require a specific declaration from the court of Vienna, he still continued to temporise, and delivered a

* Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 477.

Chapter 31. 1756. April 16, 1755.

memorial, which he affected to call the ultimatum of his court, and a plan of mutual operations against France.

In this paper the Empress declared, that she could not expose her hereditary dominions and the capital to the attacks of her implacable enemy the king of Prussia, by withdrawing her troops from Bohemia, and could only agree to complete the contingent of 25,000 men in the Low Countries. She therefore proposed to leave the principal defence of those countries to the Maritime Powers, expected the king of England to enter into a subsidiary treaty with Russia for 60,000 men, and to renew the subsidiary treaties with Saxony, Bavaria, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other princes; she required the United Provinces to supply their contingent of 6,000 men, and England 10,000. These forces united with the Hessians and Austrians would, it was asserted, form an army of 70,000 men capable of resisting France; and the Imperial troops, assisted by the Russians, would then be able to withstand all the attacks of Prussia *.

In answer to this extraordinary proposal, which threw the whole burthen of the war upon the Maritime Powers, the British cabinet declared that the King was taking 8,000 Hessians into pay for the defence of the Netherlands, was inclined to join with the Empress-queen in renewing the subsidiary treaties with Saxony and Bavaria, and would incur the whole expense of obtaining from Russia a corps of 50,000 or 60,000 men to be employed for the common cause. In return the court of Vienna was required to dispatch an immediate reinforcement of 25,000 or 30,000 men to the Netherlands, exclusive of the garrison of Luxemburgh, as the only means of obtaining the cooperation of the United Provinces, and to assemble a second army for the protection of the Electorate of Hanover, if attacked by Prussia †.

In the midst of this discussion the king of England repaired to Hanover to hasten the negotiation. In the course of the journey the

* Papier remis par M. le comte Colloredo au duc de Newcastle, 16 Avril, 1755. Keith Papers.

† Reponse au Papier remis, &c.

earl

earl of Holdernesse, secretary of state, visited the Netherlands and the United Provinces. He learned from the governor prince Charles of Loraine, that the Imperial forces consisted only of 20,000 troops, of which above 7,000 would be requisite for the garrison of Luxemburgh; that, excepting the Barrier Towns, no fortress was tenable; and that, being unable to defend the whole country, he would only engage to cover those parts of the Dutch frontier which were most exposed. The situation of Holland was still more unfavourable. The Dutch irritated with the contests relative to the Barrier Treaty, and alarmed at the defenceless state of the Netherlands, had even withdrawn their troops from the Barrier Towns, and were desirous to save their country by negotiating a neutrality. Chapter 31. 1756.

In consequence of this intelligence, the British ministry again represented the danger which would result from leaving the Netherlands and Holland exposed to the aggressions of France; but all their remonstrances, and even reproaches, being ineffectual, they recapitulated the consequences of the conduct adopted by the court of Vienna, and declared, "should the Empress decline fulfilling the conditions required, the King cannot take any measures in concert with the House of Austria, and the whole system of Europe must be dissolved *."

The answer of the court of Vienna was a summary of the grievances of which they had long complained, and exhibits the style of altercation adopted by both parties in this memorable controversy:

"The Empress-queen has never had the satisfaction of seeing her allies do justice to her principles; she at least flattered herself with that satisfaction on the present occasion, when their real interests ought to have induced them rather to animate than to diminish her zeal in support of their cause. If the troops of the Empress were in the pay of Great Britain, the disposal of them could not be settled in a more decisive manner than in requiring her Imperial majesty to remove them from the centre of her dominions; and send them with little appearance of advantage, and the prospect of certain danger, to the protection

* The earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Keith, Hanover, May 31, 1755.

Chapter 31. 1756.

of the Netherlands, the United Provinces, England, and the electorate of Hanover. To persuade the Empress to take this step we are reproached with the numerous efforts made by the English in favour of the House of Austria, while to those efforts they owe their present greatness, riches and liberty; and had they always persevered in the same sentiments, they would not now be menaced with the loss of what they have acquired at the expense of so much blood and treasure. All Europe will doubtless agree with the court of Vienna; for if the House of Austria has derived useful succours from her alliance with the Maritime Powers, she has frequently purchased those advantages with the blood and ruin of her subjects; while her allies have opened to themselves new sources of aggrandisement and riches. With regret, therefore, we find ourselves under the necessity of opposing these truths to unjust and unceasing reproaches; and could any consideration diminish our gratitude towards the Maritime Powers, it would doubtless be their endeavours to represent those succours as purely gratuitous, which have been, and will always be, the consequences of their alliances, and of measures dictated by their own interests. Had they always known and consulted their true interests, England would not now blame us for the insecurity of the Netherlands, which is only a necessary effect of her conduct and system. In time of peace England judges rightly in considering their defence as an object which ought only to interest the Maritime Powers. How often have they not by singular arguments attempted to weaken our most pressing remonstrances on the dangers which threatened those provinces? They have even not scrupled to advise the Empress to disband the troops, should the expense of maintaining them prevent her from paying the subsidy stipulated by the Barrier Treaty. In conformity to this dangerous system the allies of the Empress have considered the Netherlands as provinces of their own; England and Holland have divided the commerce; and Holland alone has drawn annually a million of florins; while the House of Austria has seen her subjects exhausted, their property pass into the hands of foreigners, their manufactures decaying, and the whole substance of the state dried up. She has often attempted

to

to convince the allies, that their interests were involved in the preservation of the Netherlands; but the treaty itself, (which she has faithfully observed during forty years, to the ruin of her subjects,) the voice of equity, the safety of the common cause, have all yielded to the opinion, that it was the business of the Maritime Powers to defend the Netherlands. Holland has more than once been on the point of acknowledging the force of our arguments, but the same impression was never made on England. Hence the odious negotiation of the Barrier is not concluded; yet England reproaches us for her own indecision. Till this moment it has been urged that the defence of the Netherlands was the duty of the Maritime Powers; and now the Empress is addressed to save them. It is pretended that we have too few troops in those countries; and yet only six months ago, England exerted every effort to reduce us to the necessity of diminishing them one half." Chapter 31. 1756.

After briefly stating the origin and progress of the negotiations, and the plans of mutual defence which had been proposed respectively, it was added, "the offer of the Empress is the most unequivocal proof of her friendship for the King, and her zeal for the English nation. Having no direct interest, either in the object, or motives, or consequences of the war, her Imperial majesty engages to share the danger, although well aware that she must defend herself against France and Prussia, and perhaps against the Turks. Can it then be imagined, that in incurring all these dangers for the cause of her allies, she will imprudently neglect the means of her own defence, and expose the centre of her dominions? In leaving her troops, which are now stationed in the Netherlands, for the defence of England and Holland, and in resolving to attack the king of Prussia, should he invade the electorate of Hanover, she exposes herself to the peril of opposing the most dangerous enemy of the allies, and undertakes for the common cause, not only all which is in her power to execute, but even beyond what her allies had a right to expect.

"It has been thought necessary to detail all the consequences which will result from the loss of the Netherlands, as if we had not long ago endeavoured to induce the Maritime Powers to comprehend the extent

Chapter 31. 1756.

extent of those consequences. The only answer which can be made to these representations is, although we shall feel the misfortune of losing a part of our dominions, yet we can prefer a lesser to a greater evil. But with a view of composing these pernicious dissensions, the Empress, more affected with the dangerous situation of her allies, than offended at their conduct, is desirous of making her last effort, and frankly explaining her expectations and intentions. She has therefore ordered her ultimatum to be delivered."

In this ultimatum the Empress agreed to maintain a corps of 25,000 men, exclusive of the garrisons of Namur and Luxemburgh, which amounted to about 12,000 more, on the sole condition that England should likewise bring into the field 20,000 men; that the United Provinces should furnish their contingent, as stipulated by the Barrier Treaty, or at least 8,000. The King was also required to specify the succours which in virtue of existing treaties he proposed to send to the Empress-queen, both in quality of king and elector; to conclude as soon as possible the subsidiary treaties; to employ, for the defence of the Empress against the king of Prussia, the Russian troops in the pay of Great Britain; and, finally, to adopt all the necessary measures to secure the king of Sardinia, so as to remove all causes of apprehension for Italy. On these conditions alone the Imperial troops should instantly march to the Netherlands, as soon as certain intelligence was received that the 20,000 men in the pay of Great Britain were in motion, and positive assurances given for the due performance of the other conditions *.

Before this paper reached Hanover the breach was still further widened by a peremptory memorial which the British envoy was commanded to deliver to the court of Vienna, requiring an explicit and categorical answer to the following questions: Should the French, or any ally of France, attack the electorate of Hanover, is the Empress

* Mr. Keith to the earl of Holdernesse, Vienna, June 19, 1755, containing Precis de la Reponse donnée à M. de Keith sur les Representations qu'il a faites au Chancelier d'Etat et de la Cour, comte de Kaunitz Rietberg en consequence d'une lettre de milord Holdernesse, de 1 Juin, 1755. Reponse donnée par ecrit.

determined

determined to send assistance? What number of troops will she send; and in what time will they be in motion to join the British and Hanoverian forces? It was urged, "obligation of treaties, gratitude for former assistance, and self-interest combine to shew the necessity of assisting the King. The proportion of that assistance, and the expedition used in rendering it effectual, will display the real intentions of the court of Vienna, which the King is induced to believe will be consonant to equity and justice." Chapter 31. 1756.

Kaunitz coldly answered, "our only reply is to refer the King to the ultimatum already delivered to Mr. Keith. My mistress has no doubt those declarations will appear as satisfactory and ample as can be expected in the present situation of affairs; nor can she give any answer to the present nor to any future question, till the King shall have explained his intentions upon the points contained in that ultimatum *." In consequence of this answer, George the Second, with becoming dignity, declared that he would not enter into a paper war with the House of Austria; and aware that he could expect no effectual assistance from the Empress-queen, turned to the king of Prussia.

Frederic had long been disgusted with the haughty and contemptuous tone of superiority assumed by the court of Versailles †; he was not unacquainted with the intrigues of the Imperial minister; he was alarmed with the evasive conduct of France, when pressed to renew the alliance which expired in May 1756; and was apprehensive of being exposed singly to the arms of Russia and Austria. He therefore readily entered into engagements with George the Second, and a convention of neutrality was concluded, to prevent the contests in America from disturbing the peace of Germany, and for that purpose only to resist the entrance of foreign troops into the empire. By the two secret articles the Austrian Netherlands were excepted from the Jan. 16, 1756.

* Most secret letters from the earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Keith, and from Mr. Keith to the earl of Holdernesse. Hanover, June 17, and Vienna, June 7, 1755.

† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 43, 65. Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 524. The first overture was made by Frederic himself by means of the duke of Brunswick, in a letter from the duke to the earl of Holdernesse, dated August 2. Sir Benj. Keene's Papers.

operations

Chapter 31. 1756.

operations of this treaty; and England agreed to indemnify the Prussian merchants for the capture of vessels during the preceding war.

The Empress and her minister beheld the conclusion of this convention, not only without regret, but with extreme satisfaction. They had already matured their plan for the alliance with France; the marchioness of Pompadour had gradually replaced most of the ministers adverse to the House of Austria with her own creatures, and had succeeded in exciting the resentment of Louis the Fifteenth against the king of Prussia, who had indulged himself in sarcastic reflections on his bigotted and licentious conduct. By these and other means the Austrian party gained an ascendancy in the French cabinet, and the negotiation between George the Second and the king of Prussia hastened the accomplishment of their views.

1755. As early as the 22d of September, the mistress, with her favourite the abbé de Bernis, and count Staremberg the Imperial minister, met at Babiole to adjust the first outlines of the intended alliance; which were afterwards privately discussed between the Imperial minister and Bernis, at an apartment in the palace of the Luxemburgh belonging to the historian Duclos*. The plan being matured, the mistress obtained from the King the express nomination of a committee of her creatures, among whom was Bernis, though not a counsellor of state, to receive from the Imperial embassador the plan of an alliance between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon.

The terms proposed by Staremberg, evinced the sincerity of the Empress-queen, and were calculated to eradicate all seeds of disunion between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon. Mons was to be annexed to France; the fortress of Luxemburgh to be rased; Brabant and Hainault to be ceded to the infant Don Philip, in exchange for Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; Poland to be declared an hereditary monarchy in the descendants of Augustus the Third; Prussian Pomerania to be given to Sweden; and such arrangements to be made with Russia, Spain, and the Italian Powers, as would ensure the success of the al-

* Duclos Memoires Secrets, tom. ii. p. 416, 417, to whom these anecdotes were communicated by the cardinal de Bernis himself.

liance.

liance. The committee were unwilling to charge themselves with the sanction of this new and gigantic plan, so adverse to the antient system, and so likely to alienate the Porte and the German princes. Accordingly, Bernis proposed a treaty of union between the courts of Vienna and Versailles; a guaranty of their respective possessions in Europe, and of the Prussian dominions, and, to avoid the ungrateful appearance of acting against England, the Empress was permitted to observe a neutrality. Maria Theresa at first objected to the guaranty of the Prussian dominions, but at length consented; and the treaty was on the point of being concluded *, when the signature of the convention of London completed the separation of France from Prussia. The Austrian minister availed himself of this event, made new overtures with a view to avoid the guaranty of the Prussian dominions, and finally succeeded in his object. Chapter 31. 1756.

Hitherto the negotiations with France had been conducted by Kaunitz, under the auspices of Maria Theresa, with count d'Aubeterre the French embassador at Vienna; and by Staremberg with the creatures of the marchioness de Pompadour at Paris, without the knowledge of the emperor Francis, or the participation of the ministers. But when the treaty was matured, it became necessary to lay the plan before the council of state. The Empress being unwilling to shock the prejudices of her consort, or to stem the opposition of her own ministers; affected ignorance of the whole transaction. With her connivance in a meeting of the council of state, Kaunitz proposed the plan of an alliance with France. He had scarcely announced the memorial, when the other ministers murmured disapprobation; and Francis rising up, with great emotion vehemently struck the table with his hand, exclaiming, "such an unnatural alliance is impracticable, and shall never take place," and instantly quitted the apartment. Kaunitz appeared to hesitate, till, encouraged by his mistress, he detailed all the advantages which the House of Austria would derive from an alliance with France. The Empress listened with affected attention, and gave her

* Duclos, p. 222.

Chapter 31. 1756.

approbation in so decisive a tone as to silence the other counsellors. She concluded by undertaking to persuade the Emperor, and affected to express her doubts of the concurrence of France. Kaunitz answered for that power; the acquiescence of the Emperor was soon extorted, and the management of the whole negotiation assigned to the minister, who had proposed, and so ably supported the policy of the measure *.

This whole transaction had been conducted with so much secresy, that only vague suspicions were entertained of those negotiations which had passed in September and October †; and the Prussian treaty was alleged by the court of Vienna, as the sole and operating cause which had compelled the House of Austria to quit her antient allies, and to renounce that system which she had invariably followed for the last century. The Empress-queen and her minister therefore received the communication of the treaty of London with as much affected surprise and indignation, as if no previous overture had been made to the court of Versailles.

April 7. In delivering a copy of the treaty with Prussia to the Austrian minister, Mr. Keith justified it as perfectly inoffensive, calculated to maintain the peace of the Empire, and to relieve the Empress-queen from her apprehensions of the king of Prussia; and he concluded with demanding an explanation on the subject of the supposed negotiation with the court of Versailles. A month elapsed before any answer was returned; when Kaunitz delivered a paper criminating the conduct of the King, and justifying the Empress; he also peremptorily refused to give any explanation relative to the negotiation with France.

* Mr. Keith's Dispatches, 1756.

† In a dispatch dated Whitehall, April 1, 1756, Mr. Fox, secretary of state, thus expresses himself to sir Benjamin Keene. "If Mons. de Migazzi is still at Madrid, your excellency, by talking confidentially with him, may not only engage him to use proper arguments, at his return to Vienna, to prevent his court from acting with precipitation and resentment, but may also discover from him whether the reports, which have already gained some credit, of a secret negotiation being actually on foot between the Empress-queen and France, have any real foundation."

In

In an audience of the Empress, the British minister experienced greater affability and condescension; but she expressed the utmost abhorrence of a connection with the king of Prussia; and, notwithstanding her previous negotiation with France, threw the blame of first deserting the antient alliance on the king of England. In reply to the observation of Mr. Keith, that the answer delivered by count Kaunitz contained an absolute renunciation of the antient and true system of Europe, she said, "I have not abandoned the old system, but Great Britain has abandoned me and that system by concluding the Prussian treaty, the first intelligence of which struck me like a fit of apoplexy. I and the king of Prussia are incompatible; and no consideration on earth shall ever induce me to enter into any engagement of which he is a party." Mr. Keith, after apologizing for the treaty, and employing many arguments to reconcile the Empress-queen, adverted to the supposed negotiation with the French court. She refused to explain her conduct; but asked, "Why should you be surprised, if following your example in concluding a treaty with Prussia, I should enter into an engagement with France?

Chapter 31. 1756. May 13.

Affecting to disbelieve that the Empress would connect herself with the inveterate enemy of her person and family, the British minister declared that nothing could convince him of the existence of such an alliance, till he saw with his own eyes the signature of MARIA THERESA at the bottom of a treaty with that crown. "I am," she replied, "far from being French in my disposition, and do not deny that the court of Versailles has been my bitterest enemy; but I cannot conceal, that the cessions which Great Britain extorted from me at the peace of Dresden, and of Aix la Chapelle, have totally disabled me. I have little to fear from France; I am unable to act with vigour, and have no other resource than to form such arrangements as will secure what remains." The British minister exclaiming, "will you, the Empress and Archduchess, so far humble yourself as to throw yourself into the arms of France?" "not into the arms," she hastily rejoined, "but on the side of France. I have," she continued, "hitherto signed nothing with France, though I know not what may

Chapter 31. 1756.

happen; but whatever happens, I promise, on my word of honour, not to sign any thing contrary to the interests of your royal master, for whom I have a most sincere friendship and regard."

The Empress listened with great affability to all the remonstrances and arguments of the British minister, but continued unshaken in her resolution; and concluded: "I no longer have it in my power to take an active share in distant transactions; I am therefore little concerned for the remote parts of my dominions, and my principal object is to secure my hereditary possessions. I have truly but two enemies whom I really dread, the king of Prussia and the Turks; and while I and the empress of Russia continue on the same good terms as now subsist between us, we shall, I trust, be able to convince Europe, that we are in a condition to defend ourselves against those adversaries however formidable *."

The Empress gave this audience on the 13th of May, and the treaty with France had been already signed on the 1st. In imitation of the convention of London, the two sovereigns agreed, by an act of neutrality, to prevent the contest in America from disturbing their mutual harmony; and in a treaty of alliance, purely defensive, renewed all former engagements since the treaty of Westphalia. The Empress-queen promised to defend the French dominions in Europe, if attacked, except during the present war with England; while the king of France was to aid the House of Austria without any exception. The two powers also stipulated to assist each other with a mutual succour of 24,000 men in case of invasion, the present war excepted †.

The origin and progress of this negotiation have been thus traced from authentic documents with considerable minuteness; because it is an event which effectually changed the system of Europe, and materially affected the interests of the House of Austria. These documents also prove, that the treaty of Versailles was not the necessary consequence of the alliance between Great Britain and Prussia, signed

* Mr. Keith to the earl of Holdernesse, Vienna, May 16, 1756.

† Traité d'alliance et d'amitié conclu entre Marie Therese Imperatrice-reine, &c. et Louis XV. le 1 Mai, 1756.

January

January 16, 1756, and that the plan of an union with France had been gradually and circumspectly matured during a long course of intrigue and negotiation.

The courts of Vienna and London accused each other of haughtiness, obstinacy, ingratitude, a renunciation of the antient system, and a desertion of that alliance which had subsisted for more than a hundred years; yet each demanded from the other what perhaps was equally impracticable and impolitic. The court of Vienna, if sincere, expected England to cooperate in dismembering the Prussian dominions, and required the Maritime Powers to charge themselves with almost the whole defence of the Netherlands. On the other hand, the court of London expected the Empress to protect the electorate of Hanover, and to detach a considerable force for the defence of the Netherlands, which they were most interested to preserve. With such discordant expectations, and the jealousies which had so long subsisted, it was no wonder that a separation ensued. The British ministry did not consider, that the relative situation of the House of Austria had been totally changed by the treaties of Dresden and Aix la Chapelle; that the Empress would, during the first campaign, be compelled to concentrate her forces for the defence of her hereditary countries; and that till the Russian troops had actually taken the field, she must become totally useless to her allies.

She on her part saw France preparing to invade the Low Countries; Frederic capable of penetrating into Bohemia at the head of 100,000 men, the German empire divided into parties, and principally governed by the protestants, excited and supported by the court of Berlin; the protestant states powerfully armed, and the catholics without troops or money. She saw Spain disposed to neutrality; the king of Sardinia jealous and disgusted; Sweden and Denmark devoted to France; the Turks at variance with Russia, and secretly excited by French and Prussian emissaries; Holland irritated and desponding; England incapable of protecting the Low Countries, and alarmed for the electorate of Hanover. Under these circumstances many evident advantages concurred to recommend the alliance with the court of Versailles.

Chapter 31. 1756.

Versailles. By this new connection the House of Austria would be delivered from the distant wars in Italy, Flanders, and on the Rhine, which had always been carried on at an enormous waste of blood and treasure. The influence of France in the divan removed all apprehensions of an attack on the side of Turkey; the catholic princes and states of the Empire, no longer excited by the intrigues and money of France, would join the standard of their liege lord the Emperor; and Sweden and Denmark would be swayed by the influence of the court of Versailles. The Empress-queen hoped also to detach Russia from England, and to obtain the concurrence of Spain. Thus secure on the side of France, Flanders, Italy, and Hungary, she would be enabled to employ her whole force against her most formidable enemy the king of Prussia, the great and primary object of all her apprehensions.

But notwithstanding all these advantages, the breach with the Maritime Powers made a deep impression on the court and capital. She was accused of ingratitude to England, without whose assistance she must have been overwhelmed; some of her ministers displayed their discontent in a sullen acquiescence; prince Colloredo, and even the confessor of the Emperor openly disapproved an union with the inveterate enemy of the Austrian name. She had not without extreme difficulty extorted the reluctant consent of her husband; but her favourite daughter, the eldest archduchess, assailed her with repeated remonstrances. The archduke Joseph also, encouraged by his governor marshal Bathiani, asked her, if she deemed herself safe in trusting to France, who had so often deceived her? Though frequently repulsed, he returned with spirit to the charge; and importunately urged her not to separate from England, from whom she and her family had derived such effectual assistance *.

* Mr. Keith to the earl of Holdernesse, Vienna, May 15, and Sept. 20, 1756.

CHAPTER 32.

1756.

The King of Prussia invades Saxony, and blockades the Saxon Troops at Pirna—Battle of Lowositz—Surrender of the Saxons and Retreat of Augustus the Third from his Capital—Irruption of Marshal Schwerin into Bohemia—The empress-queen makes warlike preparations—Enters into a new Convention with France—Gains Sweden—Secures the Neutrality of Spain, Holland, and Denmark—Situation of England and France—Exertions of MARIA THERESA *to consolidate a Confederacy against Prussia—Detaches Russia from England—Commencement of the Seven Years War.*

MARIA Theresa, proud of her new connection, looked forward with confidence to the speedy accomplishment of her views against the king of Prussia; and the favourable state of the French affairs gave foundation to her hopes. Chapter 32. 1756.

In America the expeditions of the English, undertaken the preceding year against the French settlements, had been attended with an unfortunate issue. The flames of war had spread into Europe, and vast preparations were made on the coasts of Normandy and Britanny, for the invasion of England. The British ministry applied to the States General for the contingent of 6,000 men, according to treaty; but the Dutch, overawed by France, refused to comply with this demand, and acceded to a neutrality. At the same time an expedition sailed from Toulon against Minorca, and the duke of Richelieu, with a considerable force, laid siege to Fort St. Philip; admiral Byng, who was dispatched with a squadron to the Mediterranean, failed in relieving the fortress, and the garrison capitulated on the 29th of July. April 12.

At this period England was in a state of unusual weakness and alarm. Since the death of Mr. Pelham the cabinet had been agitated by cabals, embarrassed by continual changes, and was without a single 1756.

Chapter 32. 1756.

minister capable of directing a continental war with vigour and effect. The public mind was depressed by the inefficiency of the administration, and the failure of the military enterprises in America. The continuance of the Hanoverian and Hessian troops, who had been called into the country on the appearance of an invasion, excited great discontents; the nation groaned under the pressure of an alarming scarcity; and, in the midst of these calamities, the loss of Minorca roused the people almost to frenzy*.

Buoyed up with hopes from the depressed situation of England, and the successes of her new ally, Maria Theresa exerted all her efforts to consolidate a general combination against the king of Prussia, equal to that which had threatened the existence of the House of Austria on the death of Charles the Sixth. She secured the co-operation of Augustus the Third king of Poland and elector of Saxony, as well by the intervention of his consort Maria Josepha, whom the ties of blood and religion attached to the House of Austria, as by the agency of his prime minister count Bruhl, who was offended by the sarcasms of Frederic†. But she turned her principal attention to gain the assistance of the Empress of Russia, and fully succeeded in this important object, although she had to combat the long-established influence of England.

On the first prospect of a continental war, George the Second, alarmed for the safety of his electorate, had formed the plan of a triple alliance between England, Austria, and Russia. He dispatched sir Charles Hanbury Williams to St. Petersburgh, and negotiated a subsidiary treaty with Elizabeth, for an auxiliary force of 55,000 men, should his German dominions be invaded. The empress readily acceded to this treaty from her inveterate aversion to the king of Prussia, who was expected to join with France, and against whom the Russian troops were destined to act. But even before the signature, the politics of England had changed; the Empress-queen, having re-

Sept. 30, 1756.

* Tindal, vol. xxi. p. 548.

† Denina Vie de Frederic II. p. 125.

fused

fused to protect the Netherlands, and the Electorate of Hanover, and entered into negotiations with France, George the Second had made overtures to the King of Prussia, and concluded the treaty of London. He therefore endeavoured to prevail on Elizabeth to unite with the king of Prussia, in defence of Hanover; but Maria Theresa, conscious that without the assistance of Russia, she could not fulfil her views against Prussia, used her utmost endeavours to thwart his plans. She fomented the antipathy of Elizabeth against Frederic; contrary to her usual parsimony she bribed the venal ministers; and at length induced the Empress of Russia to break the subsidiary treaty which she had recently signed, and to promise a succour of 60,000 troops *. Chapter 32. 1756.

Having succeeded in concluding an alliance with Russia, the Empress-queen made vast preparations, and formed two considerable armies in the neighbourhood of Konigsgratz and Prague, while the Russians began to assemble on the frontiers of Livonia. The king of Prussia, alarmed with these hostile appearances, and suspecting the secret combination between the courts of Vienna, Petersburgh, and Dresden, demanded an explicit declaration of the sentiments of the Empress-queen. In answer to this demand, she replied, "in the present crisis I deem it necessary to take measures for the security of myself and my allies, which tend to the prejudice of no one †." The King not satisfied with so vague an answer, reiterated his demand, declaring his knowledge of the offensive projects formed by the courts of Petersburgh and Dresden, and requiring an immediate and categorical answer, "not delivered in an oracular style, ambiguous and inconclusive ‡," concerning the armaments in Bohemia, and a positive assurance that she would not attack him either during that or the following year. July 26.

* Anecdotes of sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Tour in Monmouthshire, ch. 29. —Treaty between Great Britain and Russia, Sept. 30, 1755.

† M. de Klingraff au Roi de Prusse, 27 Juillet, 1756.

‡ Lettre du Roi de Prusse au Sieur de Klingraff à Vienne, 2 Août, 1756, Keith Papers.

Chapter 32. 1756.

Maria Theresa no less haughtily replied, "the treaty with Russia was purely defensive, she had concluded no offensive alliance, and although the critical situation of Europe compelled her to arm, she had no intention to violate the treaty of Dresden, but would not bind herself by any promise from acting as circumstances required." This reply was scarcely delivered before she was roused with the intelli-

Sept. 10. gence that the king of Prusssia had penetrated with a formidable force into Saxony, taken possession of Dresden, and completely surrounded and blockaded the Saxon troops, who had occupied the impregnable post of Pirna.

On the first intelligence of the Prussian irruption, marshal Brown, with the army at Prague, hastened to the relief of the Saxons; but his views were anticipated by Frederic, who leaving 40,000 to continue the blockade of Pirna, penetrated into Bohemia with

Oct. 1. 24,000 men. The two armies met at Lowositz on the banks of the Elbe, not far from the frontiers of Saxony, and a battle ensued in which the Austrians, though superior in number, were compelled to retire behind the Eger, leaving the Prussians masters of the field. The loss amounted to only 3,000 on each side, and four pieces of artillery were taken from the Austrians; but marshal Brown was disappointed in the object of his march, the relief of the Saxons.

During these transactions the Saxon troops supported the severities of the season, and the extremes of famine and wretchedness with exemplary courage; but were foiled in all their endeavours to extricate themselves by the superior vigilance and skill of the enemy. A final

Oct. 14—18. attempt made by marshal Brown at the head of 8,000 men, to assist them in forcing the Prussian posts, was equally ineffectual; and Augustus had the mortification to witness the surrender, and ratify the capitulation of his troops. By this capitulation 17,000 men were made prisoners of war, and 80 pieces of cannon delivered to the king of Prussia. The officers were liberated on their parole, and the standards restored; but Frederic compelled the troops to enter into his service, appropriated the revenues of the country, and treated Saxony as a conquered province. Augustus retired with his family to

Warsaw;

Warsaw; and thus this unfortunate ally of Maria Theresa, a second time experienced the fatal effects of his devotion to the House of Austria. Chapter 32. 1756.

On the other side of Bohemia, the army of Piccolomini was kept in check by marshal Schwerin, who advancing by Glatz into Bohemia, destroyed all the subsistence, and foraged under the very cannon of the Austrian camp *. After the surrender of the Saxons the Prussian army took up winter quarters on the frontiers of Saxony and Bohemia; and marshal Schwerin retired into Silesia.

During the winter the king of Prussia published a justification of his conduct; in which he introduced, as proofs of the combination forming against him, the copy of a treaty of partition, signed the 18th of May 1745, between the courts of Vienna and Dresden; the secret articles of the treaty of Petersburgh 22d May 1746; and various dispatches written by count Bruhl, and the Saxon envoys. As these papers † were said to have been found in the archives of Dresden, which he had forcibly seized, doubts were entertained of their authenticity, and the court of Vienna published a refutation of the charge. But without entering into the merits of the question, or discussing the authenticity of these instruments, the whole conduct of the court of Vienna proved their intention, at least to wrest Silesia from the king of Prussia, if not to dismember his territories. Nor did Maria Theresa deserve reproach; she justly appreciated the danger which threatened the House of Austria, from the aggrandisement of the Prussian power; and she saw in Frederic the Second a personal rival, rendered still more formidable by his superior talents and resources, and whose avidity and ambition no cessions could gratify.

Deeply affected by the humiliation of her ally, and irritated by the conduct of Frederic, the Empress-queen passed the winter in making the most vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign, in consolidating a grand combination against Prussia, and in separating England,

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. ch. 3 and 4—Muller—Histoire de Marie Therese.

† These papers are given by Hertzberg in his curious Receuil de Deductions Manifestes, &c.

Chapter 32. 1756.

his only ally, from the other European powers. In all the Catholic courts she artfully represented the alliance of Great Britain and Prussia, as the league of heretics against the true faith, and held up the cause of the House of Austria as the cause of religion and justice.

At the court of Versailles, supported by the marchioness of Pompadour, and assisted by the tears of the Dauphiness, daughter of Augustus the Third, she gained a complete ascendancy in the cabinet, and converted France from a mere auxiliary into a principal in the war. Her views were greatly promoted by the attempt of Damiens to assassinate the king of France. This atrocious act, though only the deed of a bigotted fanatic, was malignantly attributed to the machinations of the king of Prussia, to the intrigues of the Jesuits, and even the partisans of the Dauphin, who were anti-Austrian in principle, were implicated in the accusation*. The count de Stainville, a native of Loraine, and the creature of Austria, in conjunction with the mistress, availed themselves of these malignant reports, and alarmed the timorous mind of Louis the Fifteenth with continual apprehensions of assassination. They depicted the anti-Austrian party in the most hideous colours; and held out the alliance of the Empress-queen as the only support of his life and honour. This circumstance therefore effected an entire revolution in the French cabinet: Argenson and Machault were exiled; Rouillé was afterwards dismissed; the office of secretary of state was conferred on the abbé Bernis; and, during the summer, Stainville was nominated embassador to Vienna. The mistress, by her intrigues and influence, overbore all opposition; and France entered into new engagements to support all the views of the Empress-queen. By a secret agreement, concluded towards the commencement of 1757, the king engaged to pay an annual subsidy of 12,000,000 Imperial florins to the Empress-queen, to maintain at her disposal 10,000 troops of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and to send into the field an army of 105,000 men; he likewise promised never

Jan. 5, 1757.

June 29.

* Memoires de Richelieu, tom. ix. ch. 1, 2.—Soulavie Memoires de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 35, 386.

to

to desist from hostilities till the empress should be put in possession of Silesia, Glatz, and Crossen *. Chapter 32. 1756.

Maria Theresa was no less successful among the principal states of the Empire; the invasion of Saxony and Bohemia was represented as a breach of the public peace, and the aggressor as punishable with the forfeiture of all fiefs, dignities, and titles. Soon after the invasion the Emperor issued a decree, demanding the aid of an army of execution †; the proposal of several states, and particularly of the electoral House of Brunswick, to proffer the mediation of the Empire, was rejected by a large majority, and an army voted with the accustomed formalities. The zeal of the Austrian party was still further excited by the declarations of France and Sweden, who announced to the Diet, that in consequence of an application from several distinguished states of the Empire, they had resolved to exercise their right, as guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, to resist infractions of the public peace. Russia had now heartily acceded to the treaty of Versailles; and Sweden entered warmly into the views of the House of Austria.

On the death of Frederic the First, Adolphus Frederic bishop of Lubec had succeeded to the crown of Sweden; but the States had made additional limitations to the sovereign authority; which weakened the government while it aggravated the violence of parties. The royalists had endeavoured to liberate the King from the shackles imposed by the senate, but the plot being discovered, the principal conspirators were either driven into exile, or brought to the scaffold, and the regal authority still further circumscribed. The Queen consort, who was sister of the king of Prussia, and endowed with all the spirit and talents which distinguished the House of Brandenburgh, employed her despotic influence over the King in favour of her brother; but the 1751.

* This convention was never acknowledged by the two courts nor referred to in the new treaty of Versailles, signed Dec. 30, 1758. The terms are mentioned in Koch, tom. ii. p. 90; and the conduct of France sufficiently proves the existence of such an engagement. It is also confirmed in a dispatch from lord Bristol, embassador at Madrid, to Mr. Pitt, dated July 27, 1758.

† Puetter's Development, vol. ii. b. xii. ch. 4.

crown

Chapter 32. 1756.

crown was too weak to sway the decisions of the diet; the party in opposition, seconded by the intrigues and money of France, gained the ascendancy, and extorted the consent of the king to join the confederacy against Prussia, as a guarantee of the peace of Westphalia*; and to secure the effectual concurrence of the nation, the Empress-queen and France joined in the payment of an annual subsidy.

The Empress-queen was also successful in neutralizing those powers which she could not win over to espouse her cause. Though she failed in obtaining the cooperation of the king of Spain, she counteracted the efforts of England, and induced him to persevere in maintaining a neutrality; by alarming Holland also with the dread of a French invasion, she deterred that republic from joining with its antient ally.

Of all the northern powers, Frederic the Fifth, king of Denmark, was alone inclined to cooperate with England. He had espoused Louisa, daughter of George the Second, and the ties of blood had been strengthened by a similarity of commercial interests. But Frederic, like his father, had embarrassed his finances by the splendour of his establishment, and his devotion to the fine arts; he had therefore accepted a subsidy from France†, and his connection with England was still further weakened by the death of his first wife, and his marriage with Julia Maria, princess of Brunswic, a relation of the Empress-queen.

George the Second, embarrassed with the feuds in the cabinet, and the discontents of the people, trembled for the safety of England, and was incapable of forming any plan of active operations to counteract the attempts of the French in Germany. The king of Prussia proposed to establish Wesel, the strongest fortress in the duchy of Cleves, as a place of arms, to concentrate the forces behind the Lippe, in the vicinity of that town, in order to cover Westphalia, and protect the electorate of Hanover. But the King, unable

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 50—53.—Lagerbring Histoire de Suède.

† Mr. Titley to Mr. Keene, March 16, 1756.

to

to induce the administration to take a principal share in a continental war, rejected this plan as too extensive, adopted a defensive system on the Weser, and formed an army of observation, consisting only of the Hanoverian and auxiliary troops, under the command of the duke of Cumberland. In consequence of this refusal the king of Prussia razed the fortifications of Wesel, dispatched only 6,000 men to join the duke of Cumberland, and abandoned the defence of his Westphalian territories *.

Chapter 32. 1756.

* Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, tom. iii. p. 136.

CHAPTER 33.

1757.

Grand Confederacy against the King of Prussia—Force and Positions of the Austrian Armies—Frederic bursts into Bohemia, and defeats the Austrians at Prague—Blockade of Prague—Dangerous Situation of the House of Austria—Account of Marshal Daun—Battle of Kolin—Relief of Prague—Sanguine Hopes of the Court of Vienna—Operations of the French against the Duke of Cumberland—Convention of Closter-Severn—Progress of the French in Lower Saxony and the Electorate of Hanover—Junction of the French under Soubise with the Army of the Empire—Success of the Austrians, Russians, and Swedes—Critical Situation of the King of Prussia—Battle of Rosbach—Successes of the Austrians in Silesia—Capture of Schweidnitz—Battle of Breslau—Surrender of that Capital—March of the King into Silesia—Battle of Lissa, and retreat of the Austrians from Silesia—Operations in the North of Germany—The King of England annuls the Convention of Closter-Severn—The French driven from Luneburgh and Part of Brunswic—Retreat of the Austrians from Silesia—Loss of Schweidnitz—Administration of Mr. Pitt, and new Exertions of England in favour of the King of Prussia.

Chapter 33. 1757.

AT the commencement of 1757, the grand confederacy against the king of Prussia was consolidated by the efforts and intrigues of the court of Vienna. The French had drawn together 80,000 men on the Rhine, under the command of marshal d'Etrées; the army of execution was assembling in the Empire; the Swedes were preparing to penetrate into Pomerania, and 60,000 Russians were stationed on the frontiers of Livonia, waiting the season of action, to burst into the kingdom of Prussia. With this favourable aspect of affairs the Empress prepared for the campaign by augmenting her forces in Hungary and Bohemia to 150,000 men; the main army stationed in the vicinity of Prague was commanded by prince Charles, who was assisted by the skill of marshal Brown, and the other corps entrusted to count Daun.

Frederic

Frederic possessed too much foresight and vigilance to remain inactive while his enemies were collecting their forces; he therefore resolved to carry the war into the heart of the Austrian territories, and by a decisive stroke to shake the basis of the confederacy. He covered this plan with consummate address; he affected great trepidation and uncertainty, and, to deceive the Austrians into a belief that he only intended to maintain himself in Saxony, put Dresden in a state of defence, broke down the bridges, and marked out various camps in the vicinity. In the midst of this apparent alarm and precaution three Prussian columns burst into Bohemia, and rapidly advanced towards Prague. The prince of Bevern from Lusatia, at the head of the first, drove Konigseg with 20,000 men from a strong post at Reichenberg, while marshal Schwerin, leading the second from Silesia, on the side of Landshut, harassed his retreat, and cut off his rear guard of 1,500 men. The King himself, joined by prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau, from Brix, advanced with the third by Aussig, compelled marshal Brown to retreat from Budin, and seized considerable magazines, which facilitated the subsistence of his troops. The Austrians, pressed on all sides, abandoned their magazines, and retreated with precipitation under the walls of Prague, on the southern side of the Moldau, while the Prussians advancing towards the capital formed two bodies; one under Schwerin remaining at Jung Bunzlau, and the other, headed by the King, occupying the heights between the Moldau and the Weisseberg *.

Chapter 33. 1757.

April 21, 1757.

Expecting to be joined by marshal Daun, who was hastening from Moravia, the Austrians remained on the defensive; but prince Charles took up so strong a position as seemed to defy all apprehensions of an attack. His left was covered by the Ziskaberg, a steep hill overhanging the Moldau, a deep and craggy ravine ran along his front, and the ground on his left was a morass intersected with hedges, drains,

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. ch. 6—Warnery Campagnes du Roi de Prusse, de 1756 à 1762, année 1757—Muller—Daun's Leben.—Heinrich—Archenholz Histoire de la Guerre de 7 Ans.

Chapter 38. 1757.

and dikes; his force exceeded 70,000 men, and his position was strengthened by works which ran along the brow of the precipice, defended by a powerful train of artillery.

These obstacles, however, were insufficient to arrest the daring spirit of Frederic, who resolved to attack the Austrians before the arrival of Daun. Leaving a corps under prince Maurice above Prague, he crossed the Moldau near Rostock and Podaba on the 5th, with 16,000 men, and on the following morning at break of day was joined by the corps under marshal Schwerin. The troops had no sooner formed than they moved in silence and order along the ravine towards the right of the Austrians, while prince Charles drawing the cavalry from his left, and part of the second line, prepared to charge the Prussians as they emerged from the marshes and defiles. The King, however, continued to advance; his cavalry, notwithstanding the embarrassments of the ground, pushed through the village of Bichowitz, and forming on a plain beyond, repulsed that of the Austrians after several successive charges; and the infantry, emulous of their example, hastened to join the enemy, but were broken and mowed down by the continual fire of the Austrian artillery.

At this moment the King, almost frantic with the prospect of a defeat, rode up to Schwerin, whose regiment had given way, and upbraided him for the dastardly behaviour of his soldiers. Stung with these reproaches, the veteran seized the standard, and wrapping the colours round his body, exclaimed, "Let the brave follow me!" He led his troops to the charge under a tremendous fire of grape shot, and instantly fell pierced with several balls *. But his death opened the way to victory; the Austrian line disordered by these repeated charges, penetrated in different points, and taken in flank by the victo-

* "Schwerin was deeply lamented by his master, and Frederic has immortalised the circumstances of his death, by erecting a statue to his memory in one of the principal squares of Berlin. Schwerin is there represented as he fell, the colours clasped in his hand, and in the act of expiring. The monument commemorates at once the frailty of the sovereign and the merits of the general." Wraxall's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 162.

rious

rious cavalry, was broken and compelled to give way. In the heat of the action marshal Brown, having received a severe wound, was conveyed to Prague, and his absence increased the confusion of the troops. Meanwhile a part of the Prussian right wing, impelled by their ardour, passed the ravine, climbed up the precipices, and piercing the Austrian center, joined their victorious companions on the left. Prince Charles, with those who had not engaged, thus attacked on all sides, retreated with equal skill and bravery, and disputed every height; but was at length compelled to take refuge within the walls of Prague. Chapter 33. 1757.

Thus victory declared on the side of the Prussians, but was purchased by the loss of their best troops, not less than 18,000, even by the avowal of the King, being killed, with many of his bravest officers, and Schwerin, the father of the Prussian discipline, and the guide of Frederic in the career of victory. Of the Austrians 8,000 were killed and wounded, 9,000 made prisoners, and 28,000 shut up within the walls of Prague. The defeat would have been still more complete had prince Maurice been able to pass the Moldau, and intercept the fugitives; but the river having risen, he had not a sufficient number of pontoons to form a bridge, and a column of 16,000 Austrians made good their retreat along the Moldau to join the army of marshal Daun *.

Prague was instantly blockaded by the victorious army, and not less than 100,000 souls were confined within the walls, almost without the means of subsistence. They were soon reduced to the greatest extremities; but the spirit of the troops and of the inhabitants was animated by an address from Maria Theresa, brought by a captain of grenadiers, who escaped the vigilance of the besieging army.

"I am concerned," said the Empress, "that so many generals, with so considerable a force, must remain besieged in Prague; but I augur favourably for the event. I cannot too strongly impress on your

* Vie de Marie Therese, p. 116—Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. ch. 6—Muller—Warnery Campagnes de Frederic II. p. 92—119—Wraxall's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 161—Archenholz Guerre de 7 Ans—Lloyd.

Chapter 33. 1757.

minds, that the troops will incur everlasting disgrace should they not effect what the French, in the last war, performed with far inferior numbers. The honour of the whole nation, as well as of the Imperial arms, is interested in their present behaviour; the security of Bohemia, of my other hereditary dominions, and of the German empire itself, depends on a gallant defence, and the preservation of Prague. The army under the command of marshal Daun is daily strengthening, and will soon be in a condition to raise the siege; the French are approaching with all diligence; the Swedes are marching to my assistance; and in a short space of time, affairs will, under the divine providence, wear a better aspect *."

This address, from a sovereign whom they adored, excited a general ardour; the garrison, though reduced to feed on horseflesh, held out with uncommon perseverance; and the inhabitants supported without a murmur all the horrors of a bombardment, which destroyed one quarter of the town. Several desperate sallies were made; but the garrison was threatened with famine; and the loss of Prague would have been followed by the most fatal consequences. The recent defeat had spread consternation throughout Germany; the elector of Bavaria and the other catholic princes had already sent agents to treat with the king of Prussia; and almost every member of the Empire was preparing to desert the cause of Maria Theresa †. The flower of her armies were shut up in Prague; the remainder defeated, dispirited, and dispersed; the capital of Bohemia reduced to the last extremity; the whole kingdom ready to submit to the law of the conqueror; her hereditary dominions exposed; Vienna itself threatened with a siege, and the Imperial family about to take refuge in Hungary.

In this disastrous moment the House of Austria was preserved from impending destruction by the skill and caution of a general, who now, for the first time, appeared at the head of an army. This general was Leopold count Daun, a native of Bohemia, son of Wyrich Philip

* Pelzel, p. 905. † Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii.

Lorenzo

Chapter 33. 1757.

Lorenzo count Daun, and prince of Tiano, who had distinguished himself in the campaigns of Italy during the reigns of Joseph and Charles the Sixth, and had held the high offices of viceroy of Naples, governor of Milan, and stadtholder ad interim of the Netherlands. Leopold was born in 1705, embraced the military profession at an early period, and learned the art of war under Seckendorf and Kevenhuller. He distinguished himself at the battles of Crotzka, Dettingen, and Hohenfriedberg; and from his knowledge of tactics, was chosen to introduce the new system of discipline into the army, and drew up the regulations for the military academy at Vienna*. Although favoured by Eugene and Kevenhuller, he had risen slowly and silently by merit, and without intrigue, from a subaltern rank to that of field marshal; and after the death of prince Piccolomini, was entrusted with the army, which under his auspices, was to restore the honour and credit of the Austrian arms. Sagacity and penetration, personal bravery tempered with phlegm, animation in the hour of battle, with extreme caution both before and after the engagement, recommended him at this critical juncture, like another Fabius, to check the fire and enterprise of the modern Hannibal.

On the first intelligence of the entrance of the Prussians into Bohemia, Daun had marched through Moravia towards Prague, to effect a junction with prince Charles. On arriving at Boehmischgrod, within a few miles of Prague, he was apprised of the recent defeat, and halted a few days to collect the fugitives, till his corps swelled so considerably, that Frederic detached against him the prince of Bevern with 20,000 men. Daun, though superior to the enemy, was too prudent to hazard the fate of the House of Austria on the issue of a single battle, with dispirited and almost desponding troops, against an army flushed with recent victory. On the approach of the prince of Bevern, he therefore retreated to Kolin, Kuttemberg, and Haber, in order to afford a refuge to the shattered remains of the defeated

* Leben and Thaten Leopold, Joseph Maria Reichsgrafens von Daun, b. 1 and 2.

army,

Chapter 33. 1757.

army, and to receive the recruits which were pouring in from Moravia and Austria *.

While he was thus baffling the enemy, he, like the great general who saved Rome by delay, had to support the murmurs of his officers, and the reproaches of those impatient spirits who are always eager to engage, and cannot distinguish prudence from pusillanimity. Among others the duke of Wirtemberg exclaimed, "If you continue this conduct, I would advise you to march to Vienna; but I will retire to my own dominions, and countermand the troops I have ordered to join you †." Yet neither invectives nor murmurs could induce Daun to change his wise measures, until his army was increased, and the soldiers began to recover from their despondency. Finding himself at length at the head of 60,000 men, he made a rapid movement in front, forced the prince of Bevern to retire, and was advancing to attack the King in his posts before Prague, while prince Charles was to make a sortie with his whole force.

Frederic conscious of his danger, had already anticipated the design of Daun; leaving the greater part of his army to continue the blockade, he marched with 12,000 men on the 13th of May in the morning, and joined the prince of Bevern on the 14th, at the moment of his retreat before the Austrians. On the approach of the Prussians, Daun occupied the heights stretching from the village of Chotzemitz towards Kolin; he placed his infantry on the flanks, which were supported by

* How differently are the same manœuvres viewed by different persons! Colonel Tempelhof, in the account of the seven years war, severely blames marshal Daun, for suffering his convoys to be cut off, and for not attacking the prince of Bevern. The king of Prussia, more capable of judging, pays due praise to the wary conduct of his great opponent. "Le prince de Bevern se porta premierement à Kautzim, puis à Kuttemberg, faisant toujours reculer devant lui le M. Daun, celui ci se retira jusqu'à Haber; *mais chaque pas qu'il faisoit en arricre l'approchoit de son secours, et lui donnoit le moyen d'attirer à lui les debris de la battaille de Prague*," tom. ii. p. 157.

Lloyd and other authors no less injudiciously censure the conduct of the king of Prussia, either in not wholly raising the blockade of Prague, or in quitting the blockade to attack marshal Daun, with a part of his army; that is, he should have set 40,000 men at liberty in his rear, or have suffered an army to attack his troops dispersed in the posts of blockade, assisted by the 50,000 men shut up in Prague.

† Warnery, p. 140.

steep

steep eminences, filled the villages in his front with detachments of infantry and irregulars, stationed the cavalry in the center, where they could act with effect, and made a skilful disposition of his formidable train of artillery. Chapter 33. 1757.

In this situation Daun was attacked by the king of Prussia, who directing all his efforts against the Austrian right, had almost succeeded in turning their flank, notwithstanding their superiority of number, the tremendous fire of the artillery, the skill of the general, and the bravery of the troops. Victory seemed to incline to the enemy, and Daun had even ordered a retreat; but the fortune of the day was changed by the impatience of two of the Prussian generals, who disobeying positive orders, broke their line on the right to dislodge a party of Croats, and were repulsed with considerable loss. The Saxon cavalry instantly rushed into the interval, crying out at every stroke, "Remember Strigau!" and cut to pieces or dispersed all whom they encountered. Daun availed himself of this fortunate manœuvre with equal skill and promptitude; he was seen flying from rank to rank, animating the soldiers by his voice and gestures; he had two horses killed under him, was twice slightly wounded, and shewed himself the worthy antagonist of the great Frederic. In vain the king of Prussia exerted all his skill and courage in this desperate conflict; his cavalry charged six times, and were six times repulsed; Frederic again rallied them, and finding them dispirited, exclaimed, "Would you live for ever!" They were a seventh time led to the charge, and were again driven back. Perceiving the battle lost, the King ordered two regiments of cuirassiers to disengage the infantry; but discouraged by the dreadful carnage of their companions, they refused to advance. He then sullenly withdrew from the field with a squadron of gardes du corps, and thirty hussars; and was repeatedly heard to cry out, "My hussars! my brave hussars, will all be lost*!" The troops also, for the first time defeated, gave way to despondency, and in their retreat exclaimed, "This is our Pultawa!" Daun purchased the victory with the loss of 9,000 men;

* Warnery, p. 160.

but

Chapter 33. 1757.

but on the side of the Prussians not less than 14,000 were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; and 43 pieces of artillery, with 22 standards, fell into the hands of the Austrians*.

Maria Theresa, who was anxiously waiting the event of an engagement, which, if unfortunate, would have rendered her situation more deplorable than that to which she had been reduced at the commencement of the former war, received the account with a joy proportionate to her apprehensions. Sumptuous feasts were given, medals struck, and presents distributed, the officers were rewarded a month's pay, and the subalterns and common soldiers were gratified with donations. Anxious to display her gratitude to the general who had first defeated her formidable antagonist, she conveyed, in person, the news of this important victory to the countess Daun, and instituted the military order of merit, or the order of Maria Theresa, with which she decorated the commander and officers who had most signalized themselves, and dated its commencement from the æra of that glorious victory†.

To give repose to the troops, and to replace the magazines which had been destroyed by the Prussians, Daun remained several days on the field of battle; and as he advanced to Prague, found that the Prussians had raised the siege, and were retreating with precipitation towards Saxony and Lusatia. He joined prince Charles, who assumed the sole command, but continued to direct the operations, in consequence of the death of marshal Brown. Leaving a corps under Nadasti to watch the King, who had fallen back on Leutmeritz, the Austrian commanders directed their whole force against the body retreating into Lusatia, under prince Augustus William, brother of the king of Prussia. They turned his left flank, seized, after a desperate conflict, the post of Gabel, cut him off from his magazines at Zittau, and compelled him to take a circuitous route over the mountains to Bautzen, with the loss of his provisions and baggage. At this juncture

June 20.

* For the battle of Kolin have been consulted and compared—Leben und Thaten des Herrn Leopold, Joseph Maria Reichsgrafens von Daun — Histoire de Marie Therese — Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 169—Warnery, p. 150—Tempelhof—Archenholz—Muller.

† Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 119.

the

the King himself hastened from Leutmeritz, and pushed forward to Zittau to give battle to prince Charles; but finding him too strongly posted, and being alarmed by his numerous enemies who were preparing to attack him on all sides, he left the command of the army to the prince of Bevern, for the protection of Silesia, and marched with a body of troops against the French and Imperial army in Saxony. Chapter 33. 1757.

The total defeat of the Prussians at the battle of Kolin, and the retreat of Frederic from Bohemia, inspired the Empress-queen with presumptuous hopes equal to her former apprehensions. The language of the court of Vienna was to crush the king of Prussia and divide his territories; the House of Austria was to recover Silesia and Glatz; Magdeburgh and Halberstadt were to be assigned to the king of Poland; Cleves, la Marc, and Ravensberg to the Elector Palatine, and Prussian Pomerania to the Swedes *. Nor did these seem empty vaunts, as the arms of the confederates were equally successful on all sides.

Early in the spring the French had assembled two armies on the Rhine; one under Marshal d'Etrées, destined to act against the duke of Cumberland, and the other under the prince de Soubise to join the army of execution, and penetrate into Saxony. They rapidly over-ran the Prussian territories on the left bank of the Rhine; d'Etrées then crossed the Weser, spread his detachments over the southern part of the Electorate of Hanover, and the whole Landgraviate of Hesse Cassel, defeated the duke of Cumberland at Hastenbech, and drove him to Stade in the vicinity of the Elbe. In this situation the English commander was compelled to sign the humiliating convention of Closter Seven, under the mediation of the king of Denmark; The auxiliary troops were to retire to their respective countries, while a part of the Hanoverian force was to be quartered in Stade and the neighbourhood, and the remainder to cross the Elbe †. In consequence of this reverse of circumstances, the princes of the July 26.

* Dispatch from the earl of Bristol to Mr. Pitt, June 27, 1758.

† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. ch. 6—Smollett, chap. 7—Memoirs of the Duke of Cumberland, ch. 11.

Chapter 33. 1757.

empire, who had joined with England and Prussia, began to waver. The duke of Brunswick seceded from the alliance, and concluded a convention with France, by which he yielded the possession of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttle during the war; he also recalled his troops, and ordered his son the hereditary prince, to quit the army of the duke of Cumberland. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel was preparing to follow his example, and even made proposals to join the confederacy with his whole force. The French were thus enabled to direct their principal force against the king of Prussia, and marshal Richelieu himself turned towards Magdeburgh, and threatened that capital with a siege, while his troops plundered the adjacent country. Meanwhile the prince of Soubise penetrated to Erfurth, and receiving considerable reinforcements from Richelieu, had joined the army of
Sept. 20. the empire under the prince of Saxe Hilburghausen at Eisenach, and was at the head of 80,000 men*.

During these transactions in Germany the Swedes burst into Prussian Pomerania; the Russians under marshal Apraxin, amounting to
July 5. 100,000 men, commenced offensive operations, and a corps of 30,000 men under general Fermor, having bombarded and taken Memel, rejoined the grand army, which spread into Prussia, and committed the most dreadful devastations. To this force marshal Lehwald opposed
August. 30. only 22,000 men. In obedience to the orders of the king he risked a battle at Jagersdorf; but after a conflict, in which he obtained some advantage, was compelled to retire to Vehlau†.

While the French, Russians, and Swedes, with the army of the empire, were thus threatening the Prussian dominions prince Charles was equally successful. The prince of Bevern had occupied Gorlitz, in order to cover Silesia, and the Austrians encamped at Aussig. In this situation a Prussian post on the Holtzberg
Sept. 7. was attacked and carried by Nadasti, and Winterfield fell in the conflict. His loss was severely felt by the Prussians: Frederic had

* Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, tom. iii. p. 191—203.

† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 248—Muller,

relied

relied on his activity and skill for the defence of Silesia; and from the moment of his death the prince of Bevern was unable to make any effectual opposition to the superior forces of prince Charles*. To complete this series of successes general Haddick burst from Silesia, with 6,000 horse, penetrated through the Marc of Brandenburgh, and laid Berlin itself under contribution; and while the King hastened to the defence of his capital, the allied army burst into Saxony, and the prince of Saxe Hilburghausen, at the head of a considerable force, passing the Saale at Weissenfels, drove marshal Keith, who had been left to cover Saxony, into Leipsig. Chapter 33. 1757.

But in this momentous crisis the extraordinary talents of the king unfolded themselves with peculiar energy; and he discovered resources which baffled and surprised his enemies. On the retreat of Haddick from Berlin, Frederic rapidly returned into Saxony, delivered marshal Keith, drove the enemy across the Saale, and hastened to meet the army of Soubise, which, besides the troops under the prince of Saxe Hilburghausen, had been strengthened with considerable reinforcements from Richelieu. The confederates having advanced to Micheln, the king occupied Schortau with the resolution of bringing on a battle, as the enemy had taken a defective position; but Soubise moving in the night to more advantageous ground, Frederick relinquished his intended attack, and retired to the height above Rosbach, where his front stretched along a declivity over-hanging the Schortau, and his flanks were covered by the villages of Bedra and Rosbach.

Despising the diminutive force of the Prussians, which scarcely exceeded a third of their numbers, the confederates deemed themselves secure of victory, gave signs of the most extravagant exultation, and were only anxious to prevent the escape of so easy a prey. They therefore quitted their camp, and at eleven in the morning moved in battle array, against the left flank of the Prussians. Nov. 5.

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 194.

Chapter 33. 1757.

Frederic availed himself of the nature of the ground to effect one of the most singular manœuvres which occurs in military history. The height on which he encamped was narrow, steep, and long; it terminated abruptly above the castle of Rosbach, and on that side rose in a ridge more elevated than the other; the infantry formed two lines at the extremity of this height, and the cavalry a single line in the rear. The King had taken up his quarters in the castle of Rosbach, and at ten in the morning ascended through a hole made in the roof to examine the motions of the enemy. After an hour's observation, he ordered his repast, and dined quietly, and with a good appetite*; at one he again ascended, and in half an hour perceived the heads of the enemy's columns opposite to his left flank, and directing their march slowly towards his rear. He descended, ordered the tents to be struck, commanded Seidlitz to advance with the cavalry under cover of the ridge towards Reichenswerben, and the infantry to follow in divisions.

The generals of the combined army mistook the tranquillity of the Prussians for the effect of despair; seeing the tents struck with an appearance of precipitation, they concluded the enemy were retiring, and hastened forward with the cavalry to intercept their retreat. On approaching Reichenswerben a tremendous cannonade was opened, and Seidlitz descending from the heights with the cavalry, burst with irresistible fury upon the heads of their columns. The heavy cavalry, and the celebrated gens d'armes were totally dispersed by rapid and successive charges, and driven in disorder on their infantry. At this moment the Prussian infantry advanced in order of battle, and completed the overthrow by a tremendous fire of cannon and musquetry. The discomfiture of the combined army was the consequence of these manœuvres, and in less than half an hour, the confederates were driven from the field. The loss on the side of the King, who had scarcely brought half his troops into action, was not more than 300 men;

* This anecdote is related in a letter from colonel Yorke, afterwards lord Dover, printed in the Military Miscellany, vol. i. p. 149.

while

while on the side of the allies, 4,000 were killed and wounded, 7,000, with eleven generals, taken prisoners, and 63 cannon and 22 standards fell into the hands of the conquerors. The approach of night prevented the King from pursuing his advantage, and the allied troops fled rather than retreated towards Erfurth, harrassed by the Prussian detachments, who made numerous prisoners *.

Chapter 33. 1757.

The King was prevented from pursuing his success, by the rapid progress of the Austrians in Silesia, where the prince of Bevern, with only 25,000 men was opposed to a force of 90,000. He had been compelled by want of provisions, to draw towards the center of Silesia, and being followed by prince Charles, took shelter under the walls of Breslau on the south side of the Oder. The Austrian commander encamped behind the Lohe, opposite to the Prussians, and detached Nadasti to besiege Schweidnitz; that fortress was invested on the 27th of October; on the 10th of November the third parallel was completed; and two of the redoubts being carried by assault, the governor, with the garrison of 6,000 men, surrendered prisoners of war on the following day.

Nadasti having rejoined the army, prince Charles, who was aware of the advance of the King, hastened to attack the prince of Bevern; and after a desperate engagement, in which the loss was equally severe to both parties, the Prussians retreated through Breslau during the night, leaving 6,000 men in the town. On the ensuing evening the prince of Bevern was taken prisoner, while reconnoitring†, and ge-

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 214—Warnery, p. 232—Lloyd Tempelhoff in the Military Miscellany, vol. i. p. 148—Archenholz, p. 56—Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 126.

† To the prince of Bevern Maria Theresa displayed great humanity, which was the more commendable, as Frederic sullied his great qualities by a disdainful and rigid behaviour to those officers, who, by the fortune of war, were thrown into his power. The prince of Bevern was gratified with permission to write to the king of Prussia; but as he received no answer, he required leave to pay his own ransom, that he might wait on his sovereign in person. Maria Theresa, with a magnanimity peculiar to herself, declined accepting a ransom, and restored him to his liberty without exacting any condition *.

* Histoire du Regne de Marie Therese.

neral

Chapter 33. 1757.

neral Kyan to whom the command developed, led the remains of this gallant, but discomfited army, towards Glogau *. This conflict cost the Austrians not less than 8,000 men, and the Prussians lost 5,000 killed and wounded, and 3,600 prisoners, with 80 cannon and five standards. Two days after Breslau surrendered without resistance, and the Austrians thus recovered the greater part of Silesia. New regulations were issued for the government of the province; many of the principal inhabitants took the oath of allegiance, and preparations were made to distribute the troops into winter quarters †.

During these events the king of Prussia made a rapid progress through Lusatia, collected the remains of the prince of Bevern's army, and advanced towards Breslau, with a resolution to try the fortune of another battle, notwithstanding the diminution of his force, and the severity of the weather. In this situation Daun urged prince Charles to remain on the defensive, till the King was obliged to quit Silesia by the want of provisions, and the lateness of the season. But as the Prussian army did not now exceed 20,000 men, so inconsiderable a force was despised by the Austrians, who tauntingly called them the grand guard of Potsdam. The advice of Daun was therefore rejected, as timid and disgraceful; and prince Charles, confident of his superiority, wantonly exposed himself to an attack. On the approach of the Prussians, he quitted his camp at Breslau, and advancing to meet them, took up a position near Lissa; his left stretching behind the villages of Striegwitz and Sagschutz, occupied the space between the rivulet of Schweidnitz, which ran at the rear of his camp, and a commanding height above Leuthen; while his center and right extended down a gradual descent to the wood of Nipern.

On the 4th of December the King made himself master of Neumarkt, which was occupied by a corps of Austrian irregulars for the

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 224—Archenholz, p. 66—Warnery, p. 225—Muller—Lloyd.

† Archenholz, p. 69.

guard

guard of their bakery; and early on the morning of the 5th made arrangements for a battle. The advanced guard having routed a corps of Saxons posted at Borne, Frederic put his troops in motion, and at the head of his hussars rode to a chain of woody heights, running parallel to the front of the Austrians, from whence he reconnoitred their position. Being well acquainted with the ground, on which he had frequently manœuvred his troops, he resolved to direct his principal attack against the left of the Austrians, which commanded the rest of their lines. In an instant the Prussian order was reversed, and their columns, which hitherto had seemed to direct their march against the right of the Austrians, suddenly verged towards the left *.

Chapter 33. 1757.

Prince Charles imagining that the attack was directed against his right wing, had reinforced that part with additional troops, and even with the corps de reserve. Even Daun himself, though more cautious, mistook this evolution for a retreat, and said to prince Charles, "the Prussians are retiring, let them go†." But the King occupying with the hussars the heights stretching before the camp of prince Charles, was enabled to observe the movements of the enemy, while he concealed his own, and his army had already gained the left flank of the Austrians before they were undeceived. Prince Charles now in vain attempts to reinforce his left wing; and Nadasti, who commanded that part of the army, after charging the Prussian cavalry with great spirit, gave way, and left the infantry exposed, and the Prussians carried the villages of Sagschutz and Striegwitz. The Austrian generals endeavoured to form a line parallel to the

* The King seems to have derived the idea of this fine manœuvre from that of Epaminondas, at the battle of Leuctra, and he had rendered it familiar to his troops by frequent practice. In the language of his tactics he thus describes it:— "Les colonnes qui etoient dans l'ordre du diploiement furent renversées, on les mit sur deux lignes, et les pelotons, par quart de conversion, se mirent à defiler par la droite. Le Roy," he continues, "avec les housards côtoya la marche de son armée sur une chaine de tertres qui cachoit à l'ennemi les mouvemens qui se faisoient derriere: et se trouvant entre les deux armées il observoit celle des Autrichiens et dirigeoit la marche de la sienne." — Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 237.

† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 238.

Prussians,

Chapter 33. 1757.

Prussians, but were prevented by the artillery, which was placed on the heights commanding their position. They repeatedly rallied the troops, and disputed the ground with great obstinacy; although the new regiments led up to replace those who were repulsed, were broken by the impetuous and uninterrupted attack of the Prussians. They then made a desperate stand in the village of Leuthen, where they concentrated their efforts; and as the place was strengthened with entrenchments, and the houses occupied by the fugitives, the post was contested with great obstinacy. The Austrians at length gave way, but rallied behind the ditches, with which the ground was intersected, when a part of the Prussian cavalry bursting on their right, threw them into irrecoverable confusion; whole battalions were killed or made prisoners, and the remainder fled with precipitation over the bridges of the Schweidnitz.

Seven thousand were killed and wounded, 20,000, with three generals, made prisoners, and 134 pieces of cannon, and 59 colours, with the whole baggage and military chest, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the side of the Prussians the whole loss did not exceed 5,000 men in killed and wounded. Breslau capitulated on the 10th, and 17,635 soldiers, 686 officers, and 13 generals, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Liguitz soon afterwards fell into the hands of the enemy, and Schweidnitz, the only fortress which was held by the Austrians, was blockaded by the victorious troops*. Thus by one imprudent action Maria Theresa lost 50,000 men, and what was of still greater consequence, the troops lost their confidence in their own bravery and numbers, which had been the cause of their late successes, and which it required all the prudence of Daun to restore.

The campaign was finally unsuccessful on the part of the allies. The Russian forces, soon after their victory at Jagersdorf, suddenly

* Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 131—Œuvres Posthumes, ch. 6—Archenholz, p. 70—Warnery, p. 239—Tempelhoff, in Military Miscellany—Daun's Leben. p. 167—Muller.

quitted

quitted all their conquests, except Memel, and retired beyond the frontiers. The Prussians, delivered from this enemy, directed their efforts against the Swedes, and not only drove them from Prussian Pomerania, but forced them to take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund. Chapter 33. 1757.

In the north of Germany also, the confederates suffered a sad reverse. On the victory of Rosbach, Richelieu hastily quitted Magdeburgh, and fell back into the Electorate of Hanover. Soon after the convention of Closter Seven, the duke of Cumberland having retired to England, the command of the British auxiliaries was consigned to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who had been educated in the school of Frederic; and the troops, animated by the victory of Rosbach, and the spirit and talents of the new general, panted for an opportunity to retrieve the honour which they had lost by the late reverses. The enormous exactions, and cruel devastations of Richelieu in the Electorate of Hanover, and his attempt to disarm the Hanoverians and Hessians, furnished a pretext to break the convention, which had never been ratified by the kings of England and France. Prince Ferdinand disregarded the commands of his brother the duke of Brunswick to dismiss his troops, and by an affected compulsion afforded his nephew, the hereditary prince, an opportunity to indulge his military ardour. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel also broke off his negotiations with France, and returned to his engagements with England and Prussia. The troops were accordingly again collected at Stade, and being reinforced by a body of Prussians, took the field with redoubled ardour, and drove the French from the duchy of Luxemburgh and part of the dominions of Brunswick; but the lateness of the season prevented them from prosecuting their success, and both armies retired into winter quarters, the French into the Electorate, and the auxiliaries into the duchy of Lunenburgh*. December.

* Operations of the allied army under the command of prince Ferdinand.

Chapter 33. 1757.

Thus terminated this bloody and singular campaign, memorable perhaps beyond any preceding period in the records of time, for the number of great and important actions, the stupendous exertions of military skill, the variety of events, and wonderful revolutions of fortune. The Austrians at first baffled, and overborne by the skill and energy of Frederic, seemed sunk beyond all hopes of recovery, and at the moment of their lowest depression, rose to a height of success surpassing their most sanguine expectations. Forty thousand Hanoverians and auxiliaries were reduced to a state of inaction, and only not prisoners of war; the French masters of all the country between the Weser and the Elbe; the king of Prussia totally defeated, his army hemmed in by a force six times their number; Silesia, the purchase of so much blood and treasure, wrested from him; his country invaded on every side, and his capital laid under contribution. But at the very moment of his seemingly inevitable downfall, the transcendent genius of Frederic effected a stupendous change in his fortune; the power of the French was humbled by a single effort; the Hanoverians, inspired by his success, resumed their arms; the Russians, though victorious, retreated as if vanquished; the Swedes were driven from all their conquests, and their country invaded; the Austrian army almost annihilated; and 17,000 men, the scanty and discomfited remains of 100,000, pursued by the victorious enemy into the heart of the hereditary dominions.

The army of Maria Theresa was to be new modelled, disciplined, and exercised, and again supplied with baggage, arms, and military stores. The enormous expence was severely felt by the Empress-queen, who had drained her treasures for the preceding campaign, and had recently remitted considerable sums to St. Petersburgh, to obtain the cooperation of the empress Elizabeth. She was no longer assisted by the zeal and riches of England; the cause of the king of Prussia was more popular than that of the House of Austria at the commencement of the former war, and the British subsidies had been lavished with still greater profusion on her rival. An offensive and defensive treaty was concluded between the courts

of London and Berlin, and to the king of Prussia was assigned an annual subsidy of 650,000*l.* almost double the sum which Maria Theresa had received at the time of her greatest distress. The weak and motley administration of England had also undergone an essential change. The unsuccessful conduct of the war, and the loss of Minorca, had agitated the minds and roused the indignation of all orders of men: a grand combination was formed; the duke of Newcastle driven from the helm; and the King, unable to resist the voice of the nation, was compelled to confer on Mr. Pitt the seals of secretary of state. But this arrangement was of temporary duration; Mr. Pitt opposed the continental measures, and disgusted the duke of Cumberland, who possessed great influence over his father; he and his friends were accordingly dismissed, but the King was unable to form a new administration, and the country remained two months without an efficient ministry. At length the clamours of the people, and the critical situation of affairs, occasioned an union between the party of the prince of Wales, the duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pitt; the duke was replaced at the head of the treasury, and Mr. Pitt resumed the seals with the uncontrouled direction of the war. Possessing the confidence of the people, he conciliated the King by supporting his continental measures, and infused into the cabinet a spirit and vigour adequate to the exigency of the times; all parties rallied under his standard, British troops were assembled to reinforce the army of Hanover, and he was enabled to realize his proud vaunt that America should be conquered in Germany.

Chapter 33. 1757.

April 5.

CHAPTER 34.

1758.

Operations of the French and Prince Ferdinand—Success of the Russians—Capture of Schweidnitz, and Irruption of the King of Prussia into Moravia—Siege and Relief of Olmutz—Project of Daun for the Recovery of Saxony—Battle of Zorndorf—Return of the King into Lusatia—Siege of Neiss—Surprise of Hockircken—Second Attempt of Daun to recover Saxony—The Armies retire into Winter Quarters—Characters of Lacy and Loudon.

Chapter 34. 1758.

ON the side of Westphalia the campaign was opened in the beginning of February. The count de Clermont, who had succeeded to the command of the army, found the troops in the greatest disorder, confusion, and dismay. The presence of a new general, however, did not produce any favourable change, and in less than a month prince Ferdinand, assisted by a reinforcement of Prussians under prince Henry, drove the French from their conquests, and compelled them, with the loss of 10,000 men, to recross the Rhine; but, unable to prosecute his advantages for want of cavalry, he established his head quarters at Munster, and cantoned his troops in
April 1. the vicinity*.

In May he was enabled to resume offensive operations, and crossing
June 23. the Rhine below Emerick, defeated the French at Crevelt; the hereditary prince of Brunswick took Ruremonde, his irregulars made incursions even to the gates of Brussels, and Dusseldorf was captured
July 23. after a siege of only six days. In consequence of this ill success, Clermont was removed, and the command given to Contades. While the new general was strengthening his army by reinforcements from the

* Operations of the allied army under prince Ferdinand.

contiguous

contiguous provinces of France, he dispatched Soubise with 30,000 men to make a diversion on the side of Hesse Cassel, who, after defeating 7,000 Hessians under the prince of Ysenburgh at Songershausen, overran the Landgraviate, and recovered the southern part of the Electorate of Hanover. This diversion compelled prince Ferdinand to repass the Rhine, which he effected without loss, though closely followed by Contades. He was joined in a few days by 12,000 English, under the duke of Marlborough, and though still inferior in numbers, reduced Contades to inactivity, and recovered his superiority in Hanover and Hesse Cassel. At the close of the campaign, Soubise evacuated his conquests to take up winter quarters between the Maine and the Rhine; Contades distributed his troops between the Rhine and the Macs, and prince Ferdinand occupied Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and fixed his head quarters at Munster*.

July 23.

In consequence of the ill success of the French at the commencement of the campaign, Maria Theresa did not derive the expected assistance from her new ally, and turned her views to the Russians, who had opened the year with considerable advantages. In January general Fermor took possession of Koningsberg, and before the end of the month had overrun all Prussia, and was preparing to penetrate through the Electorate of Brandenburgh, and join the Austrians in Silesia or Saxony. But although the court of Vienna had made the most vigorous preparations to repair the losses of the preceding campaign, their funds were insufficient to replace the necessary stores and equipments; their troops were thinned by a dreadful sickness, derived from their fatigues and sufferings; and an efficient force was not brought into the field before the beginning of April.

On the other hand the king of Prussia, assisted by the money of England, and his own wonderful resources, had already commenced the campaign. After taking Schweidnitz, which had been blockaded

April 16.

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom iii. p. 273—284.—Operations of the army under prince Ferdinand.

the

Chapter 34. 1758.

the whole winter, he suddenly directed his march into Moravia, and invested Olmutz. The siege of this place, which was defended by a garrison of 8,000 men, was a fortunate event for the House of Austria. From its marshy situation and extent it could not be easily invested; and its distance from the Prussian magazines, rendered the passage of convoys, through a mountainous country, extremely precarious and difficult. The operations of the siege were also unskilfully conducted, for by opening the first parallel at too great a distance, the Prussian batteries consumed their ammunition with little effect, and notwithstanding a continual fire for several days, the artillery of the place remained in full activity.

Prince Charles having resigned in consequence of the ill success of the preceding campaign, Daun, to whom the sole management of the war was intrusted, skilfully availed himself of the errors of his great antagonist; he had time to assemble 50,000 men, but as they were principally recruits, he judiciously avoided an action, by encamping at Leutomischel, fifty miles from Olmutz, from whence he encouraged the garrison by continual succours, while his numerous light troops kept the Prussians in continual alarm. Having inured his soldiers to the sight of the enemy, he covered his operations by a cloud of irregulars, and breaking up his camp, advanced to Ivanovitz. Alarming the king with various movements, as if inclined to risk a battle for the deliverance of Olmutz, he sent generals Loudon and Ziskowitz to intercept a convoy of 3,000 waggons by Troppau, from Silesia, without which the operations of the siege could not be continued. The two generals ably seconded the judicious plan of the commander; they attacked, dispersed, and destroyed the convoy, though protected by 12,000 men, and only 250 waggons reached their place of destination. In consequence of this loss the king raised the siege, and rapidly marching through Bohemia, succeeded in conveying his heavy artillery, with the sick and wounded to Glatz, and proceeded himself to Landshut.

Daun pursued the Prussians; but instead of following the King into Silesia, where he expected to encounter great obstacles, from the numerous

merous fortresses, and the disposition of the people, he turned his views towards Saxony, which was covered by prince Henry with only 20,000 men; the re-conquest of which country would deprive Frederic of his principal resources, and open the defenceless part of his hereditary dominions. His hopes of success were justified by the posture of affairs; the army of the empire under the prince of Deux-Ponts had already forced prince Henry to retire towards Dresden; and the Russians had penetrated into the Marc of Brandenburgh, and laid siege to Custrin. Daun therefore leaving general Harsch with 20,000 men as a corps of observation on the frontiers of Silesia, moved through Lusatia; and dispatching Loudon towards Francfort on the Oder, wrote to general Fermor, urging him to avoid a battle with so artful an enemy, till the grand blow was struck in Saxony *. He then made preparations to cross the Elbe at Pilnitz, and fall on the rear of prince Henry, who was encamped at Gamig, near Dresden. The recovery of Saxony seemed now certain; but at this critical moment, the rapid advance of the King frustrated the judicious measures of the Austrian commander. Chapter 34. 1758.

After his masterly retreat from Olmutz, Frederic, leaving the margrave Charles to cover Silesia, marched with 20,000 men against the Russians, who were besieging Custrin, and were only opposed by count Dohna with an inconsiderable force. Having in twenty days traversed two hundred and seventy miles, he joined Dohna in the vicinity of Custrin, at the time when the town was almost reduced to ashes. Crossing the Oder eight miles below Custrin, he advanced towards the Russians, compelled Fermor to raise the siege, attacked him near the village of Zorndorf, and, after a desperate engagement, gained a decisive victory, which obliged the Russians to retreat towards the frontiers of Poland, with the loss of 19,000 men. Aug. 12. Aug. 25.

* This letter was intercepted; and, after the battle of Zorndorf, sent back by the king of Prussia, with this note:

"Vous avez eu raison d'avertir le général Fermor, d'etre sur ses gardes, contre un ennemi fin et rusé que vous connoissez mieux; car il a tenu ferme, et il a été battu." Muller, p. 53, note.

Leaving

Chapter 34. 1758.

Leaving Dohna with a small corps to watch the motions of the enemy, Frederic returned with the same rapidity, was joined at Grossenhayn by a corps from Silesia under marshal Keith, and on the 12th, encamped near Reichenberg, where he opened a communication with prince Henry. Having extricated his brother, his great object was to relieve Neiss, which was besieged by general Harsch, either by forcing marshal Daun to an engagement, or by advancing before him into Silesia. With this view he broke up his camp, and took the position of Schoenfield, opposite to that of Daun, who occupied the strong post of Stolpen. The Austrian commander, however, carefully avoided an engagement; and when Frederic turned his flank, removed to the neighbourhood of Liebau, and again blocked up the road to Silesia; his right rested on the Stromberg, his center stretched along a chain of commanding heights, and his left reached the wood which commences near Jauernig; at the same time his reserve, under the prince of Durlach, occupied Reichenbach, which lay at a distance behind his right wing.

In consequence of this movement, Frederic dispatched a corps to occupy Weissenberg, and encamped on the heights within three miles of the Austrians. His center stretched from Hochkirchen, as far as Radewitz, from whence the left, forming an angle, extended to Kitlitz near Weissenberg; the right, forming a similar angle on the opposite side, occupied a ridge of commanding heights, surmounted by the village of Hochkirchen, and separated by a narrow valley from the woods which covered the left of the Austrian camp. This valley was watered by a rivulet, and the passage obstructed by numerous fish-ponds, the dams of which were commanded by the Prussian batteries. Hochkirchen, the most elevated ground, was defended by six battalions, and a battery of fifteen pieces of cannon; and at the foot of the height a battalion was posted in a mill and some cottages to guard the passage of the rivulet, which ran along the front, and separated the two armies. But, as the Austrian irregulars under Loudon occupied the woody heights which flanked the right of the camp,

camp, and as the troops posted on the Stromberg threatened the Prussian detachment at Weissenberg, the position appeared so untenable with an inferior force, that marshal Keith remarked to the King, " The Austrians deserve to be hanged if they suffer us to remain quiet in this post."—" True," replied Frederic, presumptuous from his late successes, " but I hope they fear us more than the halter *."

This overweening confidence seems to have rendered him negligent even of common precautions; and he was further deceived by the artifices of Daun, who, by forming barricades, and strengthening his front with numerous redoubts, seemed as if anxiously employed to maintain himself on the defensive. But the Austrian commander meditated a surprise; and on the night of the 13th of October, carried his project into execution. Leaving his fires lighted, and employing troops of labourers to fell trees as if forming abbatis, he formed his army in three divisions, which were conducted by himself, by Loudon, and by the duke of Aremberg. Loudon with the irregulars reinforced by four battalions, and the whole cavalry of the left wing, was to emerge from the woods, and fall on the rear and flank of the Prussians at Hochkirchen; Daun himself led the infantry of the left, on the side of the mills; the duke of Aremberg was to augment the confusion by an attack on the Prussian left, while the prince of Baden Durlach was to force the detachment at Weissenberg.

Every thing seemed to concur in favouring the enterprise. Even at the moment when the columns were forming, the King had been induced by the representations of Seidlitz and Ziethen, and the reports of deserters, to order some brigades and squadrons under arms, but towards break of day suffered them to return to their tents. In the midst of this security, the village clock of Hochkirchen struck five, the signal for the attack. The bodies led by Daun and Loudon instantly pushed

* Archenholz, p. 103.

Chapter 34. 1758.

forward; favoured by darkness and the negligence of the outposts, they burst upon the enemy's camp, seized their batteries, and the first alarm which the Prussians received, was from the flanies of the village, and the fire from their own artillery; in the midst of the confusion the Austrians rushed into the tents, put to the sword all who were asleep or unable to escape, and, before break of day, were formed in the midst of the Prussian lines.

An army less inured to discipline than that of Frederic, would have been totally discomfited; but on the cry of alarm, the soldiers ran to arms, and were speedily formed in the best order that the circumstances of the surprise and the obscurity of the morning would permit. The King put himself at the head of three brigades, and wheeling round Hochkirchen, attempted to take his adversaries in flank, but was compelled to yield to superior numbers, and surrounded by the Austrians, was only rescued by the bravery of his hussars. His usual firmness, however, did not forsake him; he was every where present, and inspired his troops with an ardour similar to his own. He was ably seconded by marshal Keith and prince Maurice, who placing themselves at the head of some battalions, attempted to force their way through Hochkirchen, and regain their battery; but all their efforts failed of success; the marshal fell, pierced with a musket ball, and prince Maurice was dangerously wounded. Hochkirchen, however, became the scene of a desperate conflict; the Prussians, after obtaining possession of the place, were again driven out, and that important post was re-occupied by the Austrians. The King prepared to make a final effort by means of his left wing, but was prevented by the duke of Aremberg, who, with the Austrian right, had fallen on that part of his line, and made himself master of the redoubts. The important post of Hochkirchen being irretrievably lost, Frederic recalled the detachment at Weissenberg, which had already repulsed the prince of Durlach, and descended into the plain with the infantry and the remains of his baggage, covered by his cavalry. He was repeatedly charged by the Austrian cavalry, but made good his

retreat, and occupied the heights of Bautzen, scarcely two miles from the field of battle*. Chapter 34. 1758.

This battle lasted five hours; the loss on the side of the Austrians was not less than 8,000; that of the Prussians 9,000, with the greater part of their tents and baggage, 101 cannon, and 30 standards. Most of the Prussian generals were wounded; even the King himself received a slight contusion; his horse was killed under him, and two pages fell at his side. His brother-in-law, prince Francis of Brunswick, was killed in the action; but what most affected the monarch was the loss of his friend, marshal Keith, whose body being accidentally discovered by Daun in the church of Hochkirchen, was buried with military honours†. Notwithstanding this brilliant victory, Daun did not abate his characteristic caution; aware of the steadiness of the Prussian infantry, the inexhaustible resources of the King, and the rapidity of his movements, he did not attempt to pursue his advantage, and the same evening resumed his former position.

This victory filled the court of Vienna with the most lively joy, and honours and emoluments were lavished on the commander in chief. The Empress-queen expressed her grateful acknowledgments by a letter written with her own hand; a statue was erected to his honour; and the Austrian states made him a donation of 300,000 florins, to repurchase the lordship of Ladendorf, a family domain which had been sold by his father‡; the empress of Russia also testified her regard, by the present of a gold hilted sword. In consequence of these

* The King was always greatly mortified by the recollection of this masterly surprise. In the account published at the time, he affected to consider this battle as an attack of posts; and in the Histoire de la Guerre de 7 Ans, he glosses over his own negligence, makes no mention of his baggage and artillery having fallen into the hands of the enemy, and states his loss at only 3,000 men. Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 326.—The circumstances of this battle are also drawn from Lloyd, vol. ii. p. 105—Archenholz, p. 104—Warnery, p. 279—Muller—Official Account of the Austrians, in the Brussels Gazette, printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1758—Daun's Leben—Loudon's Lebens Geschichte, p. 96.

† Wraxall's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 182, where an interesting account of this incident is given.

‡ Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 158.

Chapter 34. 1758.

brilliant successes, and the favourable aspect of the Austrian affairs, the Roman pontiff renewed to Maria Theresa, and her successors, the title of apostolic king or queen of Hungary, first conferred on St. Stephen by pope Sylvester the Second, and confirmed by the council of Constance, at the request of the emperor Sigismond *.

The defeat of the Prussians at Hochkirchen, was not, however, followed by any considerable advantage. Frederic, though foiled, was still formidable; he drew prince Henry from Saxony with 7,000 men, and gaining a march on Daun, hastened by Gorlitz and Lauban towards Silesia. Daun, unable to intercept his progress, sent a detachment to harass his march, and turned towards Saxony, which was evacuated by the Prussian troops, except the garrisons; Leipsig was besieged by the army of the empire; Torgau by Haddick; and Daun himself invested Dresden. But his views were baffled by the promptitude and address of the Prussians. General Wedel having driven the Swedes from the Marc of Brandenburgh, hastened into Saxony, and relieved Torgau; at the same time count Dohna, who was equally successful against the Russians, uniting with Wedel, between Torgau and Dresden, relieved Leipsig; and the King himself having forced general Harsch to raise the siege of Neiss, left Fouquet to observe the Austrians, and returning through Lusatia, on the 13th of November, had again reached Bautzen. Daun therefore evacuated Saxony, and took up his winter quarters in Bohemia, while the army of the empire fell back into Franconia; the Russians retired into Poland and Prussia; and the Swedes to Stralsund †.

During this campaign Daun had been ably seconded by Lacy and Loudon, two foreigners of different characters and talents, who, as well at this as at subsequent periods, highly distinguished themselves in the service of the House of Austria.

Count Lacy was of Irish extraction, and son of marshal Lacy, who, in conjunction with Munich, commanded with such distinguished

* Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 144. Muratori, anno 1758, tom. xiii. p. 73.

† The account of this campaign is drawn from the Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 135—143.—Leben Daun's, b. 8. —Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 211—Lloyd—Muller—Archenholz, p. 78—146—Warnery, p. 261—287.

success

success the Russian armies against the Turks in the reign of the empress Anne. He was born in 1718, and, after a polished education, learned the art of war in the great school of marshal Munich. At the accession of Maria Theresa he entered the Austrian service, and by his behaviour, talents, and courage, acquired the esteem of his commanders, and rose rapidly to the rank of colonel. His acquaintance with the theory of war and skill in tactics, together with his activity and vigilance, recommended him to the notice of Daun; and he improved the good opinion of his general, by his courtier-like behaviour and fascinating manners. From the rank of colonel, which he held at the commencement of the septennial war, he soon rose to that of major-general, and owed his elevation to the protection and friendship of Daun, who consulted him on every occasion, and employed him in the execution of the most important and delicate measures. Though he was animated with a spirit of enterprise, and frequently urged Daun to acts of vigour and decision, yet he possessed equal coolness and presence of mind; his ardour never exceeded the bounds of prudence, nor hurried him into attempts which might incur the censures of his cautious patron. He was singularly useful in disciplining the troops, and superintending the manœuvres, of which Daun was the inventor; he was a strict friend to order, and introduced an extraordinary degree of œconomy in every branch of the military department*.

Chapter 34. 1758.

Gideon Ernest Loudon, supposed to be descended from a noble family of the county of Ayr, in Scotland, which in the fourteenth century settled in Livonia, was born at Tootzen, in 1716; and, as soon as he was capable of bearing arms, entered into the Russian service. He was present at the siege of Dantzic; and, in 1734, served in the army sent by the empress Anne towards the Low Countries. But on the signature of the preliminaries, the troops, which had advanced as far as the Rhine, were marched to the banks of the Dnieper, against

* The character of Lacy, drawn by Mr. Wraxall, in his Memoirs, vol. II. 333, is extremely just and accurate.

the

Chapter 34. 1758.

the Turks and Tartars, who had made an irruption into the southern provinces of Russia. During the campaigns from 1736 to 1739, Loudon served under marshal Munich, and raised himself from the rank of cadet to that of first lieutenant. After the peace he quitted Russia, with an intention of entering into the Austrian army; but in his way through Berlin, was persuaded by some officers, with whom he had served in the Turkish campaigns, to request an audience of the king of Prussia, and to solicit the rank of captain. On being presented, Frederic contemptuously turned away, and said to his suite, 'That man's physiognomy does not please me;' but the King had reason to repent this refusal, and the candour to avow his regret.

Repulsed at Berlin, Loudon obtained letters of recommendation from the Imperial embassador, and went, in 1742, to Vienna. While he was in the anti-chamber, a person accosting him, inquired his name and business; Loudon having mentioned his name, and explained his business, the stranger complacently offered his assistance, and passed directly into the cabinet. In a few moments he was summoned, and observed in his unknown protector, the husband of Maria Theresa. Under such favourable auspices, his request was granted; and he obtained a company in the Sclavonian free corps of Pandours, raised by Trenck, who had known Loudon in Russia, and was well pleased to retain under him so gallant an officer. In 1744, when prince Charles of Loraine forced his celebrated passage over the Rhine, Loudon led his company in the foremost boat, and first landed on French ground. In a subsequent skirmish, a musket-ball penetrated his right breast, the only wound which he ever received; he fell, was taken prisoner, and conveyed to a neighbouring village. A few days afterwards the Austrian army advanced, the Pandours drove out the enemy, Loudon was restored to liberty, and had the satisfaction of saving from pillage the house of the peasant, where he had been placed, and by whom he had been benevolently treated. At the peace, Trenck's regiment being disbanded, Loudon with difficulty obtained the rank of major in a frontier

frontier regiment, and was quartered in Croatia till the septennial war, when his enterprising spirit induced him to repair to Vienna, and solicit employment; but not having obtained leave of absence, he was on the point of being reprimanded, and sent back to Croatia, when he fortunately obtained the patronage of prince Kaunitz, through whose recommendation he was dispatched into Bohemia, at the head of 800 Croats. He joined the army under marshal Brown, soon after the battle of Lowositz, and in the retreat escaped alone, out of 100 grenadiers, who were cut to pieces by the Prussian hussars*. During the remainder of the campaign, he acquired, by his unwearied activity and prudence, the love of the troops, and the confidence of the commander in chief. Chapter 34. 1758.

In February 1757, a design being planned to seize the small fortress of Hirschfeldt, Loudon, who was dispatched with 300 Croats to make a false attack, forced his way into the place; but the main body being repulsed, he retreated in order, with two pieces of cannon, the first which had for some time been taken from the Prussians. This action was the forerunner of his great reputation, and raised him to the rank of colonel. During the blockade of Prague, Loudon was foremost in various sallies, and continuing to distinguish himself at the head of the Croats, was intrusted with the command of 4,000 light horse, and appointed major-general; the patent which conferred this rank, falling into the hands of some Prussian hussars, Frederic dispatched a trumpet with it, and expressed his satisfaction in being instrumental in the promotion of so gallant an officer. In April 1758, Loudon received the military order of Maria Theresa, and was the most active officer in the army. He greatly assisted in cutting off the Prussian convoy, which occasioned the delivery of Olmutz; he planned the surprise of Hochkirchen; and Daun, in his letter, announcing this victory to the Empress-queen, candidly attributed the success to the steadiness of the infantry, and the manœuvres of the Croats under Loudon; for this service he was promoted to a still higher rank, and, in 1759, he was intrusted with

* Warnery, p. 57.

the

Chapter 34. 1758.

the command of a separate army, to act in conjunction with the Russians*.

Unlike Lacy, Loudon was of a shy, reserved, and unassuming character. Plain and unpolished in his appearance, cold and awkward in his address, he was seldom animated, except in the field of battle. Long accustomed to lead irregular troops, he was often enterprising even to rashness, and was more calculated for measures which required a rapid and vigorous execution, than for directing the complicated operations of a campaign †.

* Loudon's Lebensgeschichte.

† The reader is referred to the characters of Lacy and Loudon, drawn by Wraxall, in his Memoirs, &c. letter 12.

CHAPTER 35.

1759.

Maria Theresa warmly supported by her Allies—New Treaty of Versailles—Plan of Operations—Success of the French against Prince Ferdinand—Movements of the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians—Battle of Cunersdorf, and total Defeat of the King of Prussia—Jealousies between the Austrians and Russians—Their Junction prevented by Prince Henry—Frederic recovers from his Defeat, and protects Lower Silesia against the Russians—Soltikof retires towards Poland—Operations in Saxony—Surrender of Dresden—Manœuvres of Marshal Daun—Defeat and Capture of the Prussians at Maxen—Winter Campaign.

Chapter 35. 1759.

MARIA THERESA saw the new year open with the most sanguine hopes of success. Her armies no longer incomplete, sickly, and dejected, were in high health and spirits; Daun had gradually inured the troops to discipline, and by his judicious operations had taught them that the enemy was not invincible; the troops placed the most implicit confidence in their commander, and panted for the opening of the campaign to add new laurels to those gained at Hochkirchen.

The cause of the house of Austria was supported by her allies with increasing zeal and vigour. The empress Elizabeth redoubled her preparations; Sweden made as great exertions as the weakness of the government would permit; the catholic states of Germany vied in pouring forth their men and treasures, and even the army of the Empire was reinforced and completed at an early period of the year beyond its usual numbers.

France above all devoted herself to the support of her antient rival, now become her closest ally. The influence of Austria was paramount in the court and cabinet; cardinal Bernis, who had presumed to ex-

Chapter 35. 1759.

press his desire to terminate the war was dismissed in disgrace; Stainville, on his return from Vienna, was created duke of Choiseul, and appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs, and had effected, in concert with the Mistress, a new treaty of alliance, which was

1758. signed with the Empress-queen on the 30th of December. In this second treaty of Versailles, France engaged to use all her efforts in procuring the restitution of Silesia and Glatz to the House of Austria; agreed to furnish the succours, either in men or money, according to the option of the Empress-queen, to pay the subsidy to Sweden which had hitherto been discharged conjointly with Austria, and to maintain during the whole war 100,000 troops in Germany against the king of Prussia. She also guarantied to the House of Austria all the conquests from the Prussian territories on the Lower Rhine, and promised to concur in raising the archduke Joseph to the dignity of king of the Romans, and to assist in concluding a marriage between one of the archdukes and the princess of Modena. In return Maria Theresa confirmed the cession of Ostend and Nieuport during the war, and renounced her right to the eventual succession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, as stipulated by the peace of Aix la Chapelle.

Confident in the assistance of their allies, and elated by their recent success, the court of Vienna even ventured to issue a conclusum of the Aulic Council, threatening the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and the other adherents of the king of Prussia, with the ban of the Empire, if they did not abandon his alliance, dismiss their armies, and supply their contingents of men and money according to the decree of the Diet *.

The plan of military operations was to keep the king in check on the side of Bohemia, while the Russians crushed the feeble army of count Dohna, and, uniting with a corps of Austrians, overran the Marc of Brandenburgh. They were to be joined by the French, who, after overpowering prince Ferdinand, were to direct their force on the side of Magdeburgh, and cooperate in the conquest of the Prussian dominions.

* Oeuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. ch. 9.

Early

Early in the year Frederic and his allies were successful in various expeditions against the Austrian, French, and Russian magazines; and prince Ferdinand being reinforced by a body of English troops, attacked the French at Bergen near Frankfort, but was repulsed with considerable loss. These enterprises, however, only retarded the operations of the Austrians and their allies. The French under Contades passed the Rhine at Cologne in the beginning of May, united with a corps under Broglio at Giessen, overran Hesse, occupied Cassel and Minden, where they seized considerable magazines; while another corps, formed on the side of Wesel, burst into the bishopric of Munster, and took the capital with a garrison of 4,000 men *. Chapter 35. 1759. July 10—16. July 25.

In consequence of his resolution not to act on the offensive until the approach of the Russians, Daun did not take the field till the beginning of May. Encamping between Schatz and Jaromitz in Bohemia, he continued seven weeks watching the motions of the king of Prussia, whose principal force was concentrated near Landshut; but on the advance of the Russians towards the Oder, he moved into Lusatia, and encamped at Mark Lissa, and the king retired to Schmuesseifen in the vicinity of Lauenburgh. No obstacle now seemed capable of retarding the long-expected junction of the Austrians and Russians. The Prussian forces were scattered in Saxony, Silesia, and on the Oder, and on every point overawed by superior armies: De Ville with 20,000 Austrians, threatened to penetrate into Silesia by the defiles of Landshut, which were guarded by only 10,000 Prussians under Fouquet; Daun at the head of 70,000 men, hovering on the Frontiers of Lusatia and Lower Silesia, was opposed by the king with only 40,000; on the side of Saxony prince Henry was reduced to the defensive against the army of the Empire, while Dohna, with less than 20,000 men, covered the Marc of Brandenburgh against 70,000 Russians under Soltikof.

In June the Russians drove back the corps of Dohna, totally defeated them at Zullichau under Wedel who had assumed the com- July 23.

* Operations of the army under prince Ferdinand—Oeuvres Posthumes.

Chapter 35. 1759.

mand, and directed their march to Frankfort on the Oder. This success was the signal for the cooperation of the Austrians, Loudon was detached from the main army with 30,000 men, and leaving Haddick with 12,000 at Guben to cover his march, and maintain a communication with Daun hastened with the remainder, which were principally cavalry, and joined the Russians at Frankfort.

To oppose this formidable force, Frederic collected an army in the vicinity of the Oder. Leaving garrisons in Dresden, Leipsig, Torgau, and Wittemberg, to employ the army of the Empire, he drew the remainder of the troops to Sagan, and reinforced them with a detachment from Silesia. Having transferred the command in Lusatia to prince Henry, he defeated the corps of Haddick at Guben, with the loss of 2,000 men, and 500 provision waggons; on the

August 4.

4th of August was joined by Wedel, at Mulrose, crossed the Oder on the 11th, between Lebus and Custrin, and, at the head of 40,000 men, advanced to give battle to the combined Austrians and Russians, amounting to 80,000*. This extraordinary march, and his unparalleled exertions to bring on an engagement, on the issue of which his fate seemed to depend, arrested the attention of all Europe, and the combined army prepared for the conflict with a degree of precaution which their great superiority in numbers seemed to render unnecessary. They occupied the heights on the left bank of the Oder; their front † was covered by a marshy plain, intersected by rivulets and drains, and their rear and flanks by a line of formidable entrenchments, strengthened with redoubts, and stretching from a height near the village of Cunersdorf, beyond the Judenberg, or Jew's Burying-ground. The Russians were posted in the entrenchments, and the Austrian cavalry under Loudon, with the cossacs, occupied the low ground between the front and the Oder; but on the

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. ch. 10.

† In describing the position of the Austro-Russian army, I have adopted the account of the king of Prussia. To prevent misapprehension, it is necessary to apprise the reader of this circumstance, as Lloyd and other writers call the wing near Frankfort the right, and that near Cunersdorf the left.

approach

approach of the Prussians, marched to the left, and formed in a small hollow crossing the camp at the foot of the Judenberg. Chapter 35. 1759. August 12.

Early on the 12th the King attacked this formidable position. Masking his movements by means of the woods, he suddenly enveloped the right flank, and from the surrounding eminences, concentrated the fire of his artillery on the redoubts and intrenchments. This fire soon rendered the intrenchments untenable, and the Prussians advancing, stormed the redoubts without much difficulty, took the Russians in flank, drove them with a dreadful slaughter beyond the village of Cunersdorf, and made themselves masters of 180 pieces of artillery. Still, however, the Austrian and Russian troops on the left continued firm, and forming several lines behind each other, were protected by their artillery placed on the Judenberg.

Under these circumstances, Seidlitz, and most of the other Prussian generals, exhorted the King to be satisfied with his advantage, which must compel the combined forces to retire during the night; they urged him to spare his troops, exhausted with the fatigues of an action which had already lasted seven hours, and burning with thirst from their march over a sandy soil, in an intense heat. Frederic paused for a moment, but was soon impelled by his natural ardour to pursue his success against an enemy almost defeated, and once more put his fortune to the stake. Animated by the example of their sovereign, the troops again advanced: the cavalry, in particular, attempted to break through the intrenchments near the Judenberg, but were repulsed with considerable loss, and Seidlitz himself wounded. The Russians, however, panic-struck with the impetuosity of the charge, abandoned their battery on the Judenberg, and the Prussian infantry instantly moved forwards to seize the height, which would have decided the fortune of the day. At this critical moment Loudon, with his Austrians, rushed to the battery, and turned the cannon, loaded with grape shot, on the Prussians, who were advanced within a hundred and fifty paces. This unexpected discharge mowed down whole ranks; the Prussians repeated their desperate attack, but in vain; exhausted by the incessant fatigue of the action, and thrown into confusion

Chapter 35. 1759.

fusion by the destructive fire of the artillery, they began to give way. Loudon instantly burst upon them at the head of his cavalry, threw them into irreparable disorder, and in a few minutes these troops, already victorious, were totally dispersed and defeated.

Frederic, with a few pieces of cannon and a single regiment, exposed his person to protect the retreat of his troops; two horses were killed under him; his clothes were pierced with musket-balls; he received a slight contusion, and was only rescued by the exertions of the hussars. Favoured by the approach of night, he succeeded in saving the remnant of his army, and again took post on the same ground * which he had occupied before the engagement, with scarcely more than 1,000 men. During the action general Wunsch, with a detachment of Prussians, had crossed the Oder, and made himself master of Frankfort, with a view to intercept the retreat of the combined forces; but on the defeat of the King, he abandoned his conquest.

In describing this battle Frederic feelingly observes, "Qu'on voie à quoi tiennent les victoires!" He himself was so confident of success, that in the middle of the action he wrote a billet to the Queen:—"We have driven the Russians from their intrenchments; in two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory!" But at the conclusion of the engagement, he sent another dispatch:—"Remove from Berlin with the Royal Family; let the archives be carried to Potsdam, and the capital make conditions with the enemy." He lost in this desperate conflict 20,000 of his bravest troops, with all his artillery, and most of his generals were wounded; but the allied army had little reason to exult in their success, for not less than 24,000 men were killed and wounded, and Soltikof declared, that on such another

* A Prussian officer, who was present in the action, thus describes the situation of the King early the ensuing morning:—"I saw the King the next morning stretched upon a little straw, reposing among the ruins of a farm-house, in the village of Oetcher, which had been destroyed by the cossacs. He slept with as much soundness and tranquillity, as if he had been secure from all dangers; his hat partly covered his face; his drawn sword lay by his side; and two adjutants were snoring at his feet—a single sentinel mounted guard."

victory, he must go alone, with his truncheon in his hand, to carry the news to St. Petersburgh*. As this loss fell almost entirely on the Russians, and as the Austrians gained the chief honour of the victory, without suffering from the heat of the action, the Russians were inflamed almost to madness, threatened to put Loudon to death, and he escaped the effects of this sudden frenzy, by not making his appearance till their fury had subsided. Chapter 35. 1759.

This misunderstanding saved the hero of the House of Brandenburgh, who, after his prodigious exertions to raise the army which had just experienced so terrible a defeat, was now almost a fugitive. In vain Loudon pressed Soltikof to pursue the enemy, and offered to bring the King prisoner within three days; the Russian general could not be roused to exertion, and suffered the decisive moment to escape. The representations of Daun were attended with no better success; and Soltikof replied, "I have gained two battles, with the loss of 27,000 men; I now expect two victories from you, as it is not just that the troops of my sovereign should act alone."

While the King had turned his efforts against the Russians, the army of the Empire overran Saxony, took possession of Torgau, Wittemberg, and Leipsig, and invested Dresden. Haddick had joined the victorious army at Frankfort, and Daun moving to Triebel, had cut off the communication between prince Henry and the King. A temporary reconciliation also was effected between the Austrians and Russians; and Daun, in a conference with Soltikof at Guben, settled a plan for future operations: the Russians were to remain in the marc of Brandenburgh, on the left bank of the Oder, and to be supplied with forage and provisions; and on the capture of Dresden, which was on the point of surrendering, the two armies

* Many singular and erroneous accounts have been given of this engagement, which cannot be reconciled with the nature of the ground. I have endeavoured to form an accurate description, by comparing the official accounts on both sides—Œuvres Posthumes—Lloyd—Tempelhoff—Warnery—Gestaendnisse eines Œsterreichisches Veterans, quoted by Heinrich—Archenholz—Loudon's Leben.

were

Chapter 35. 1759.

were to cooperate in the recovery of Silesia. But it was now too late: the inactivity of the Russians after the battle of Cunersdorf, had given the king time to recover from his dreadful discomfiture; and he rose like the hydra with new strength from his defeat. He collected his scattered forces; recalled General Kleist, with 5,000 men, from Pomerania; and supplied the loss of his artillery from his fortresses. In a few days he was again at the head of 28,000 men, covered his capital and Brandenburgh, and even sent a detachment under general Wunsch to restore his affairs in Saxony.

Daun had scarcely opened a communication with Soltikof, when prince Henry marched to Goerlitz in his rear, compelled the detachment under De Ville to retire, and sending parties into Bohemia, destroyed the Austrian magazines at Boehmisch-friedland and Gabel. In consequence of this masterly manœuvre, Daun retired to Bautzen, to draw his supplies from Dresden, which had recently surrendered. The Russians being thus disappointed in their intended junction with the Austrians, attempted to penetrate into Lower Silesia; but were anticipated by the King, who rapidly marching through Sagan,

Sept. 24. took post at Neustadtel, and covered that country. Meanwhile Daun approached Goerlitz, with a view to attack prince Henry; but was baffled by that able general, who, during the night, made a retrograde march to Rothemberg, as if returning to Silesia, then changing his route, cut off an Austrian detachment at Hoyers-

Sept. 25. werda, and directing his march by Esterwalda crossed the Elbe, at Torgau.

These movements deranged the plan of operations concerted between Daun and Soltikof; the Russians had already begun to experience great want of provisions, and the court of Vienna, unable from the destruction of their magazines, to provide for the wants of their own army, offered an equivalent in money; but Soltikof laconically replied, "My soldiers cannot eat gold." After some ineffectual attempts to penetrate into Silesia, they continued their march towards Poland, and Loudon retired with his corps to Olmutz. From these disappoint-

disappointments Daun relinquished his designs on Silesia and Brandenburgh, and turned all his views to the affairs of Saxony. Chapter 35. 1759.

The army of the Empire, assisted by an Austrian force under general Guasco, had invested Dresden on the 9th of August; they had however neither made approaches nor erected batteries, and notwithstanding a close blockade, general Schmettau the Prussian commandant, held out with great perseverance. General Wunsch was rapidly advancing to the relief of the place, and had arrived within two German miles of Dresden, when Schmettau capitulated, after a blockade of twenty-seven days. The garrison were allowed to depart with the honours of war, and to retain the military chest, containing 5,000,000 crowns, with the baggage, artillery, ammunition, pontoons and waggons; but the Austrians secured considerable magazines of provisions, which enabled them to maintain themselves in Saxony. Wunsch, disappointed in his endeavour to relieve the place, retired towards Torgau, where he defeated the army of the Empire, though four times superior in number, and made himself master of Wittemberg and Leipzig *. In consequence of this success, general Fink was dispatched by the King with a more considerable corps, and their united forces again advanced towards Dresden.

This reverse of circumstances drew Haddick from Lusatia; he passed the Elbe at Dresden, and, joining the army of the Empire, attacked the Prussians, but was repulsed with considerable loss; and prince Henry arriving with his whole army at Torgau, the Prussian forces soon afterwards joined at Stroehlen, and threatened Dresden. Oct. 4. In consequence of these movements, Daun marched into Saxony, passed the Elbe at Dresden, compelled the Prince to fall back, and took post at Belgern. With a view to turn the position of the Prussians, he detached the duke of Aremberg with a considerable force to Domitsch, but this corps being defeated with the loss of 1,500 men, and general Hulsen arriving with the army of the King, he fell back to Dresden, and encamped at Plauen. Frederic, who had been detained by

* Warnery, p. 307.—Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. p. 44.

Chapter 35. 1759.

illness at Glogau, having joined his army, with the hopes of forcing the Austrians to abandon Dresden, intercepted their convoys, made irruptions into Bohemia, and even detached general Fink, with a considerable corps, to occupy Maxen in their rear, and general Dielke with 3,000 men to take post on the Elbe. By these bold movements the Imperial army was prevented from entering into cantonments, straitened for forage, and Bohemia opened to the incursions of the enemy. In this situation Daun formed the bold plan of surprising the Prussian corps at Maxen, and conducted this delicate enterprise with equal judgment, celerity, and secrecy. Fink had no sooner taken post in the rear of the Austrians, than general Sincere was sent with a few regiments to watch his motions; and during the following days, detachments to the number of 40,000 men were drawn out to attack him in front, flank, and rear. Daun himself proceeded to Dippoldiswalda, from whence the main body of the Prussians had retired to the heights of Maxen; he reconnoitred their position, and arranged the different points of attack. After ordering the corps at Dippoldiswalda to march towards Reinhardsgrimma, he returned to Plauen to observe the motions of the King, and make the necessary dispositions, should Frederic discover the enterprise, and attack his camp, weakened by half its number. Observing, however, no symptom of alarm or preparation, he departed in the middle of the night, and rejoined the troops at break of day, as they were preparing for their march. His presence was highly necessary, as many of his officers were alarmed by the difficulties of the ground, and by a frost, accompanied with sleet, which rendered the steep ascents almost impracticable for the conveyance of cannon, or the march of cavalry. Having ordered the roads to be reconnoitred, Daun persisted in his enterprise, drove in the advanced post of the enemy at Reinhardsgrimma with little opposition, penetrated through a thick wood, and occupied the heights, commanding the Prussian camp, with formidable batteries; at the same time a body of light troops, passing by Rohrsdorf, came in their rear, and the corps at Dohna was attacked by the troops of the Empire.

The success of these manœuvres being facilitated by the unskilful dispositions of the Prussian commander, the well-directed fire of the artillery, and the impetuous attack of the Austrian grenadiers, overbore all resistance. The Prussians quitted the heights, and retired towards Bloschwitz, with the resolution to cut their way through the enemy; the approach of night suspended the engagement; but the Austrian general deprived them of all hopes of escape by occupying the surrounding defiles; and in the morning they surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on the condition of preserving their baggage. Thus the Austrians took 549 officers, including 17 generals, 14,900 men, and 17 pieces of cannon; and what rendered this action more remarkable, few of either side fell on the field of battle, notwithstanding the impetuosity of the attack, and the resistance of the Prussians. Chapter 35. 1759.

So masterly were the dispositions, so secret was the enterprise, and so completely was the communication with Fink intercepted, that the King was unapprised of the danger till it was too late; and Hulsen, who was detached to favour his retreat, arrived only to be informed of his capitulation. The corps also under general Dielke being greatly exposed on the surrender of Fink, attempted to recross the Elbe; but as they had removed their bridge in consequence of the frost, they endeavoured to effect the passage in boats; in this situation they were attacked, and 1,500 men with the commander made prisoners. Daun, however, was not too much elated by these advantages to neglect his usual precaution: he presented himself before the Prussian camp thus weakened and discouraged by the loss of 20,000 men; but perceiving the King still formidable, he declined an engagement, and returned to Plauen, where he was able to succour Dresden if attacked, and to maintain his communication with Bohemia.

Unfortunately the French, after a series of successes, experienced a fatal reverse at Minden, and prince Ferdinand was enabled to send a reinforcement of 12,000 men to the King, which joined him at Freyberg Aug. 1.

Chapter 35. 1759.

in the beginning of December, and supplied the loss experienced at Maxen.

Leaving this body behind the Mulda to protect his rear, the King made a final attempt to draw the Austrians from Dresden, by turning their flank, and gaining Dippoldiswalda. But Daun having reinforced that post, he dismissed the succour furnished by prince Ferdinand, left his tents standing in the camp at Wilsdruf, and cantoned his troops in the neighbouring villages, watching the moment when Daun should retire into winter quarters, to seize Dresden. The Austrian commander, however, maintaining his post with equal perseverance, followed the example of the King, and both parties vied in braving the rigour of the severest winter which had been long felt in Germany.

The loss experienced by both armies during this dreadful close of an arduous campaign may be easily conceived from the description of a Prussian officer, who was an eye-witness: "The winter was uncommonly severe, and the snow for several weeks covered the ground to the height of the knee. The army was distributed in the small towns and villages, and the troops were so straitened that a part only could shelter themselves under a roof: the houses were occupied by the officers, and the men dwelt in temporary cabins, lying about their fires day and night like a horde of Tartars. They employed the whole day in cutting and conveying fuel from a considerable distance; and from the extreme scarcity of provisons the soldiers were reduced to bread alone, of which they made a kind of soup with water.

"In addition to these hardships they were still further harassed in guarding the camp at Wilsdruf, which was performed by the whole army in turn, and which, from the number of sick, allowed them but a short interval for repose. Here the centinels had no fires, and the officers sheltered themselves in huts formed of planks; the common soldiers, to give motion to their frozen blood, ran up and down like madmen, or, forgetting to dress their provisions, crowded together in the tents, and lay one on the other to warm at least a part of their bodies

bodies by the heat of their comrades. In this situation either attack or defence was impossible; and no regiment returned from this camp to their melancholy winter quarters, without seeing the number of their sick increase. They died in their cabins 'like flies,' and this winter campaign cost the King more than two battles; nor did the Austrians experience a better fate; for contagious disorders broke out in their army, and in the space of only sixteen days they lost 4,000 men *."

* Archenholz, p. 177.

CHAPTER 36.

1760.

Vast Superiority of the combined Forces, and distressed Situation of the King of Prussia—Brilliant Operations of Laudon in Silesia—Defeat and Capture of Fouquet at Landshut, and Surrender of Glatz—Military Transactions in Saxony, Lusatia, and Lower Silesia—Battle of Lignitz—Retreat of the Russians towards Poland—Irruption into Brandenburgh, and Capture of Berlin—Subsequent Operations in Saxony—Defeat of the Austrians at Torgau—Operations of the French and Prince Ferdinand—Death of George the Second, and Accession of George the Third—State of Parties in England, and Changes of Administration—Pacific Sentiments of the new Sovereign—Favourable Disposition of the King of Spain towards the House of Austria.

Chapter 36. 1760.

AFTER much difficulty in settling the plan of the campaign, it was agreed, that while the French were opposed to the British and Hanoverians, Soltikof and Loudon, with a combined army of Austrians and Russians, should invade Silesia; that the Swedes, under Ehrenswald, the troops of Wirtemberg under their sovereign, and another corps of Russians under Tottleben, should burst into Brandenburgh; that the united fleets of Russia and Sweden should besiege Colberg; while Daun and the army of the Empire should atchieve the conquest of Saxony.

The troops of Maria Theresa had proved victorious during the whole of the last campaign; they had recovered from the fatigues and sufferings of the winter; the regiments were complete, and the men animated by their recent success. On the contrary, the king of Prussia laboured under the greatest difficulties; he had experienced the most fatal defeats, and his losses were not to be estimated by the numbers of killed and wounded, but by the destruction and capture of whole armies. He had indeed recruited his troops; yet, to use his own words, "they were no longer veterans, or soldiers fit for

for service, but only for show. What could be done with an assemblage of men, half Saxon peasants, half deserters from the enemy, and led by officers who were engaged from necessity, and employed for want of others? Even of these, the regiments of infantry had only twelve instead of fifty-two, the regulated number*." Yet with all his efforts he could only muster in the field 75,000 men, to act against a force of 250,000†. Notwithstanding the English subsidy, he was distressed for funds to supply the enormous expence of the war, and was under the necessity of having recourse to the coinage of base money, and to other dishonourable expedients, which injured his credit and disgraced his character.

In April, Daun occupied the camp of Pirna, and observed the motions of the King, who, taking a strong position at Katsenhauser, near Meissen, cantoned the greater part of his forces in the neighbouring villages, to recover from the fatigues of the winter. In this state the two armies remained till they were called into action by the operations in Silesia.

Loudon, having quitted Olmutz in April, entered Lower Silesia, near Reichenbach, blockaded Glatz, and, after a series of masterly manœuvres, succeeded in forcing an entrenched camp, occupied by Fouquet, with 9,000 men, to guard the defiles of Landshut, and made the commander and the greater part of the corps prisoners. After remaining a few days in the mountains to secure the passes, Loudon returned to Glatz; on the 26th, the upper fortress being taken by storm, the governor capitulated; and, on the 30th, Breslau itself was invested ‡.

On the surrender of Fouquet's corps, Daun had dispatched a reinforcement of five regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry, to Loudon, whose army was thus increased to 50,000 men, and no obstacle now remained to prevent the progress of the Austrians in Silesia. Prince Henry was in the vicinity of the Oder, to watch the motions of the

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. ch. 12. † Warnery, p. 356.

‡ Loudon's Lebengeschichte, p. 42.—Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. p. 85.—Muller—Warnery, p. 308.

Russians;

Chapter 36. 1760.

Russians; and the King himself, with an inferior force, was opposed to Daun, who, with the main army, covered Dresden on the left bank of the Elbe; while Lacy, with a corps of observation, was posted on the right.

On the first news of the blockade of Glatz, Frederic, with the greater part of his forces, crossed the Elbe at Zehren, and took the route to Radeberg, in order to penetrate into Silesia, and join the corps of Fouquet. Lacy retired on his approach; but the King had no sooner reached Radeberg, than he was confounded with the intelligence of Fouquet's defeat and capture; he received the account with extreme agitation, and his usual magnanimity seemed for a moment to forsake him. Striking his forehead, he exclaimed, "Such disasters happen to me alone!*" He soon however recovered his presence of mind, and redoubled his efforts to reach Silesia. Leaving a corps at Meissen, he marched to Bautzen; but Daun having crossed the Elbe at the same time as the Prussians, hastened to Goerlitz, and thus anticipated the enemy, whose progress was harassed by the corps under Lacy. Frederic, perceiving that he could not reach Silesia, made a retrograde movement, turned against Lacy, drove him across the Elbe, forced the army of the Empire to quit the camp at Plauen, and invested Dresden, with the hopes of obtaining an immediate surrender by the fear of a bombardment. But all his efforts were ineffectual; though he set fire to different parts of the town, and actually made a breach in the wall.

Daun remained a few days to arrange with Loudon the plan of future operations in Silesia, and then turned towards Lower Saxony. He approached Dresden on the seventh day of the investment, threw a succour of 12,000 men into the town, and took post on the neighbouring heights. As at the siege of Olmutz, his views were directed to deliver the town by intercepting the convoys, and cutting off the communications of the enemy: with 70,000 men he himself occupied the right bank of the Elbe; Lacy, and the army of the Empire,

* Warnery.

at

at Gross Seidlitz and Dohna, threatened the Prussians on that side, and the garrison of the town was increased to 25,000 men. The views of the Austrian commander were promoted by the capture of Glatz. On receiving intelligence of that event, Frederic broke up his camp in the night, resumed his former resolution of penetrating into Silesia, and passing the Elbe at Zehren, took the route of Upper Lusatia. Daun, aware of his design, advanced with equal activity; and, to prevent the King from again deceiving him by a retrograde movement, marched in a parallel direction, while Lacy hung upon the rear of the Prussians. Such was the situation and vicinity of the two armies, that, to use the expressions of the King, "A stranger might have mistaken them for one, that of marshal Daun like the advanced guard, the Prussians the main body, and the corps of Lacy the rear guard *."

Chapter 36. 1760.

August 1.

In the course of this march Daun learned that Loudon had raised the siege of Breslau on the approach of prince Henry, and that Soltikof with the Russians had advanced to the right bank of the Oder. He therefore avoided an engagement until he had effected a junction with Loudon and Soltikof; and on the 7th of August, after a march of eighty-four miles in five days, encamped at Lowenburgh at the same time that the Prussians reached Buntzlau. He then succeeded in gaining a position behind the Katzbach, by which he cut off the King from his magazines at Breslau and Schweidnitz, and prevented his junction with prince Henry; here he united with Loudon and the corps under Lacy, and their troops occupied the left bank of the Katzbach from the Oder to Cossendau.

Soltikof displaying an unwillingness to cross the Oder, Daun resolved to attack the King with his own troops, which did not amount to less than 90,000 men, while the Prussians were scarcely 30,000. Unable to withstand this superior force, Frederic, like a skilful partisan, embarrassed the Austrian commander by a continual change of position, till straitened for provisions, he was reduced to the necessity of attempting to force the passage of the Katzbach, in order to open a way to his magazines at Schweidnitz. The vigilance and number of the

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. p. 104.

Chapter 36. 1760.

Austrians, however, defeated all his efforts; and at length a corps of 20,000 Russians under Chernichef, having passed the Oder at Auras, his last resource was to attempt a junction with prince Henry. He therefore took post near Lignitz, with the intention to cross the Katzbach, and push on to Parchwitz.

In this situation Daun hoped to repeat the surprise of Hochkirchen, and overwhelm the Prussian monarch by the great superiority of his force. His dispositions were skilfully arranged: Lacy was to turn the right flank of the Prussians, and fall on their rear; Daun himself was to attack their front; and Loudon to cross the Katzbach, occupy the heights of Pfaffendorf above Lignitz, and cut off their retreat.

Frederic penetrated their designs, and unwilling to hazard a battle with so superior a force, hastened to effect his intended retreat. He moved from his camp in the evening, leaving some hussars to keep up the fires, and imitate the cries of the patroles and sentinels, and during the night repassed the Katzbach at Lignitz. At the moment of his departure his conjectures were confirmed by an adjutant of O'Donnel's regiment, who had deserted, and informed him that the Austrians were in motion for the attack. Having reached the heights of Pfaffendorf, Frederic made preparations to receive the enemy; he posted his right on that part of the eminence which overhangs Lignitz and the Schwartzwasser, and placed batteries to enfilade the only two roads through which Daun could pass; he then formed his left across the other part of the eminence on the side of Bautzen, on the very ground which Loudon was to occupy, and established a formidable battery on a commanding height.

August 15. Before break of day Loudon passed the Katzbach, and as he ascended the heights fell in with parties of Prussian hussars which had been sent to discover and harass his movements. Although aware that a change had taken place in the position of the enemy, he did not expect to encounter the whole Prussian army, and heading himself one of the columns, continued to advance. At this moment the hussars retired, and while he was preparing to form and occupy the heights, he received a discharge from the Prussian battery, which being

being only 800 paces distant, occasioned great havoc among his troops, who were pressed together in close columns. The darkness augmented the confusion; but though taken unawares, Loudon formed his men as they came up, and did not give way until he had withstood five successive charges: during the carnage he rode from rank to rank, and repeatedly exclaimed, "Is there no ball for me!" At length his troops being mowed down by a destructive fire, cut to pieces by the Prussian cavalry, and unable to discern the position and evolutions of the enemy, he was compelled to relinquish his enterprise. In this action Loudon lost not less than 10,000 men and 80 officers killed, wounded, and prisoners, with 23 standards, and 82 pieces of artillery; but he made a masterly retreat, and under cover of a battery on a height beyond the Katzbach, deliberately removed the pontoons, and ranged his troops on the opposite bank.

Daun and Lacy having passed the night at the head of their troops, advanced towards break of day, and were surprised to find the Prussian camp totally deserted. The wind being contrary, Daun did not hear the cannonade on the side of Bautzen, but a thick smoke seemed to announce that Loudon was engaged; and he perceived the right of the Prussians under Ziethen drawn up on the height above Lignitz. Surprised with these unexpected movements, he continued some time in suspense; at length determining to attack Ziethen, he dispatched Lacy to cross the Schwartzwasser, and turn the flank of the enemy, while he himself advanced through Lignitz; but the instant the heads of the Austrian columns appeared they received the fire of the Prussian artillery, and a feu de joye announced the total defeat of Loudon. His plans being thus deranged, Daun recrossed the Katzbach, recalled Lacy, and the Prussians pursued their march to Parchwitz, which they reached the same evening, though incumbered with 6,000 prisoners and 1,100 sick and wounded*.

Still,

* Scarcely any battle has been more erroneously described than this of Lignitz. Most authors have supposed that the movements of the King, which led to the engagement, were the effect of design, whereas his intention was to secure his retreat to Parchwitz, and his junction with prince Henry, that his forces might not be

Chapter 36. 1760.

Still, however, the situation of the King was extremely critical; he had only one day's bread in his camp, and Chernichef with the corps of 20,000 men posted at Lissa, intercepted the communication with his magazines at Breslau, while general Beck was in full march to join the Russians, and was followed by Daun with the main army. But Chernichef, who had remained five days without intelligence from the Austrians, was alarmed by a letter sent from the King to prince Henry, for the purpose of being intercepted, announcing a glorious victory over the Austrians, and describing his preparations for an immediate attack on the Russians *. He accordingly broke up his camp in great haste, and repassed the Oder; and the Prussians advancing to the neighbourhood of Breslau, supplied their wants from their magazines. While the King was allowing his army to repose at Neumark after the extreme fatigue of the preceding operations, the Russians retired towards Poland, and were followed to Vinzig by prince Henry, who then returned and joined the King near Breslau.

Daun thus disappointed in his principal object attempted to besiege Schweidnitz, and afterwards Glogau, but was again baffled by the King, and obliged to retreat to the mountains in order to preserve his communication with Bohemia. He was at this period in a state of great anxiety; he was continually reproached by his own troops for

cut off in detail; and he only determined on an engagement when he perceived that it could not be avoided. On this subject I shall subjoin a letter from Sir Andrew Mitchel to the Duke of Newcastle the day after the battle:

"As I have been extremely indisposed for several days, and unable to ride on horseback, I was not in the action; but the king of Prussia, when he marched his army from the field of battle, sent for me to ride along with him; when I came up to him, and had given him joy of the victory, he was pleased to say very graciously, 'You have shared the fatigues with me, I want you should likewise rejoice with me.'

"He then entered into a detail of the battle, commended highly the behaviour of his troops; and after making some excellent reflections on the imperfection of human foresight, he said, 'You see how I have laboured to no purpose to bring about the event that has now happened; the victory I have gained is entirely owing to the bravery of my troops. Had I remained in the camp of Lignitz, I should have been surrounded on all sides; had I but arrived one quarter of an hour sooner on the field of battle, the event would not have happened, and a few days would have put an end to the whole affair."

* (Ev. Post. t. iv. p. 129.

dilatory

dilatory conduct, and for acting on the defensive with a superior force, and he was accused of having sacrificed Loudon at Lignitz, by not hastening to his relief. Even the court of Vienna seemed tacitly to censure his over cautious spirit, by publicly applauding the enterprise and activity which Loudon, though unsuccessful, had displayed in the combat at Lignitz. The campaign was drawing to a close, and was likely to conclude in a manner far different from the sanguine hopes which had been conceived at its commencement. The forage of the mountains being wholly consumed, Daun could only detach small parties into the plain; and the bad state of the roads retarded the passage of his convoys from Bohemia. In this dilemma he succeeded in alluring the Russians with the hopes of plundering Berlin, and concerted with them an irruption into Brandenburgh, to draw the King from Silesia. Twenty thousand Russians, with fifteen thousand Austrians under Chernichef and Lacy, covered by the army of Soltikof, penetrated into Brandenburgh, and, after a march of six days, the vanguard of 3,000 men appeared before the gates of Berlin. They were vigorously repulsed by the Prussian troops under general Hulsen and the prince of Wirtemberg, who had hastened from Saxony and Pomerania; but unable to defend an extensive town without fortifications, the Prussians, on the approach of Lacy, retired to Potsdam and Spandau, and the capital surrendered. Chapter 36. 1760. Oct. 9.

The project of Daun had the desired effect; the King precipitately quitted Silesia to relieve his capital, and as the combined troops retired on his approach, he marched rapidly towards Saxony. Daun likewise leaving Loudon in Silesia, turned towards Saxony, crossed the Elbe at Tristowitz, and endeavoured to obstruct the passage of the enemy. The duke of Wirtemberg was posted at Dessau; the prince of Deux Ponts, with a considerable part of the army of the Empire, at Wittemberg; and Daun himself was approaching Torgau. Frederic, however, with part of his forces, crossed the Elbe near Dessau, and compelled the Imperial troops to retire to Leipzig; on reaching Kemberg he was joined by Ziethen, who with the remainder had passed at Wittemberg,

Chapter 36. 1760.

Wittemberg, and marched to prevent the junction of the troops of the Empire with the main army.

During these movements the Austrian commander advanced to Torgau, and concentrated the greater part of his forces in the vicinity. As the winter was approaching, and the campaign drawing to a close, Daun, by maintaining his position, might take up winter quarters in the Prussian territories; while the Russians, who were at Landsberg on the Wartha, might again penetrate into the heart of Brandenburgh, and the King would be pent up in the confined district between the Pleis, the Saal, the Elster, and the Unstruth, without magazines, and cut off from his territories and resources. In this situation Daun judiciously avoided a battle, and chose a position, which, defended by his powerful artillery, seemed almost impregnable. His left was supported by Torgau, and covered by fish-ponds and a small lake; the center occupied the hill of Siptitz, and the right extended to an eminence which rises beyond the marshes of Grosswig; the Rohr, a marshy and almost impracticable rivulet, ran along the front; and the extensive wood of Domnitz enveloped the right. Lacy, with the reserve of 20,000 men, covered the high road to Dresden, and the fish-ponds before the right wing; and the camp was defended by four hundred pieces of artillery.

Frederic having in vain attempted to draw the Austrians from their advantageous position, by marching to Schilda, as if he meditated an enterprise against Dresden, again resolved to commit his desperate fortune to the hazard of a battle. He divided his army into two bodies; one of these commanded by Ziethen, took the road from Eilenberg to Torgau, with a view to establish a battery on the height of Grosswig, and attack the village of Siptitz; while the King himself, leading the other through the wood, was to fall upon the Austrians at the same time in the rear, and separate their army in the center.

Daun, whose advantageous position was defended by a powerful train of artillery, and whose army was one-third superior to that of the enemy, did not expect an attack; but undeceived by the approach

proach of the King, he ordered his second line to face about, and the artillery to be conveyed to the rear, which then became the front. He had scarcely ranged his troops, before the body headed by the King advanced. Without waiting for his cavalry, or without being seconded by Ziethen, Frederic led on his grenadiers, and was received with such a tremendous fire, as induced him to exclaim to one of his adjutants, "Did you ever hear so dreadful a cannonade!" These troops being repulsed, he rushed forward with a second line, and, after a still more desperate resistance, was compelled to give way; he then ordered a third line to advance, which being seconded by the arrival of the cavalry, gained ground, and took several regiments prisoners.

At this juncture Daun, though severely wounded in the thigh, rallied his troops, and exposing himself like a common soldier, drove the Prussians, with a dreadful carnage, back into the wood. All the efforts of the King, who on this occasion seemed determined either to conquer or to die, were ineffectual; most of his generals were wounded; he himself received a violent contusion, and reluctantly retiring from the field, considered the day as lost.

Daun, compelled to quit the field by the anguish of his wound, was conveyed to Torgau, leaving the command to general Buccow, and ordering Lacy to watch the motions of Ziethen. He dispatched a courier to Vienna, to announce the total defeat of the enemy, and retired to repose in the arms of victory. But the night announced a fatal change. As the enemy had retreated, the Austrians, lulled into security, neglected the usual precautions. Ziethen, harassed by the irregulars, checked by the cavalry of Lacy, and embarrassed by the difficulties of the ground, did not arrive in time to second the first assault; at length, however, forcing his way through all obstacles, he reached the point of attack, but finding the battle lost, marched towards Grosswig to favour the retreat of the King. At this time darkness had suspended hostilities. Passing near the village of Siptitz, which was in flames, he was informed that the heights were weakly guarded. On this intelligence two of his bravest battalions advanced through the village, and after a short but desperate conflict, gained the heights

Chapter 36. 1760.

heights and seized the batteries; they were followed by the rest of the infantry, with the cavalry and artillery, and the whole body formed on the slope of the eminence.

This surprise changed the victory into a defeat. At the moment when the Austrians imagined the enemy were retiring, a tremendous cannonade from the heights of Siptitz, spread consternation through their ranks. In the darkness and confusion the troops knew not whom to resist, or how to form; in vain Lacy attempted to dislodge the Prussians; they were joined by the body under the King, and, after being twice repulsed, he was compelled to retreat to Torgau.

Both armies being mixed together in the field, prisoners were taken on both sides, and the King relates a singular instance of the confusion which reigned after this memorable day. During the night numerous fires were kindled in the forest, to which the scattered soldiers of both armies repaired as to an asylum; they passed the night together in perfect tranquillity, and agreed to deliver themselves to the victor on the ensuing morning. Even Frederic himself, in traversing the field, fell in with a party of Austrian carbiniers who were dispersed by his escort; and almost at the same moment, a battalion of Pandours was made prisoners, with two pieces of cannon.

Lacy reached Torgau about ten in the evening, and Daun instantly gave orders to retire. Though weakened by his wound, he crossed the Elbe with part of the troops on three bridges which had been thrown over the river the day before the battle, and proceeded to Dresden; while Lacy covered his retreat, and ascending the left bank, joined his commander at the break of day *.

In this engagement the Austrians lost 20,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; and the Prussians 13,000 of their bravest infantry. The consequences of this defeat were incalculably detrimental: all Saxony, except Dresden and the vicinity, again fell into the hands of the Prussians;

* The narrative of the battle of Torgau, given by the king of Prussia, is very confused, and exhibits little of his usual perspicuity of description. It is evident through the whole, that he wishes to depreciate the merit of Ziethen, to whom the honour of the victory was due. See Warnery, Archenholz, and Heinrich.

Frederic

Frederic was enabled to relieve Brandenburgh, Silesia, and Pomerania, and to send a succour of 8,000 men to prince Ferdinand. Loudon, who had invested Cosel, raised the siege, and retired to Glatz; the Swedes were driven back to Stralsund, and the Russians again took up their winter quarters in Poland. Chapter 36. 1760.

The loss, however, of this battle reflected no disgrace on the Austrian commander, but rather increased his reputation; it was attributed to his absence from the field, and Frederic himself acknowledged that he owed his victory to the wound of his antagonist. Maria Theresa also, with her natural magnanimity, received Daun with greater honours than in the midst of his most brilliant successes; and on his return went out to meet him at the distance of two German miles from the capital *.

This unfortunate termination of the campaign in Saxony was not compensated by any material advantage on the side of Westphalia. Notwithstanding the exhausted state of her finances, and the loss of her most important colonial possessions, France made prodigious exertions, and sent into the field a force of 120,000 men. The main army, commanded by Broglio, advanced on the side of the Upper Rhine; and a body of 30,000 men was intrusted to St. Germain on the Lower Rhine. The commencement of their operations was however retarded by disputes between the generals; and prince Ferdinand gained time to obtain reinforcements from England, which augmented his army to 70,000 men. But he was still so much inferior to the French that he was reduced to the defensive. In June, Broglio advanced into the Landgraviate of Hesse; at the same time the corps on the Lower Rhine penetrated through Westphalia, joined the main army at Corbach, and Broglio assumed the sole command. On the approach of the French, prince Ferdinand removed to Calle, in order to cover Cassel; and Broglio having detached the Chevalier de Muy with 35,000 men to cut off his communication with the Bishopric of Paderborn and Westphalia, he quitted Calle, and, after a desperate engagement, defeated the Chevalier de Muy at Warburgh, with the loss of

* Heinrich, p. 503.

Chapter 36. 1760. July 31. 5,000 men. But on the very day of the battle, Broglio entered Cassel, and prepared to overrun the Electorate of Hanover; he took Gottingen, pushed his detachments towards Saxony to open a communication with the army of the Empire, and prevented the march of a reinforcement sent by the king of Prussia. He was however baffled by the skill and vigilance of prince Ferdinand, who maintained himself on the frontiers of Hanover, and even made a diversion on the side of the Lower Rhine. The hereditary Prince, at the head of 15,000 men, passed through Westphalia, drew forth part of the garrisons of Munster and Lippstadt, crossed the Rhine, took pos-
October 10. session of Cleves and Ruremonde, and laid siege to Wesel. In consequence of this irruption, Broglio detached the marquis de Castries, with 20,000 men, who crossed the Rhine, drew 10,000 men from Cologne and the garrisons of the Low Countries, advanced to Rheinberg, and occupied the strong post of Closter Camp. He was here attacked by the hereditary Prince, but, after a desperate action, repulsed him with the loss of 1,600 men, and forced him to repass the Rhine, and raise the siege of Wesel.

Meanwhile Broglio had occupied a strong post at Einbech, and sedulously avoided an engagement. At the close of the season he wintered in Hesse; and prince Ferdinand, after an ineffectual attempt to retake Gottingen*, took up his head quarters at Paderborn, and the hereditary Prince distributed his troops in the bishopric of Munster.

During these transactions George the Second closed his long and auspicious reign on the 25th of October, by a sudden death, and was succeeded by his grandson, George the Third, a prince in the flower of youth, who, in habits, disposition, and political principles, totally differed from the late monarch. Born and educated in England, he gloried in the name of Briton, and had not imbibed those foreign prejudices, which had often involved his two predecessors in the chaos of German politics, and had occasionally interfered with

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. ch. 12—Archenholz, p. 268—Operations of the allied army under prince Ferdinand—Heinrich.

the interests of Great Britain. Untrained in the military school, he was by habit and principle devoted to peace; and his resolutions were strengthened by the system which he had imbibed from his father, and by the state of the public mind at the period of his accession. Chapter 36. 1760.

During the struggle for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole, the party of prince Frederic, who was at perpetual variance with his father, had contributed to drive the minister from the helm; but disappointed in their expectations on the division of the spoils, they had again renewed their opposition to government. This party comprehended some of the discontented whigs, most distinguished for talents and eloquence, and the great body of the tories, who were eager to remove, under the auspices of the Prince, the stigma with which they had been branded since the accession of the House of Brunswick.

From the death of Sir Robert Walpole, the whig or ministerial party, which had already exhibited symptoms of disunion, gradually became weaker and weaker, and under the guidance of the duke of Newcastle, sunk equally in the opinion of the sovereign and of the people. Mr. Pelham, indeed, possessed the candour and conciliating manners of Sir Robert Walpole, but he was deficient in energy of character, and shackled by the caprice and prejudices of his brother. Still the two brothers, by their influence in parliament, swayed the cabinet, and even drove from the helm lord Granville, the favourite minister of George the Second. They were, however, unable to conduct the affairs of state with dignity and effect, and in the midst of the war for the Austrian succession, the ferment of a rebellion, the pressure of the times, and the clamours of the people, were compelled to form a coalition with the tories, which weakened one party, while it gave little ascendancy to the other. This heterogeneous mass owed its permanence to the mild and conciliating character of Mr. Pelham, and fell to pieces on his death. The three succeeding years exhibited a series of cabals, and a perpetual change of administration, under the guidance of the duke of Newcastle, who, amidst all these fluctuations, maintained his power in the closet,

Chapter 36. 1760.

and his influence in parliament, as the ostensible leader of the whigs.

During these contests, the party of Leicester House, so called from the residence of the Prince, gained a great accession of strength and popularity, by their opposition to the system of German politics, and were again becoming formidable to government, when the sudden death of the Prince annihilated their hopes. Many of his adherents joined the court; others sunk into insignificance; and the duke of Newcastle having gratified the King by admitting lord Granville into the cabinet, established his sway in the counsels of the nation. On the approaching majority of the young prince of Wales, Leicester House again became the focus of opposition, and the weight and popularity of the party were increased by the accession of Mr. Pitt, who, after having joined the administration, had resigned in disgust the post of secretary at war. By their united efforts, and the clamours of the nation, the duke of Newcastle was driven from the helm, the duke of Devonshire placed at the head of the treasury, and the king was compelled to confer on Mr. Pitt the office of secretary of state. The duke of Newcastle, however, successfully exerted his powerful influence in parliament to embarrass the measures of government; the King fostered a personal aversion to Mr. Pitt, which was aggravated by his opposition to continental politics, and in less than four months this short-lived administration was dissolved, and the seals taken from Mr. Pitt.

March 31, 1751.

The parties were now too equally balanced to form any permanent arrangement; but at length the critical situation of affairs fortunately occasioned a coalition between Leicester House, the duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pitt. Newcastle was replaced in his former post, and Mr. Pitt again assumed the seals; but although he came in under the auspices of Leicester House, he had too much spirit to act a subordinate part; he conquered the repugnance, and conciliated the favour of the King, by adopting his continental politics, and pursued the war in Germany with that vigour and decision which marked all his undertakings. The rapid success which crowned his efforts, for a time

a time endeared him more and more to the King and nation; but the severe sufferings of the British troops during the preceding winter, and the enormous expence of the German campaigns, began to abate the national enthusiasm, and revived the aversion of the people to a continental war. The nation regretted the separation from the House of Austria, and inveighed against the continuance of hostilities, as solely calculated for the aggrandisement of the House of Brandenburgh, and for a prince, who, though nominally the head of the protestant interest in Germany, was the great supporter of infidelity, both by his writings and conduct. The transcendent eloquence of Mr. Pitt, and the dangerous situation of affairs, had confounded all opposition in parliament, which rather assembled to obey his dictates than to debate on the propriety of his measures; the Leicester House party, whom he had alienated, availed themselves of the growing discontents, and in numerous pamphlets and periodical publications retorted with effect on the minister the arguments which he himself had used against German measures and German influence. Chapter 36. 1760.

Such were the public sentiments and the state of parties on the death of George the Second. The fears of jacobitism having subsided, the object of the young monarch was to annihilate the distinctions of whig and tory, and to emancipate himself from that aristocratic influence, which had gradually increased during the reigns of his two predecessors, and held the crown in bondage. He retained the former administration, and in his first speech declared his intention to prosecute the war with vigour, and support his allies as the sole means of obtaining a safe and honourable peace. But the pacific sentiments of the new Sovereign, and the confidence which he reposed in the earl of Bute, whose aversion to continental connections was well known, gave new spirit and hopes to the party who were desirous of peace*. That nobleman, being appointed groom of the stole, was in virtue of his office introduced into the privy council, and

* See these sentiments ably detailed in Adolphus's History of the Reign of George the Third, vol. i. ch. i.

though

Chapter 36. 1760.

though he held no responsible post, was considered as the source of royal favour; while Mr. Pitt, who had disdained to court a party, stood alone, with no other support than what resulted from his successful career and transcendent eloquence.

Maria Theresa beheld with pleasure this change in the British cabinet, and this revolution in the public sentiment; and anticipated the dismission or retreat of Mr. Pitt, as the period when England would again relapse into a lukewarm support of her inveterate enemy. Her hopes were also raised by the situation of the Spanish court. Charles the Third, less pacific than his brother, and recollecting the degrading neutrality which he had been compelled to sign when king of Naples, was inclined to preserve the family connection with France. He was also drawn towards the House of Austria, by the conciliating conduct of Maria Theresa, in not urging her pretensions to Parma, and acquiescing in the order of succession, which he had established for Naples and Sicily. These amicable dispositions were strengthened by the marriage of his niece, the infanta Isabella, princess of Parma, with the archduke Joseph; and the cabinets of Vienna, Madrid, and Versailles, thus firmly united by the ties of blood and political interests, were now concerting those arrangements, which terminated in a family compact between Spain and France, and gave to the House of Austria a new and powerful ally.

Sept. 7, 1760.

CHAPTER 37.

1761.

Ineffectual Negotiations for Peace—Plans of the Campaign—Favourable Aspect of the Austrian Affairs—State and Cabals of the Court of St. Petersburgh—Operations in Silesia—Capture of Schweidnitz—Surrender of Colberg—Transactions of Daun in Saxony—Despondency of the King of Prussia—Campaign between the French and Prince Ferdinand—Resignation of Mr. Pitt, and change in the British Cabinet.

Chapter 37. 1761.

DURING the winter, Maria Theresa was employed in recruiting her armies, and in repairing the great loss she had sustained at the battle of Torgau. In the midst of these preparations overtures for peace, originating from France, were made at the court of London, through the medium of prince Gallitzin the Russian embassador; and Maria Theresa, affecting the same inclinations, proposed a congress at Augsburgh. She was not unacquainted with the negotiations between France and Spain, and she was aware that the offers of the court of Versailles were merely intended to gain time, till Spain could be drawn into the quarrel. In proposing a congress, she therefore displayed an apparent readiness for peace, although she avoided engaging herself in any specific negotiation. France soon proved the insincerity of her proposals, by endeavouring to entangle the negotiation with the long pending contests between England and Spain, relative to the restoration of ships captured during the war, the cutting of logwood, and the privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland*; while the German disputes, in which the House of Austria was solely concerned, were not even brought into discussion.

In the midst of these negotiations the campaign was opened; and Maria Theresa was again flattered with the hopes of crushing the

* Adolphus's History of England, vol. i. p. 40.

Prussian

Chapter 37. 1761.

Prussian monarch. Her principal efforts were directed against Silesia, where the sole command was intrusted to Loudon, who was to be joined by the Russians under marshal Butturlin, the successor of Soltikof. On the north of Prussia, a Russian and Swedish fleet, with a body of land forces under count Romanzof, was to besiege Colberg, and penetrate into Pomerania; and marshal Daun, with the main army, was to act on the side of Saxony, and support, by detachments, the operations of Loudon and Romanzof. At this juncture the French, after having baffled an attempt made by prince Ferdinand in the depth of winter, to break their chain of quarters, and drive them from Hesse Cassel, were preparing to cooperate with the forces of the House of Austria on the side of Saxony. The king of Prussia, hemmed in on all sides by this powerful combination, marched in person to defend Silesia; prince Henry was opposed to marshal Daun; and prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, with a small force, took post in an intrenched camp to cover Colberg.

This campaign exhibited a singular change in the operations of the field. The active and enterprising Frederic, overpowered by the multitude of his enemies, and exhausted even by his victories, seemed to have adopted the phlegm as well as the caution of Daun, and acted wholly on the defensive. Even Loudon, who had distinguished himself by a degree of intrepidity approaching to rashness, did not give scope to his natural spirit of enterprise. He was shackled by instructions from the council of war; he was thwarted by the cabals of his numerous enemies, who were jealous of his rapid and unexampled rise; and he was unwilling to risk an action which would wither the laurels he had acquired in the preceding campaigns; but above all he was embarrassed by the capricious and dilatory conduct of the Russians, derived from the uncertain state of the court and cabinet of St. Petersburgh.

The empress Elizabeth, though gradually sinking into the grave under a mortal disease, yet displayed a motley mixture of that weakness, devotion, and voluptuousness, which had been the grand characteristics of her life. Her favourite was devoted to France, and some of her leading

leading ministers were devoted to England, or awed by the influence of her successor the great duke Peter, who was smitten with an enthusiastic admiration of the king of Prussia. The greater part of the cabinet, swayed by their private interests, biassed by national prejudices, or desirous of conciliating the heir apparent, communicated the plans of the two powers to the king of Prussia, and thwarted the operations of the field. Marshal Butturlin was attached to this party, and was only anxious neither to commit the honour of the Russian arms, nor to assist in crushing the king of Prussia; hence, although he durst not resist the specific orders of the Empress, he found continual excuses for delay, and either thwarted or coldly supported every plan proposed by Loudon. It was even a subject of public conversation among the Russian officers, that they were not to attack the king of Prussia, but only to defend themselves if attacked *. Chapter 37. 1761.

Loudon passed the early part of the campaign in different manœuvres to seize Neiss or some fortress on the frontiers of Silesia, as a support to his line of operations; but he was constantly baffled by the skill and activity of the King. At length he overcame the indolence of the Russian general; Butturlin crossing the Oder near Closter-Leubus, effected a junction with the Austrians between Jauer and Strigau, and the combined troops formed a body amounting to not less than 130,000 men. As the whole army of the king of Prussia did not exceed 50,000, he was unable to make head against so superior a force; he took a strong position at Bunzelwitz, in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, which contained his magazines, and fortified it with all the resources of art. From the nature of the ground, the situation of the hills, the course of the rivers, and the intervention of marshes, it was almost impregnable, and was defended with numerous intrenchments, a strong and intricate pallisade, 466 pieces of artillery, and even 182 mines. In vain Loudon exerted his efforts to dislodge the Prussians; he proposed to storm these intrenchments, but was thwarted by the un- August 17.

* Warnery.

Chapter 37. 1761.

conquerable repugnance of the Russian general. In this inactive situation both armies remained till the 10th of September, when the Austrians being unable to furnish the Russians with subsistence, Butturlin left Chernichef with 20,000 men, and withdrew towards Poland. His retreat was hastened by the destruction of his magazines at Kublin, which was effected by a considerable detachment under general Platen.

Loudon thus deserted, retired in chagrin towards the mountains, and resumed his position at Kunzendorf. Deeply affected with the conduct of the campaign, his anxiety and disappointment brought on a severe cholic, to which he was occasionally subject; he did not, however, remit his activity and vigilance, and when want of provisions compelled the King to withdraw towards Neiss, he seized that opportunity of attacking Schweidnitz.

Schweidnitz, which from the extent of the works required a garrison of 7,000 men, was only defended by 3,000, many of whom were deserters, or peasants compelled to enter into the service. It likewise contained 500 Austrian prisoners, among whom was major Rocca, an Italian partisan, who being imprudently indulged with great liberty by the governor Zastrow, examined the fortifications, and remarked the negligence in the service of the garrison, which he found means to communicate to Loudon. In consequence of this intelligence, the Austrian general with twenty battalions moved in the night, at two in the morning approached the fortress, and dividing his troops into four bodies, prepared to attack the gates of Strigau and Breslau, the Water-fort, and the fort of Benkendorf. At this juncture, the commandant, as if suspicious of some intended enterprise, ordered the garrison under arms, but omitted to send out patroles, or throw light balls in the vicinity. The Austrians therefore advanced unperceived to the pallisades, and after a few discharges of cannon gained the outworks. In one place alone they experienced a desperate resistance; the regiment of Loudon being twice repulsed, count Wallis, who

October 1.

who led them to the assault, exclaimed, " Comrades, we must scale the fortress, or I will here perish! such was my promise to our commander; our regiment bears his name, and we must conquer or die!" The soldiers, animated by this address, again leaped into the ditch, and by a desperate effort mounted the rampart. The other attacks were attended with more speedy success; the confusion of the garrison was increased by the Austrian prisoners, who burst open the doors of the casemates, and possessed themselves of the bridges, and by break of day Schweidnitz with all its garrison and magazines, was in the hands of Loudon. This important acquisition did not cost more than 600 men,* many of whom were killed by the accidental explosion of a powder magazine. The capture of this fortress deranged all the projects of the King; to cover Neiss, Brieg, and Breslau, he fell back to Strehlen; Loudon was enabled to take up winter quarters in Silesia, and the Russians, under Chernichef, in the county of Glatz.

On the side of Pomerania the prince of Wirtemberg maintained himself with great resolution in his intrenched camp; but unable to resist superior numbers, he left Colberg to its fate, which, after a most obstinate and gallant defence, fell into the hands of Romanzof. Dec. 16.

In Saxony marshal Daun contented himself with keeping prince Henry in check, and favouring the operations in Silesia; but on the capture of Schweidnitz he drew 24,000 men from the army of Loudon, and endeavoured to dislodge prince Henry, without the risk of a battle. That able commander, however, maintained his ground; and Daun, hoping that in the disastrous state of the Prussian affairs the King would be unable to make head another campaign, confined his views to the possession of Dresden and the neighbouring part of Saxony, and at the close of the year drew his troops into winter quarters, and returned to Vienna.

* Loudon's Lebensgeschichte, p. 190. Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. p. 236. Heinrich, vol. 8. p. 517.

Chapter 37. 1761.

Thus, without a single battle, the affairs of the Empress-queen were more prosperous than during any preceding period of the war. The Austrians retained their position in Saxony, and by the capture of Schweidnitz were enabled to take up winter quarters in a part of Silesia; by the possession of Colberg, the Russians obtained a port on the Baltic, where they could form magazines without conveying them through Poland, and Prussian Pomerania and Brandenburgh were open to their future incursions.

The sanguine hopes of Maria Theresa, were equalled by the despondency of her rival. Frederic repaired to Breslau to hasten the completion of an intrenched camp which had been begun during the campaign, secluded himself from society to give vent to his grief, and seemed, in this last extremity, as if resolved to terminate his career of glory under the walls of the capital of Silesia. The despondency of the monarch pervaded his army; and even the remnant of his veteran troops, whom he had so often led to victory, declared that if attacked, they would lay down their arms *.

On the side of Westphalia alone, affairs wore a less favourable aspect. Prince Ferdinand, by skill and resources equal to those of the great Frederic, baffled all the efforts of the French, with a far inferior force, prevented their intended cooperation with the Imperialists, and at the close of the campaign confined them to the same ground which they occupied at the commencement of the year †.

The cause of the House of Austria, however, seemed prosperous in every court of Europe. France had matured her plans of policy; and Spain, having temporised till her galleons from America were safely arrived in port, threw off the mask, avowed the signature of the family compact, which united all the branches of the House of Bourbon, and prepared to cooperate with Austria and France.

* Warnery p. 492.

† Œuvres Posthumes du Roi du Prusse, tom. iv. ch. 14. Archenholz, p. 295— Operations of the army under prince Ferdinand.

The

Chapter 37. 1761.

The changes which took place in the British administration furthered the views of France and Spain. On the resignation of the Earl of Holdernesse, Lord Bute had received the seals as secretary for the northern department, and his influence soon became predominant in the cabinet. Anxious to prevent the adoption of measures which might render the war more extensive, he listened to the delusive professions of the House of Bourbon, and endeavoured to avoid or protract the declaration of hostilities again Spain. In vain Mr. Pitt represented the progress of the projected union; in vain he urged the necessity of intercepting the Spanish galleons; his counsels were rejected, and this great but imperious minister, disdaining to support measures which he could not guide, indignantly retired from the helm. The resignation of Mr. Pitt was followed by that of Lord Temple; the earl of Egremont, son of the great tory Sir William Windham, succeeded as secretary of state, and the duke of Bedford received the office of lord privy seal. The duke of Newcastle was now the only minister remaining in the cabinet of that great whig party who had kept the crown in subjection, and had been the principal supporters of the war. Instead, however, of retiring with Mr. Pitt, he was induced by a hope of regaining his influence, to continue in office; but he was unable to acquire either the confidence or favour of the sovereign; and his adherents were greatly diminished in consequence and power.

March 5, 1761.

The British cabinet thus forced into a war with Spain, and irritated by the prevarication of France, did not intermit their efforts either by sea or land; the impulse given by Mr. Pitt to the wheels of government had not subsided; war was declared against Spain, and hostile preparations urged with increasing vigour. But the new part of the ministry, as well as the young monarch, were not disposed to continue the enormous expense of a continental war. The term of the subsidiary treaty with the king of Prussia having expired, they delayed entering into new engagements, and urged him to make overtures to the court of Vienna. A coldness had accordingly arisen between the

Chapter 37. 1761.

the two powers; and the English ministry, embarrassed with hostilities against Spain, were anxious either to hasten an accommodation, or to turn their whole efforts towards the prosecution of a naval war *.

* Adolphus's History of George III. vol. i. p. 9.

CHAPTER 38.

1762.

Favourable Aspect of the Austrian Affairs—Depression and Despondency of the king of Prussia—Death of the Empress Elizabeth, and Accession of Peter the Third—His enthusiastic Admiration of Frederic.—Withdraws from the Austrian Alliance and joins Prussia—Campaign in Silesia—Revolution in Russia—Accession of Catharine the Second—The Russian Troops recalled—Siege and Surrender of Schweidnitz—Operations in Saxony—The Imperial troops defeated by prince Henry at the Battle of Freyberg—Movements of Daun and the King—Armistice—Operations between the French and prince Ferdinand—Ill success of the Spaniards—Conclusion of a Peace between France, Spain, and England—Peace of Hubertsburgh, between Austria and Prussia.

Chapter 38. 1762.

SUCH was the favourable aspect of the Austrian affairs at the termination of the year: and all the sanguine hopes conceived by the warm imagination of Maria Theresa, seemed on the point of being realised. The veteran troops of the king of Prussia had been swept away in the preceding campaigns; and his army, reduced and dispirited was wholly incapable of making head against his numerous enemies. Spain was preparing to add her weight to the scale of the House of Austria, and France exerted herself with a vigour equal to her former efforts. The powers of the north had secured an opening into the dominions of Brandenburgh, and encouraged by their success in the preceding campaign, were preparing to complete the ruin of the Prussian monarchy.

A more striking picture of the distress of the great antagonist of the House of Austria cannot be drawn, than in his own words. "Prince Ferdinand alone, of all the allies, had terminated the campaign without loss; and the Prussians were unfortunate in every quarter. Prince Henry had retired from the mountains of Saxony, but the district in which he was confined scarcely furnished the daily subsistence of his troops; the superiority of the enemy enabled them to occupy the

most

Chapter 38. 1762.

most advantageous posts; and every thing was to be apprehended for the winter and the ensuing campaign. The situation of the King was still more deplorable: the capture of Schweidnitz occasioned the loss of the mountains and half of Silesia; he possessed only the fortresses of Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Neiss, and Cosel; he was master indeed of the course of the Oder, and of the districts beyond; but that territory, ravaged by the Russians at the commencement of the campaign, could furnish no subsistence; nor could he derive any supply from Poland, as 15,000 Russians, forming a cordon on the frontiers, intercepted all communication. The army was compelled to defend its front against the Austrians, and its rear against the Russians. The communication between Berlin and Breslau was precarious, but above all the loss of Colberg rendered the situation of affairs desperate; there was no obstacle to prevent the Russians from besieging Stettin, at the commencement of the spring, or even from seizing Berlin and the whole Electorate of Brandenburgh. In Silesia the King had only 30,000 men; prince Henry had scarcely more, and the troops who had served in Pomerania against the Russians, were totally ruined. The greater part of the provinces were overrun by the enemy, or laid waste; and the King knew not whence to draw recruits, where to find horses, accoutrements and subsistence, or how to secure the passage of the military stores to the army *."

In the midst of these auspicious appearances in favour of the House of Austria, an event happened, which rescued the Prussian monarchy from impending destruction. Elizabeth empress of Russia, died on the 5th of January, and was succeeded on the throne by her nephew Peter the Third. With the Empress expired the national antipathy which had been fostered against the king of Prussia: the new sovereign in his early youth had visited the court of Berlin, and struck with the admirable discipline of the Prussian army, conceived an enthusiastic admiration of Frederic, which was raised almost to adoration by the splendid successes, the unshaken fortitude, and the heroism of that extraordinary man †.

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. p. 271. † Travels in Russia, &c. vol. iii. p. 12. last edition.

During the reign of his predecessor, Peter had not concealed his partiality, and had even communicated the secrets of the cabinet and the plans of operations to his favourite hero. But he now avowed his attachment without reserve; he bitterly censured the ingratitude of Maria Theresa towards England, inveighed against her ambition, and stigmatised Elizabeth for having exhausted the blood and treasure of her empire to exalt a rival, and depress a friend. He had scarcely received the oath of allegiance from his subjects, before he ordered his troops to abstain from hostilities against the king of Prussia, and to quit the Austrian army; he imparted this intelligence with a childish transport to the British minister*, and soon afterwards secretly dispatched his favourite Godovitz to conclude an alliance with the hero of his idolatry. With a servility unbecoming the sovereign of a great empire, he even sought an honorary rank in the Prussian army, and seemed to pride himself more as a lieutenant general of Frederic, than as Autocrat of all the Russias. The change of politics at St. Petersburgh occasioned a similar revolution in the court of Stockholm; an armistice was concluded between Prussia and Sweden, and Maria Theresa was deprived of another ally. The exultation of the king of Prussia at this fortunate and long-expected event, was equal to his former despondency; he broke from his sullen retirement, shewed himself again to his troops, appeared in public with every mark of joy, and again resumed his favourite amusements and ordinary course of life †.

Chapter 38. 1762.

Maria Theresa, on the contrary, suddenly fell from her towering hopes of recovering Silesia, and subverting the Prussian power. In consequence of the successes of the last campaign she had haughtily rejected the overtures of England to mediate an accommodation; from a principle of mistaken œconomy she had disbanded 20,000 men, and this unseasonable diminution of her forces, in conjunction with the defection of Russia, was still further augmented by a leprous disorder which spread contagion among her troops, and rendered a considerable

* Mr. Keith's Dispatches. † Warnery, p. 493.

Chapter 38. 1762.

part of her army unfit for service. The Austrians seem to have been confounded at this sudden reverse of fortune; and although marshal Daun took the command of the Silesian army in May, he could not prevent the King from drawing his troops from Pomerania and Mecklenburgh to the neighbourhood of Breslau, and making preparations for the recovery of Schweidnitz. They were still further disheartened by the conclusion of the treaty of offensive alliance between Russia and Prussia, and by the march of the corps under Chernichef, who, having separated from the Austrians and taken the route to Poland, returned and joined the Prussians. By this accession of strength the King became equal if not superior to Daun, and was enabled to pursue offensive operations.

Meanwhile Daun had exerted his principal efforts to preserve Schweidnitz, and to render that fortress capable of sustaining a long siege. During the whole winter, peasants and soldiers were employed in repairing and strengthening the works, and a chain of entrenched posts was formed in the mountains, which would enable the army to maintain a communication with the town. The garrison of 12,000 chosen troops was commanded by Guasco, a distinguished general in the Austrian service, who was assisted by Gribeauval, one of the first engineers of the time, and the place was provided with every requisite for maintaining a siege.

In May, Daun, with 60,000 men, had descended into the plain, and encamped at the distance of six miles beyond Schweidnitz, with his right wing extending to the foot of the Zobtenberg, and his left towards the Schweidnitz Wasser; while the King, who waited for the junction of the Russians, retained his troops in cantonments on the banks of the Lohe. Before their arrival, however, he sent a considerable body towards the frontiers of Upper Silesia; and Daun was compelled to weaken his army by a detachment to cover Moravia. On the 1st of July, Chernichef passed the Oder, and the King put his army in motion. Daun, threatened by the Prussian detachments which hovered on his flanks, and alarmed for the safety of his magazines in Bohemia, retired successively to Boegendorf and Ditmansdorf; but although

a corps of Cossacs penetrated into Bohemia, and pushed their incursions even to the gates of Prague, he still maintained a communication with Schweidnitz by means of his intrenched posts, and rendered the siege impracticable. At this critical juncture, another revolution took place in Russia, which seemed likely to restore the ascendancy of the Austrian arms.

Peter the Third having disgusted his subjects by his childish attachment to the Prussian monarch, and displeased the army, nobility, and clergy, by his well-meant, but ill-timed, innovations, a secret conspiracy was formed against him, and headed by his consort, whom he had alienated by his brutal and capricious behaviour. He was frequently apprised of these machinations; but refused to listen even to the suggestions of the king of Prussia, and remained insensible of his danger until the insurrection broke forth, which deprived him of his crown and life *.

Catharine the Second, whom this singular revolution placed on the throne of Russia, was a daughter of Christian Augustus of Anhalt Zerbst, a petty prince of Germany in the service of Prussia, and was born in 1739 at Stettin, where her father was governor. At the age of sixteen, she was called into Russia, and espoused the Great Duke Peter, who from person, character, and manners, was calculated rather to disgust than to please a princess of great beauty, cultivated talents, and extreme sensibility. His neglect and ill-usage alienated her affections; the dread of perpetual imprisonment induced her to head the discontented party; and by one of those sudden revolutions which are natural to arbitrary governments, she succeeded in wresting the crown from her husband, and placing herself on the Russian throne.

Knowing the attachment of Peter to the king of Prussia, and the advantage which Frederic had derived from the cooperation of the Russian forces, she was apprehensive that he would be induced to oppose her elevation, and would either disarm the troops under

* For the account of this revolution, see Travels in Poland, Russia, &c. vol. 3. ch. 1.

Chapter 38. 1762.

Chernichef, or prevail on them to declare in favour of the dethroned Emperor; she was aware also, that the childish admiration of her husband for the Prussian hero, had excited the contempt and aversion of his subjects. On her accession, therefore, she issued a manifesto, declaring the king of Prussia the enemy of the Russian name, ordered Chernichef to return to Poland, and the troops in Pomerania to re-occupy Prussia, and resume hostilities.

Chernichef related the account of this revolution to the King, and privately communicated his orders to withdraw from the army. Frederic, though confounded by an event, which, to use his own words, "overturned the projects of man*," made no opposition to his departure, but prevailed on him to defer his march three days. The time was precious; the Austrian commander was ignorant of the revolution, and Frederic availing himself of this interval, attacked the two intrenched posts of Burkersdorf and Oehmsdorf, and, after a slight contest, dislodged the Austrians, who amounted to 8,000 men, although covered by lines equally strong from nature and art. In consequence of this reverse, Daun removed his camp to Wursten Waltersdorf, and Tannhausen; while the Russians, who by their presence had contributed to his defeat, began their march towards Poland. Schweidnitz was instantly invested, the trenches opened on the 7th of August, and the operations of the siege were covered by the King on the side of Peterswalde, and by a corps under the prince of Bevern, which had been drawn from Upper Silesia, on the side of Reichenbach. After the departure of the Russians, Daun, foiled in an attempt to cut off the corps under the prince of Bevern, withdrew to Scharfenek, and left Schweidnitz to its fate. The town held out till the 9th of October, when the explosion of the powder magazine, which opened a breach in the rampart, compelled the governor to surrender, and the garrison were made prisoners of war, after a resistance of sixty-four days. The King himself paid a due elogium to the gallant defender of the place; when Guasco, at the head of his officers, was presented, Frederic said, "Sir, you have given a noble example to those who are

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iv. p. 343.

intrusted

intrusted with the defence of fortresses; your resistance has cost me 8,000 men *." Chapter 38. 1762.

Thus terminated the campaign in Silesia, by which the Austrians irrecoverably lost that valuable province. The King, leaving a body of troops under the prince of Bevern, hastened into Saxony, to co-operate with prince Henry; and Daun having consigned to Loudon a corps opposed to the prince of Bevern, directed his march towards the same point; but before their arrival the fortune of the war was already decided. At the opening of the campaign, Serbelloni, the Austrian commander, covered the frontiers of Bohemia and Saxony with a chain of posts, which extended from Plauen and Dippoldiswalda, along the heights from Freyberg to Waldheim. Prince Henry, however, though inferior in force, passed the Mulda, penetrated this chain, and separated the Austrian troops from the army of the Empire; he maintained his advantages in different skirmishes, and harassed Bohemia by continual incursions.

Serbelloni being recalled, and the command intrusted to Haddick, the new general formed a junction with the army of the Empire, and drove prince Henry beyond the Mulda; but the Prince having received considerable succours from Silesia, again attacked the army of the Empire, who were posted at Freyberg, forced their intrenchments, and defeated them with the loss of 3,000 killed and wounded, 4,000 prisoners, 28 pieces of artillery, and several standards. Prince Albert, of Saxony, who was detached from the army of Daun, arrived too late; Haddick was unable to resume offensive operations, and the discomfited remains of the Imperial troops retired to Altenberg, on the frontiers of Bohemia. Prince Henry pursuing his success, sent a corps by Einsedel into Bohemia, which reduced Egra to ashes, destroyed the Austrian magazines at Saatz, and penetrated to the walls of Prague. Another corps spread over Saxony, burst into the heart of the Empire, levied contributions on every side, alarmed the Diet of Ratisbon, and forced Nuremberg, with many of the towns and

* Histoire de Marie Therese, an. 1762.

states,

Chapter 38. 1762. Nov. 24.

states, to sign a neutrality. Unable to check this torrent, Daun concluded an armistice for the winter, which comprehended Saxony and Silesia, and the two armies retired into quarters.

The allies of the House of Austria were not more fortunate. At the commencement of the year the French forces in the Landgraviate of Hesse and the southern part of Hanover, assembled in June, and occupied the strong post of Stolpen; they were here attacked by prince Ferdinand, and, after a desperate engagement, defeated with considerable loss. The remainder of the campaign was almost a continued series of disasters; the French were harassed and baffled on all sides by prince Ferdinand, and at the close of the year possessed no other place in Hesse, except Ziegenhayn, which the allies were preparing to invest, when the signature of the preliminaries terminated hostilities *.

The cooperation of Spain produced no essential advantage to the House of Austria; and the invasion of Portugal was attended with the ill success which so unjust a measure deserved. Animated by the genius of count de Oeyras, afterwards distinguished by the title of Pombal, inspirited by the vigorous succours of the English, and directed by the military skill of count de la Lippe, the Portuguese made an unexpected resistance, and compelled the combined forces of the French and Spaniards again to evacuate the country. In fact Spain was drawn into hostilities, only to become the victim of her weakness and duplicity; the isle of Cuba and the Manillas were taken; her marine weakened by the capture of twelve ships of the line, and, besides the enormous expence of the equipments for the war, she lost near four millions sterling, in treasure and valuable merchandise, which fell into the hands of the English cruizers.

France, unsuccessful both by sea and land, exhausted of her blood and treasure, and in addition to her former losses, deprived of the valuable colonies of Martinico, with its dependencies, St. Lucia, Tobago,

* Operations of the allied army under prince Ferdinand—Œuvres Posthumes, tom. 4. ch. 16—Archenholz, p. 330—Annual Register for 1763.

bago, and Grenada, saw her commerce annihilated, and her ships pent up in her harbours, and was disappointed in her hopes from the cooperation of Spain. She therefore made overtures to England, with a sincerity natural to her desperate situation, and found a ready compliance from the British cabinet. England had nothing more to hope from a prolongation of the war; the people were satiated with victories, which added neither to their internal security or external aggrandisement; the duke of Newcastle, under whose direction the war had commenced, had retired from the helm, and his place in the treasury was filled by lord Bute, whose pacific sentiments were in unison with those of the Sovereign and nation. As the two parties equally desired a peace, the conditions were adjusted without much difficulty; and a treaty was signed at Fontainebleau on the 5th of November between England, France, Spain, and Portugal. The German disputes, which in the reigns of George the First and Second, might have prolonged the war, became only a secondary consideration, to the unbiassed wisdom of the Sovereign who filled the throne. The king of Prussia hastened the separation of England by his ambitious projects, which returned with returning success, and by his unqualified invectives against the ill faith of the British cabinet*.

Chapter 38. 1762.

May 2.

Finding

* The king of Prussia, not only at the time when he was irritated by the conduct of England, but also in his posthumous works, written when his chagrin ought to have subsided, has repeated a formal accusation of the British Cabinet, (vol. v. p. 16). He asserts, that lord Bute urged Peter to continue the corps under Chernichef in the field against Prussia, and, in return, promised to enforce whatever cessions he might require. Similar overtures are also said to have been made to the court of Vienna, offering, with the same perfidious liberality, the spoils of Prussia.

Prejudiced, or superficial writers, who had no other means of information, have blindly adopted this statement; but in refutation of this calumny, it is but justice to the British cabinet to refer the reader to Adolphus's History of George the Third, vol. 1. p. 78, and the Appendix, containing the correspondence relative to the discontinuance of the Prussian subsidy. I have the pleasure to add, that the assertions of the king of Prussia are wholly contradicted by Mr. Keith's correspondence from St. Petersburg. It appears, indeed, that the king of Prussia either misunderstood, or chose to misunderstand, simple overtures of accommodation, as a perfidious proposal to sacrifice him to the courts of Petersburgh and

Chapter 38. 1762.

Finding that his sole voice opposed the conclusion of peace, and aware, from past experience, that when he was delivered from the Russians and Swedes, his forces were equal, if not superior, to those of Austria, England had withdrawn the subsidy; and having bound France, by the 13th article of the preliminaries, not to furnish succours to the Empress-queen, abandoned the discussion of the affairs of Germany to the courts of Berlin and Vienna.

Many motives contributed to bend the lofty spirit of Maria Theresa, and incline her to peace. She had been deserted by the Swedes, on the accession of Peter the Third; and the expectations which she had formed from the recent revolution in Russia were equally disappointed. The first steps taken by the new Empress indicated a hostile disposition towards the king of Prussia; but these measures were occasioned by her apprehensions rather than by her inclinations. At the commencement of a new reign, with so defective a title to the crown, she was unwilling to engage in foreign hostilities; and she had found among the papers of the late Emperor unequivocal proofs that Frederic had disapproved the capricious conduct of Peter, and repeatedly urged him to treat her with mildness and humanity. In this disposition the behaviour of Frederic towards the troops under Chernichef conciliated her favour; she ordered Prussia to be restored, discontinued all acts of hostility, and, during the remainder of the campaign, preserved an exact neutrality.

In addition to these disappointments Maria Theresa saw her hereditary countries exposed to the irruptions of the Prussians, and Hungary threatened by the Turks, who had been excited by the intrigues of the

and Vienna. But in asserting the good faith of the British cabinet, I do not mean to excuse their impolicy in discontinuing the Prussian subsidy; as that measure rendered the king of Prussia an inveterate enemy, and was but an inconsiderable deduction from the enormous expences of the war. Lord Bute, with the best intentions, was influenced by the party who fostered a systematic aversion to continental connections. Among these were distinguished his confidential friend lord Melcombe, and the duke of Bedford, who had recently been introduced into the administration, and was employed in negotiating a peace.

king

king of Prussia to meditate hostilities. Motives no less cogent were suggested by the dreadful devastations of the Prussians in Saxony, the panic of the German states, the defection of all her allies, the difficulty of finding resources and raising money, disgusts among her ministers, the declining health of the Emperor, and dissensions in her family. Chapter 38. 1762.

Urged by these motives Maria Theresa herself made overtures to Frederic, which being favourably received, conferences were opened at Hubertsburgh, a palace of the Elector of Saxony, and after a short discussion relative to the restitution of the county of Glatz, and the succession to the Margraviates of Bareuth and Anspach, the peace was signed on the 5th of February 1763. The treaties of Breslau and Berlin formed the basis of that of Hubertsburgh. Maria Theresa renewed her renunciation of Silesa and Glatz, and both parties guarantied each other's possessions. All places and prisoners taken during the war were to be restored; and Frederic by a secret article, promised to give his suffrage for electing the archduke Joseph king of the Romans. In this treaty the Empire was also comprised, and the peace of Westphalia, with the other constitutions of the Germanic body, renewed. A treaty was signed the same day between Augustus the Third and the king of Prussia, for the evacuation of Saxony and the restitution of the archives, and part of the Saxon artillery.

The pacification of Hubertsburgh, which terminated the septennial war, placed the affairs of Germany in the same situation as before the commencement of hostilities; and both parties, after an immense waste of blood and treasure, derived from it no other benefit than that of experiencing each other's strength, and a dread of renewing the calamities of so destructive a contest. Maria Theresa, however, had the mortification of seeing her allies suffer for their attachment to her cause. Saxony was exhausted almost beyond recovery; her allies in the Empire were drained by excessive contributions; and France lost part of Louisiana, the province of Canada, Cape Breton, with all the islands in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and also Grenada, the Grenadines,

Chapter 38. 1762.

St. Vincent's, Dominica, and Tobago. Spain yielded Florida, and all her other possessions on the continent of America, to the east or south east of the Missisippi, and the British empire was thus consolidated in that quarter of the globe *.

* For the treaties of Fontainebleau and Hubertsburgh have been consulted the supplement to Dumont—Koch—Vie de Marie Therese—Puetter's Historical Development—Œuvres Posthumes.

CHAPTER 39.

1762—1769.

The Archduke Joseph elected King of the Romans—Death and Character of the Emperor Francis—Grief of Maria Theresa—Joseph succeeds to the Throne of the Empire—Beneficial Regulations and Establishments of Maria Theresa—Improvements in the Army, and Introduction of the Military Conscription.

THE elevation of the archduke Joseph to the dignity of King of the Romans, was the immediate consequence of the peace. On the 27th of May 1764, the election took place without opposition at Frankfort; and this successful event secured to the family of Maria Theresa the Imperial crown, and prevented the evils of an interregnum, in which the sudden death of the Emperor Francis might otherwise have involved the Empire.

1765. Francis was at Inspruck in the Tyrol, where he had assisted at the marriage between the archduke Leopold and Maria Louisa, Infanta of Spain. He had been for some time indisposed, and threatened with an apoplexy, and he imagined that his disorder was increased by the heavy atmosphere in the vallies of Tyrol; like the emperor Albert the First, he repeatedly expressed an earnest desire to return to Vienna; and on viewing the mountains with which Inspruck is surrounded, exclaimed, "Oh! if I could once quit these mountains of the Tyrol*."

In the morning of the 18th of August, being pressed by his sister Charlotte Marianne, abbess of Remiremont, to be blooded, he answered, "I am engaged this evening to sup with Joseph, and will not

* Wraxall's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 359.

Chapter 39. 1762—1769.

disappoint him; but I promise you I will be blooded to-morrow." At the opera, in the afternoon, he felt himself disordered; went out, accompanied by his son Joseph, and in retiring through his valet de chambre's room to his own apartment, was struck with a fit of apoplexy. As he tottered for a few moments, Joseph caught him in his arms, but could not support him, and Francis falling on the floor, expired without a groan in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

In his private deportment Francis was lively, polite, and affable; but he seemed rather formed for the situation in which he was born, than for that high rank to which he was elevated by his marriage with Maria Theresa. His honours sat awkwardly upon him, and he was uneasy under his dignities. Though appointed co-regent of the Austrian dominions, and seated upon the first throne of Europe, he possessed only the shadow of authority, and his opinion was without weight in things of consequence. Naturally indolent and unambitious, he never attempted to make the smallest struggle; but submitted without a murmur to be a cipher, contented only to be consulted by foreign embassadors for the sake of form. He even affected to display his own insignificance, and to consider himself as subordinate to his consort. Being once at the levee when the Empress-queen was giving audience to her subjects, he retired from the circle, and seated himself in a distant corner of the apartment, near two ladies of the court. On their attempting to rise, he said; "Do not regard me, for I shall stay here till the *court* is gone, and then amuse myself with contemplating the crowd;" the ladies replying, "As long as your Imperial majesty is present the court will be here;" "you mistake," he added with a smile, "the Empress and my children are the court; I am here only a simple individual*."

Had Francis possessed more influence, the system of Europe would probably not have been overturned; for France was as odious to him as Prussia was to the Empress-queen, and he seemed to have appreciated the necessity of preserving the strictest friendship with Great

* From the Countess of Harrach, one of the ladies.

Britain.

Britain *. He did not, without great reluctance, consent to the alliance with the House of Bourbon; and among his papers was found a remark which confirms this observation: "The less connection with France the better; the god of the French is convenience; they have been often tried, and have been always found unfaithful †."

The royal historian has recorded, that Francis, not daring to interfere in affairs of government, employed the sums which he drew from Tuscany in commerce. He established manufactories, or lent money on pledges, and undertook to furnish the Imperial troops with uniforms, arms, and horses. Associated with count Botta, and a merchant named Schimmelman, he farmed the revenues of Saxony; and in 1756, even supplied with forage the Prussian army, which was then engaged in hostilities with the Empress his consort; during the septennial war he furnished the Empress with large sums, but always took care that they should be vested on good security; he was in a word the court banker ‡. Francis left two chests of money; one belonging to himself, and the other which he administered for the Empress. His own was supposed to contain about 1,000,000 florins in ready money, and 19,000,000 in paper, which his son Joseph inherited; but his love of amassing treasure did not render him hard hearted; on the contrary he was "open as day to melting charity," and distributed 100,000l. in annual donations to distressed persons.

He was extremely fond of natural philosophy, and endeavoured to make his skill subservient to his love of money. With this view he attempted, by means of burning glasses, to form several small diamonds in one large stone; and continually employed chemists in searching for the philosophers' stone. He patronised men of letters, and made collections of medals, natural history, and natural philosophy; and to his care the capital owes a cabinet as rich in those articles as any

* Sir Charles Hanbury Williams to the duke of Newcastle, July 5, 1753.

† These particulars of the emperor Francis were principally collected during my residence at Vienna.

‡ Œuvres Posthumes, tom. iii. p. 26.

European

Chapter 39. 1762—1769.

European city can display. Though his abilities and acquirements were inferior, and his deportment less dignified, in one respect he was far greater than Maria Theresa; he was more inclined to toleration, and always recommended, in matters of religion, persuasion and argument rather than violence and persecution.

Among numerous instances of benevolence, which reflect high honour on his memory, two have been thought most worthy of being handed down to posterity. A fire having burst forth in a magazine of saltpetre at Vienna, Francis hastened to the spot, and as he advanced to give his orders, one of his suite represented to him, that he too much exposed his person; "Do not," the Emperor replied, "be alarmed for me, but for those poor wretches whom it will be difficult to save*." During the depth of winter a violent inundation overflowed the suburbs, and the waters rising to an extraordinary height, many could only save themselves by taking refuge on the tops of the houses. For three days they remained in that dreadful situation without nourishment; the rapidity of the stream, and the floating masses of ice, rendering the passage so dangerous, that the most intrepid boatmen could not be persuaded by any recompence to expose themselves. In this imminent peril Francis threw himself into a boat, and exclaiming, "I trust my example will not be lost," rowed over to the opposite shore; his example had its due effect; the boatmen no longer hesitated to encounter the same danger as the Emperor, and the people were saved†. If the study of history is useful, it is particlarly so when it records examples of courage springing from humanity, and where the foremost in rank is the first to distinguish himself in braving danger or in acts of benevolence.

Maria Theresa bore the afflicting stroke of her husband's sudden decease with the utmost resignation. Though doatingly fond of him, and herself a pattern of conjugal attachment, she had supported his

* Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 114. † Ibid. p. 169.

numerous

numerous infidelities without the smallest murmur, and even without appearing to be apprised of them *. In a letter to her daughter, she calls him by the endearing names of consort, friend, her heart's joy for two-and-forty years; she added, "brought up together, our sentiments have ever been the same, and all my misfortunes have been softened by his support." She derived a melancholy pleasure from the recollection of his amiable qualities, and even soothed her grief by preparing with her own hands, the shroud which was to cover his body, but charged the confidential women of her court, who saw her employed in that dismal office, not to divulge it; and the secret was not known till her death †. To the time of her decease she constantly wore mourning; her apartments were hung with black; she frequently descended into the vault which contained his remains, and continued several hours praying by his sepulchre, and preparing for her own dissolution.

In consequence of his pre-election Joseph succeeded to the title of Emperor; and Leopold her second son became Great Duke of Tuscany, in virtue of the act of succession promulgated by Francis in 1763.

The Empress-queen was no sooner recovered from the first agonies of her grief, than she turned her attention with redoubled energy to the concerns of government. From her accession to the treaty of Hubertsburgh, she had been engaged in continual hostilities, or in the most active preparations for war; but the time was now arrived, when a long period of foreign and domestic tranquillity, interrupted only by the short interval of the Bavarian contest, gave to the sovereign of the House of Austria the power, as she possessed the inclination, of establishing the most beneficial regulations for promoting the welfare of her subjects. She founded or enlarged, in different parts of her extensive dominions, several academies for the

* Wraxall's Memoirs. Mr. Wraxall has recorded a striking proof of her magnanimity in her conduct to the princess of Auersberg, the mistress of Francis. Vol. ii. p. 353.

† From the countess of Thun.

Chapter 39. 1762—1769.

improvement of the arts and sciences; instituted numerous seminaries for the education of all ranks of people; reformed the public schools, and ordered prizes to be distributed among the students who made the greatest progress in learning, or were distinguished for propriety of behaviour, or purity of morals. She established prizes for those who excelled in the different branches of manufacture, in geometry, mining, smelting metals, and even spinning. She particularly turned her attention to the promotion of agriculture, which, in a medal struck by her order, was intitled, the "Art which nourishes all other arts*," and founded a society of agriculture at Milan, with bounties for the peasants who obtained the best crops. She confined the rights of the chace, often so pernicious to the husbandman, within narrow limits; and issued a decree enjoining all the nobles who kept wild game, to maintain their fences in good repair, permitting the peasants to destroy the wild boars which ravaged the fields. She also abolished the scandalous power usurped by the landholders of limiting the season for mowing the grass within the forests and their precincts, and mitigated the feudal servitude of the peasants in Bohemia.

Among her beneficial regulations must not be omitted the introduction of inoculation, and the establishment of a small-pox hospital. On the recovery of her children from a disorder so fatal to her own family, Maria Theresa gave an entertainment, which displays the benevolence of her character. Sixty-five children, who had been previously inoculated at the hospital were regaled with a dinner in the gallery of the palace at Schoenbrun, in the midst of a numerous court; and Maria Theresa herself, assisted by her offspring, waited on this delightful groupe, and gave to each of them a piece of money. The parents of the children were treated in another apartment; the whole party was admitted to the performance of a German play; and this charming entertain-

* Arti artium nutrici.

ment

ment was concluded with a dance, which was protracted till mid- Chapter 39. 1762—1769.
night *.

Perhaps the greatest effort made by the Empress-queen, and which reflects the highest honour on her memory, was the reformation of various abuses in the church, and the regulations which she introduced into the monasteries. She corrected the evils attendant on mortmain, or pious legacies bequeathed to the church as an expiation for sin, by forbidding all ecclesiastics from being present at the making of a will; she diminished the number of monks and nuns, by ordering that no persons should be admitted to take the vows who had not attained the age of twenty-five; and she abolished a burthensome impost of ten per cent., which every new abbot had extorted from his vassals, under the pretence of furnishing an equivalent tax on collateral successions, to which abbey lands had been declared subject †. She took away the pernicious right which the convents and churches enjoyed of affording an asylum to all criminals without distinction; she suppressed the inquisition, which, though curbed by the civil power, still subsisted at Milan, and abolished throughout all her dominions the no less odious than inhuman custom of forcing confession by torture. She suppressed the society of Jesuits, although her own confessor was a member of that order; but did not imitate the unjust and cruel measures adopted in Spain and Portugal, and softened the rigour of their lot by every alleviation which circumstances would permit.

The superintendence of the army Maria Theresa consigned to her son Joseph. Aided by the experience of marshal Lacy, he formed a system of military œconomy which even surpassed the boasted arrangements in the establishment of the parsimonious Frederic. At his suggestion also, and in imitation of the Prussian system, the military conscription was introduced, in 1772, into all the Austrian dominions, except the Netherlands, Milan, Tyrol, and Hungary. This conscription, though highly despotic in its principle, was per-

* Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 218, 219. † Ibid. p. 216.

Chapter 39. 1762—1769.

haps rendered in some degree necessary by the vigilance and activity of so formidable a neighbour as Frederic the Second, who had in the preceding wars penetrated almost to the center of the Austrian dominions, before the court of Vienna was prepared to make the smallest opposition. In consequence of these regulations, the troops of Austria, at the commencement of the Bavarian campaign, for the first time took the field with the same promptitude, and in the same state of readiness as those of Prussia.

CHAPTER 40.

1769—1777.

Causes of the Partition of Poland—State and Constitution of that Country—Death of Augustus the Third—Ineffectual Endeavours of MARIA THERESA *to secure the Throne for the House of Saxony—Count Poniatowski supported by the Empress of Russia—His Election and Character—Contests relative to the Privileges of the Dissidents—Tumults and intestine Dissensions—Interference of Russia and Prussia—*MARIA THERESA *supports the Catholics—Civil War in Poland—Confederacy of Bar—The Turks declare War against Russia—Projects of the King of Prussia for the Dismemberment of Poland—Interviews with the Emperor, and Union between Austria and Prussia—Success of the Russian Arms—Alliance of the House of Austria with the Porte—Artful Policy of the King of Prussia—Obtains the Concurrence of Russia and Austria—Measures which preceded and accompanied the Dismemberment—Wretched State of Poland—Ratification and Terms of the Partition—Changes in the Government—New Encroachments of Austria and Prussia—Peace of Kainardji between the Russians and the Turks—Austria and Prussia compelled to relinquish their Encroachments—Acquisition of the Bucovina.*

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

IT is a melancholy task to turn from these salutary and benevolent acts to a series of ambiguous negotiations and unjust encroachments, which again changed the whole system of Austrian policy, occasioned a temporary union with the king of Prussia, and ended in the partition of Poland, a transaction which disgraced the reign of Maria Theresa.

Notwithstanding her memorable declaration in 1756, that no consideration on earth should induce her to enter into an alliance of which the king of Prussia was a party, the Empress-queen forgot that apprehension of his ambition which had hitherto been her ruling principle, and not only relinquished all hopes of recovering Silesia, but contributed to consolidate and extend the power and influence of her natural enemy. This change in the conduct of the court of Vienna

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

was principally owing to the predominance which Russia began to assume in the scale of Europe under Catherine the Second; and particularly to the despotic ascendency which she had acquired in Poland.

Poland, which formed a barrier between Austria, Prussia, Turkey, and Russia, had sunk from the first to the most inconsiderable power of the north, in consequence of intestine commotions, and the diminution of the regal authority. The neighbouring sovereigns fomented these internal discords, in order to preserve their influence in the government, and prevent the nation from recovering its former ascendency; and the constitution was calculated to promote their views. It was a republican form, presided by an elective monarch, who was chosen by the nobles or gentry, and extremely limited in his authority. The great body of the people were in a state of feudal vassalage; and the nobles* were the sole proprietors of land in fee, or descendants of those proprietors, consequently numerous, and in general needy. Among these, the most powerful and opulent, like the feudal barons, maintained large bodies of retainers, and were supported by those of their own order, who hoped either for protection or advantage. Hence factions were formed, and the higher nobles, perpetually at variance either among themselves or with the crown, were assisted and encouraged by foreign states.

The supreme legislative authority resided in the three estates of the realm, the King, Senate, and Equestrian Order, assembled in a national diet.

The Senate consisted of the bishops, palatines, or governors of provinces, castellans or lieutenants of the palatines, and the sixteen ministers of state; all these were appointed by the King, but when

* A noble, as designated by the laws of Poland, was a person not engaged in trade or commerce, either possessing land, or the descendant of a family which formerly possessed land. Every noble was capable of being a candidate for the throne. Travels in Poland, &c. b. i. ch. 5.

nominated

nominated could not be deprived of their charges except by the consent of the diet.

The Equestrian Order, or Lower House, was composed of nuntios chosen by the nobles or gentry in the respective dietines, and no qualification was required either in the electors or elected. This assembly exhibited a disgraceful scene of faction, tumult, and bloodshed, and was incapable of concluding any business of state, because the most important questions could not be decided without unanimity of suffrages, as each nuntio, by his liberum veto, or negative, had the power of suspending, or even of dissolving the diet. To obviate the evils arising from this dreadful privilege, the Poles had recourse to diets of confederacy, which, though composed of the same members, and conducted with the same forms, were capable of deciding by plurality of voices; still, however, the evil was only remedied in part, as the diets of confederacy could not decide on many affairs of state, nor make regulations which might lead to a radical change in the constitution *.

From the death of John Sobieski the House of Austria had maintained a considerable influence in Poland; and, in concurrence with Russia, had raised Augustus the Second, Elector of Saxony, to the throne. Charles the Sixth had sacrificed some of his fairest provinces to support Augustus the Third; and Maria Theresa was equally desirous to promote the interest of the House of Saxony, which had displayed so warm an attachment, and undergone such sufferings in her cause. On the death of Augustus she prepared to exert all her influence in favour of his son Christian Frederic; but that prince dying soon after his father, and his son Frederic Augustus, a minor, being ineligible to the vacant dignity, she encouraged prince Xavier, second son of the deceased monarch, to become a candidate.

October 5, 1796.

On this vacancy Poland became a scene of faction and disorder: several natives offered themselves as candidates; among whom the most

* For an account of the government of Poland, and the Liberum Veto, see my Travels in Poland, b. i. ch. 6.

conspicuous

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

conspicuous were prince Czartorisky, his nephew count Stanislaus Poniatowski, high standard-bearer of Lithuania, count Branisky, and prince Lubomirsky. Of these count Branisky was supported by prince Radzivil, and by those independent magnates who deprecated the interference of foreign powers; but all the other competitors yielded to count Poniatowski, who was assisted by the influence of Russia.

This amiable and accomplished nobleman was son of count Poniatowski, castellan of Cracow, by the princess Czartoriska, and had captivated the affections of Catherine when grand duchess. The vanity of the Empress was flattered by the prospect of conferring a crown on her favourite; and her ambition was no less gratified in securing the election of a king who was deficient in energy of mind, and seemed likely to become wholly dependent on his benefactress. She lavished her treasure to bribe the venal nobles, assembled an army on the frontiers, and, in order to exclude all foreign candidates, restricted the Poles to the choice of a piast, or native.

The Empress-queen saw with concern the attempts of Russia to exclude the House of Saxony, and gain the preponderance in Poland; she published a spirited manifesto, declaring her resolution to maintain all the rights, prerogatives, and possessions of the Poles, particularly their privilege of appointing a sovereign by a free and voluntary election; and being seconded by a declaration equally strong on the part of France, prepared to assert the pretensions of the House of Saxony by arms.

To counteract the opposition of Maria Theresa, Catherine gained the king of Prussia; the two sovereigns entered into a treaty to secure the election of Stanislaus; and being joined by the Porte, the three powers issued similar declarations, exhorting or rather commanding the Poles to elect none but a piast for their king. Soon afterwards a corps of Russian troops entered Poland, defeated prince Radzivil and his party; and, in conjunction with a Prussian force on the frontiers, awed the diet of election, and secured the nomination

1764, July 3.

Sept. 7.

of

of count Poniatowski, who was crowned by the title of Stanislaus Augustus *.

Maria Theresa, ill seconded by France, and opposed by Turkey, Prussia, and Russia, was too prudent to follow the example of her father, at a time when her subjects were yet bleeding with the wounds of the septennial war. She did not, therefore, openly oppose the election of Stanislaus; but, recalling her minister from Warsaw, strove, in concert with France, to diminish the preponderance of Russia, by fomenting the intestine troubles, and assisting the malecontents with money. She thus prepared to avail herself of the first opportunity to interfere with effect in the affairs of Poland, and this opportunity soon presented itself.

Stanislaus, though solely indebted to Catherine for his elevation, beheld with regret the total dependence of his country on the court of Petersburgh. He was anxious to emancipate himself from the Russian yoke, to abolish the Liberum Veto, and reform other glaring defects in the constitution, which furnished a perpetual pretext for foreign interference. But his character and abilities were not equal to this great design: without military talents, he could not direct or awe his turbulent subjects; and he was too deeply immersed in gallantry and pleasures, to undertake an enterprise which required the greatest exertions of body and mind. Some salutary regulations introduced into the finances, the army, the courts of justice, and the further reforms which he meditated, gave umbrage to Russia, and roused those turbulent spirits who were desirous to retain their country in a state of anarchy. Catherine and Frederic fomented these discontents, and revived the religious disputes, by declaring themselves protectors of the dissidents; under which denomination were comprised all christian sects who dissented from the catholic religion. The dissidents had been originally indulged with the free exercise of their worship, admitted

* Memoirs depuis la Paix de Hubertsburgh, 1763, jusqu' à la fin du Partage de Pologne 1775, in Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, tom. v.—Revolutions de Pologne, tom. i.—Travels in Poland, &c. vol. i.

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

mitted to seats in the diet, and had participated in all the privileges of the catholics; and these rights were confirmed by the celebrated treaty of Oliva. In process of time the catholics, acquiring the ascendency, gradually deprived the dissidents of their privileges, and, in 1733, excluded them from the diet. Soon after the election of Stanislaus, the dissidents appealed to England, Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, as mediating powers in the treaty of Oliva, and obtained their recommendation to the diet; but these applications were unfavourably received, the exclusion was confirmed, and with great difficulty they even obtained the free exercise of their worship. The King himself, though inclined to toleration, concurred with the catholics, and thus excited still further the resentment of the empress of Russia. Catherine remonstrated against the proceedings of the diet, encouraged the dissidents to form confederacies, and even strengthened them with a body of troops. Religious disputes were soon blended with political cabals; the dissidents were joined by bodies of discontented catholics, and a confederacy of catholics was formed under the appellation of malcontents, and headed by prince Radzivil.

A national diet, assembled to consider the claims of the dissidents, was awed into compliance by a Russian force; the most violent of the catholics were arrested and imprisoned, and the diet dissolved, after appointing a committee to adjust the contested points. This committee was induced by bribes and threats to arrange a body of articles, which not only restored the privileges of the dissidents, but perpetuated the elective monarchy, the Liberum Veto, and the other abuses in the constitution; and these articles were sanctioned by an extraordinary diet held at the commencement of 1768.

Such arbitrary proceedings roused the majority of the nation; bodies of catholics assembling on the frontiers of Turkey and Hungary, seized the fortress of Bar in Podolia, and formed an union which was called the Confederacy of Bar. The royal troops were either defeated, or joined the insurgents; additional forces from Russia poured into Poland, and the country became a scene of bloodshed and

devastation*; while the King without a shadow of authority, was a mere puppet in the hands of the Russian party. Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

During these troubles Maria Theresa watched with a jealous eye the proceedings of Catherine. Being inclined to favour the catholics, both from principles of religion and policy, she encouraged the confederacy of Bar, and suffered the chiefs to fix their head-quarters in Hungary. In conjunction with France, and the Porte who had deserted the alliance of Russia and Prussia, she furnished the malecontents with money and arms, and permitted bodies of French troops to pass into Poland through her territories. By these means the party of the malecontents became extremely formidable, and had they been openly supported by the House of Austria, two kings might have again contended for the throne of Poland; but as the court of France was unable to engage in a distant war, Maria Theresa would not encounter alone the united forces of Russia and Prussia, and the catholic confederates, overpowered by the disciplined troops of Russia, were discomfited on all sides.

In one of these conflicts a party of Russians pursued the Poles into the Turkish territory, and burnt the small town of Balta. This accidental incursion was construed as a violation of territory; the Porte was instigated by France to publish a declaration of war against Russia, and by this diversion enabled the confederates to protract hostilities. October 1768.

The rapid success of the Russians against the Turks, and particularly the conquest of Moldavia alarmed the court of Vienna, and disposed the Empress-queen to listen to the overtures of the king of Prussia, who was himself jealous of his new ally. That wily monarch had long coveted Polish or Western Prussia, which formed a communication between the disjointed parts of his dominions, but could not expect to realize his views without the concurrence of Austria and Russia. He therefore projected the partition of Poland; and the distracted state of that country, and the relative situation of the

* Lind's Letters on Poland—Travels in Poland, &c. b. 1. ch. 2—Œuvres Posthumes, tom. 5—Revolutions de Pologne.

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

neighbouring powers, seemed to offer a favourable moment for the fulfilment of his plan. Aware that Russia was interested to oppose a dismemberment, he endeavoured first to secure the concurrence of Austria, and, by their joint influence, to extort the acquiescence of Catherine while she was involved in a Turkish war.

As early as 1765 he had proposed an interview with the Emperor, which had been eagerly accepted by Joseph, at that time an enthusiastic admirer of his great rival; but he was disappointed by the jealousy of the Empress and her minister. The Austrian cabinet, however, being now alarmed by the success of the Russians, the Emperor himself, with the consent of Maria Theresa, offered to visit Frederic in Silesia. The interview took place at Neiss, and seemed likely to remove that enmity which had long divided the two Houses. Frederic addressed the Emperor by declaring he considered that day the happiest of his life, as it became the epoch of an union between two families too long hostile, but whose real interests consisted rather in seconding than destroying each other. Joseph replied, "Silesia no longer exists for the House of Austria." He then proposed to maintain a neutrality in Germany, in case of a war between England and France, and the King acceding to this proposal, a convention was signed by the two monarchs themselves, and by an additional article they engaged to observe a neutrality, in their respective dominions, should any unforeseen troubles arise; they likewise agreed to maintain a private correspondence, and settle their respective disputes without the intervention of ministers *.

August 25, 1769.

1770. In the ensuing year the Turkish fleet being destroyed at Tchesme, Bender taken by count Panin, and Wallachia added to the Russian conquests, the court of Vienna was still more alarmed with the progress of these new and dangerous neighbours; magazines were formed in Hungary, reinforcements of troops dispatched towards the frontiers, and the Empress-queen did not affect to conceal her resolution of taking part in the war.

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. p. 293.

Under

Under these circumstances a second interview took place: the Emperor, accompanied by prince Kaunitz, repaired to a camp formed at Neustadt in Moravia, where he received the visit of the Prussian monarch. Frederic and his generals were habited in the uniform worn by the Austrian recruits, and, on meeting the Emperor, the King addressed him with the delicate compliment, "I have brought your majesty many recruits." The two sovereigns treated each other with the utmost cordiality; and the business for which the meeting had been arranged was transacted between the King and the Austrian minister. Kaunitz pressed the King to join the House of Austria, in opposing, by force of arms, the ambitious projects of Russia; and urged that such an union was the only barrier to resist that torrent from the north, which threatened to overwhelm all Europe. Frederic artfully evaded this overture, but tendered his intervention to conciliate the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh, and offered to procure from the Porte the acceptance of the Austrian mediation; at the same time he reiterated his former assurances of amity, and, at the request of the Emperor, promised to communicate any overtures which might be made to him by France.

These professions were confirmed by the arrival of a messenger from Constantinople, with letters requesting the mediation of Austria and Prussia, and declaring the resolution of the Porte to accept no proposals which were not made by their intervention. This mediation was gladly accepted by the Emperor and his minister, and the rival Houses of Austria and Brandenburgh seemed cordially united in their views and interests.

At this interview Frederic held forth the partition of Poland as a bait to the Austrian court, and represented the policy of persuading or compelling Russia to concur in the dismemberment, instead of retaining Moldavia and Wallachia. The map of Poland was laid before the two sovereigns, the limits of the respective portions were adjusted, and the plan of operations arranged *. The consequences of

* I have little hesitation in asserting that the plan of this partition originated with the king of Prussia; but so infamous was this transaction, that each of the three powers

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

of these interviews were soon manifest; the Austrian and Prussian troops had already entered Poland, under the pretence of preventing the progress of the plague; and Maria Theresa brought forward vague claims on some Polish districts, of which she affected to postpone the discussion till the return of peace, and declared that she would protect the territories in question from all insults, either on the part of the Russians or the confederates.

Notwithstanding this union with the king of Prussia, and the arrangements for the partition, a singular change suddenly took place in the conduct of the court of Vienna. Maria Theresa, in a letter to Stanislaus, written with her own hand, gave the strongest assurances that her friendship for him and the republic was firm and unalterable; that she had never entertained a thought of seizing any part of his dominions, and would suffer no power to dismember Poland *. At the same time she concluded a treaty with the Porte, by which she agreed to declare war against the Russians, if they did not relinquish all their conquests, and desist from their enterprises in Poland. In return she was to receive an annual subsidy of 10,000 purses, or 720,000 pounds, by four instalments, the first of which was to be paid as soon as the Austrian troops were put in motion; and she flattered herself with the hopes of regaining from the gratitude of the Turks, those provinces which had been ceded at

powers endeavoured to fix the blame on the others. We need however only read the king of Prussia's own account in "La Politique depuis 1763 à 1775." Œuvres Posthumes, tom. 5, to be convinced that he was the prime mover of this partition, and that he obtained his end by fomenting and availing himself of the jealousy between the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh. At the same time it is remarkable, that, in his account of the interviews at Neiss and Neustadt, he makes no mention of the plan for the dismemberment of Poland. I was, however, informed at Vienna, by a nobleman, to whom the intelligence was communicated by Joseph himself, that the map of Poland was spread before the two sovereigns, in the interview at Neustadt. Count Hertzberg also acquainted me that the plan of this partition was arranged at the two meetings. He was consulted on the occasion by the King, and remonstrated against admitting the House of Austria to a share of the spoil; but Frederic replied, "Ils partageront aussi la blame."—See also Wraxall's account of these two meetings, in his Memoirs of the courts of Berlin, &c. Letter 19.

* Lind's Letters on Poland.

the

the peace of Belgrade. The troops were accordingly put in motion; the first instalment was paid; promises of assistance were lavished on the confederates; immense preparations made in Hungary; and the Imperial minister at Berlin pressed the king of Prussia to remain neuter, should the Austrians attack the Russians in any other country except Poland.

Frederic had now matured the plan at which he had laboured with unceasing assiduity. He therefore rejected the proposal of a neutrality, endeavoured to prevent the jealousy of the two powers from breaking out into open hostilities, and dispatched his brother prince Henry to St. Petersburgh, to negotiate a peace with the Turks, and to effect an accommodation between Austria and Prussia, which was to be cemented by the partition. Catherine, intoxicated with her success, demanded as the price of a peace with the Turks, the cession of the two Cabardias, Azof and its territory, the independence of the Crimea, the free navigation of the Black Sea, an island in the Archipelago, and the sequestration of Moldavia and Wallachia, for twenty-five years. In imparting these extravagant proposals to the court of Vienna, Frederic artfully softened their resentment, and endeavoured to protract the negotiation; but finding prince Kaunitz dazzled with the expected advantages of the Turkish alliance, he exerted all his endeavours to secure the concurrence of Russia. He succeeded in alarming Catherine with the dread of an Austrian war, and at length persuaded her to accept a portion of Poland, as an indemnification for restoring Moldavia and Wallachia.

In the midst of these negotiations, a corps of Austrian troops entered Poland, and occupied the lordship of Zips, as an antient dependency of the kingdom of Hungary. This usurpation furnished an additional argument to the king of Prussia, and facilitated his views. Catherine declared to prince Henry, that if the court of Vienna presumed to dismember Poland, the neighbouring powers must follow the example. Frederic took advantage of this hint, excited the apprehensions of the Empress, and at length extorted her consent to the partition; the respective portions were specified in a convention

Feb. 1772.

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

a convention signed at St. Petersburgh, between the Empress and the king of Prussia.

Having thus succeeded at the court of Russia, Frederic again turned to the cabinet of Vienna; he expressed the approbation of Catherine at the seisure of Zips, urged them to occupy the districts which they wished to appropriate, and insinuated that himself and Russia would follow their example. Notwithstanding their former engagement, the court of Vienna hesitated in adopting this proposal. They were unwilling to relinquish the advantages which they expected to derive from their connection with the Porte; and Kaunitz inparticular dreaded lest the dismemberment of Poland should occasion a breach of the alliance with France. But by the same artifices which Frederic had employed in Russia, he alternately alarmed and lured the court of Vienna, and even made warlike preparations to join with Russia in enforcing the partition. His schemes were attended with success. Maria Theresa was unwilling to involve herself in hostilities with Russia and Prussia, supported only by the feeble co-operation of the Turks; from the disgrace of Choiseul she could no longer expect assistance from France; the British cabinet, though averse to the dismemberment, was unwilling to offend the empress of Russia, from whom they had recently obtained a commercial treaty, and the other powers of Europe were unable to interpose with effect. She therefore listened to the overtures of the king of Prussia, and preferred a share in the plunder of Poland, to an uncertain and burthensome war. She felt or affected to feel, indeed, great scruples of conscience, in participating the disgrace of this infamous transaction; but she was not the less exorbitant in her demands, and extended her claims almost to the half of Poland. After a long discussion, the dread lest the secret should be divulged, and the instances of Prussia, induced her to lower her pretensions, and the final treaty of partition was signed

1772. at St. Petersburgh on the 5th of August.

During the negotiations for the partition treaty Poland had been torn by intestine feuds, and sunk into a dreadful state of anarchy; the confederates had made a considerable progress, and with the animosity

natural to such contests, both parties had committed the most daring acts of licentiousness and cruelty. The unfortunate monarch was solely maintained on his throne by a Russian army, and resided at Warsaw as a kind of state prisoner, in the midst of a Russian garrison; in this situation he was seized in his capital by a daring band of confederates, and was only rescued from assassination by an escape almost miraculous*.

At length the time approached for the execution of the treaty, which had been arranged with such consummate art and profound secresy. The three powers threw off the mask, by publishing a manifesto asserting their respective claims, and with an insulting mockery, urged those very disorders and miseries in which they had contributed to plunge the unfortunate Poles, as motives for their glaring violation of the rights of nations. On the publication of this manifesto, they made a specification of their intended acquisitions, and the respective districts were instantly occupied by their troops.

Both parties were equally confounded by these proceedings. The King and the royalists found themselves betrayed by the empress of Russia, whom they had considered as their protectress; and the confederates had even flattered themselves that the Austrian troops were advancing to their assistance. The nation now felt and lamented the fatal effects of faction and discord; but the two parties were unable to form a coalition; the King was a state pageant in the hands of the Russians; and the confederates, threatened on all sides, were soon routed and dispersed.

At this juncture a revolution took place in Sweden, which seemed likely to counteract the projects of the partitioning powers. On the death of Adolphus Frederic, the French ministry encouraged the young monarch Gustavus the Third, who was then at Paris, to effect a change in the constitution of his country, to emancipate himself from the shackles imposed by the senate, and the interference of foreign

* For an account of his escape, see Wraxall's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 56; and Travels in Poland, &c. b. 1. ch. 3.

powers.

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

powers. Gustavus was of a character well suited to effect this revolution. Gifted by nature with commanding eloquence, he joined the greatest coolness and presence of mind with a daring spirit of enterprise, and the heroism of the House of Vasa. He repaired to Stockholm, and was received with enthusiasm by the Swedes, who regretted the loss of their antient glory, aspired to recover the fame they had acquired under Gustavus Adolphus and Charles the Twelfth, and bore with indignation that subservience to foreign states to which they had been subjected under the regulations of the new form of government. The King increased the national enthusiasm by his popular manners and insinuating address; assisted by the money of France, and the counsels of Vergennes, then embassador at Stockholm, but still more favoured by his own eloquence, intrepidity, and presence of mind, he effected with equal secresy and celerity, and without bloodshed, the revolution which annihilated the powers of the aristocracy, and restored him to the authority possessed by his great ancestors*.

August 19, 1772.

Catherine, irritated at the abolition of the antient form of government, declared her resolution to restore the constitution by force of arms, and demanded the cooperation of Austria and Prussia. Maria Theresa was greatly embarrassed by this demand: she was not averse to a change which diminished the preponderance of Russia, and was aware that Gustavus had been encouraged and assisted by France; but she was unwilling to offend her new ally, on whose concurrence she alone relied for the tranquil possession of the dismembered part of Poland. She did not therefore give a direct refusal to the demands of Catherine, although she declared her resolution to maintain a neutrality should the king of Sweden be attacked†; and the Emperor delayed granting the investiture of the German provinces which Gustavus had artfully proposed, with a view to secure the protection of the Empire‡. The king of Prussia was no less inclined to prevent

* For an acount of this memorable revolution, see Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, book vii. ch. 4—Sheridan's History of the Swedish Revolution—and Lagerbring's Geschichte von Schweden.

† Sir Robert Keith to the earl of Suffolk, Feb. 6, 1773.

‡ Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

a war

a war with Sweden than the court of Vienna. He was equally jealous of the Russian power, and was nearly connected by blood with Gustavus, who was the son of his sister. But he was bound by treaty to support the antient government, and to assist Russia with a body of troops in case of a war with Sweden; and he was still more anxious than the court of Vienna not to alienate the empress of Russia, on whose assistance the fulfilment of all his deep laid schemes of policy depended. He therefore temporised, and used every effort, in conjunction with the Empress-queen, to soften the resentment of Catherine.

France declared her resolution to support the king of Sweden; and Gustavus himself, encouraged by the favourable aspect of affairs, and animated by the national enthusiasm, made the most vigorous preparations to secure his newly-acquired authority. But lukewarmness of her allies, the threats of France, and the resolution of Gustavus, did not bend the haughty spirit of Catherine, and her anger was still further roused by the aspiring views of Gustavus, who, anxious to distinguish the commencement of his reign, took advantage of the weak and distracted state of the court of Denmark, and prepared to atchieve the conquest of Norway. She even made overtures to the Turks, that she might be enabled to turn her arms against Sweden; the Turks, however, instigated by France to persevere in the contest, and encouraged with the prospect of a diversion from the Swedes, rejected her demands, and made vigorous preparations to prosecute hostilities. Embarrassed by these difficulties, Catherine listened to the instances of the Empress-queen and the king of Prussia; an accommodation was effected, and the court of Petersburgh acknowledged the new government established in Sweden.

During these events a revolution had likewise taken place in the court of Denmark. Christian the Seventh being reduced by his irregularities to a state of extreme imbecility, was governed by his queen Matilda, sister of the king of England, and the conduct of affairs intrusted to Struensee, who had rapidly risen from the situation of a petty physician to the highest office of the state. The elevation of an upstart favourite disgusted the nobles and people, and his conduct gave

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

great offence to Juliana Maria, the queen-dowager, who was excluded from all share in the government; she therefore formed and headed a party of the disaffected, and extorted an order from the King for the arrest of his queen and minister. Struensee was tried and executed; Matilda was divorced and exiled; and the whole power of the state was placed in the hands of Juliana Maria. The queen-dowager being a princess of the House of Brunswick, and cousin of the king of Prussia, that monarch acquired considerable influence in the court of Copenhagen, and used his interposition to consolidate the reconciliation between Denmark and Sweden *.

These disturbances in the north being composed, the three powers were enabled to complete the partition of Poland. The King and nation were roused by the impending danger; they published refutations of the pretended claims; issued counter declarations and memorials; and appealed to all the other states who had guarantied the integrity of Poland. But neither this appeal, nor the sentiments of justice and humanity made the smallest impression on the three courts, and they hastened to complete the partition, lest the rising spirit of the nation should be supported by the other states of Europe. The Empress-queen, who had hitherto acted a secondary part, now came forward, and her minister at the court of Warsaw peremptorily required the King to assemble a diet, in order to hasten a definitive arrangement between the republic and the three powers, "who would not expose their pretensions to the hazard of future contingencies, and of those troubles with which Poland had been always agitated †." The same declaration was delivered by the ministers of Russia and Prussia, and the King issued circular letters for the convocation of the general diet.

Dec. 4.

The diet assembled on the 19th of April; but such was the disposition of the nation, that in the lower house the majority of the nuntios long opposed the dismemberment; and they were encouraged by the King, who exhibited the firmest resolution to preserve the integrity and independence of his country. The embassadors of the three

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. ch. 1. † Lind. p. 82.

courts

courts now had recourse to terror: the King was menaced with deposition, his family with imprisonment and ruin, and the capital itself was threatened with pillage; bribes and promises were lavished among the members of the diet, and every engine employed to obtain the fulfilment of their views. At length the Poles, without hope from abroad, and without strength at home, indignantly yielded to their fate. Still, however, the King continued firm, and threatened to abdicate rather than dishonour himself by sanctioning the dismemberment of his kingdom; he demanded an asylum in England, and stretching forth his right hand to the British plenipotentiary, exclaimed, "I will suffer this hand to be cut off rather than sign the act of partition*." But Stanislaus, though buoyed up by the enthusiasm of the moment, did not possess sufficient energy to endure the extremity of his fortune: his feeling mind was alarmed for the fate of his family; and he had not spirit to disdain a crown held only by the suffrance of his oppressors. He yielded to the menaces of the Russian embassador, and gave his assent to that fatal instrument, which finally blotted the name of his country from among the nations of Europe.

The partitioning powers were too prudent to trust their unjust acquisitions to the forbearance of an indignant nation; they extorted an act for the immediate dissolution of the diet, and the appointment of a committee of delegates to adjust their respective claims, and to accede to a new constitution which they had prepared for that unhappy country. The delegates entered on their humiliating office; and, before the month of September, concluded the treaty of partition in conformity to the dictates of the three courts. May.

The Russian district formed the north-eastern part of Poland, and consisted of Polish Livonia, parts of the palatinates of Witepsk, Polotsk, and Minsk, and the whole palatinate of Micislaw, containing a population of 1,500,000 souls; and Frederic obtained the district called Royal or Western Prussia, with a population of 860,000 souls.

* See some interesting anecdotes of this amiable but unfortunate monarch in my Travels in Poland, &c. vol. i. 5th edition.

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

The declaration published by Maria Theresa, founded her right to a large portion of Poland on obsolete claims of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; but she advanced as a favour, that although she could prove her incontestable right to Severia, Podolia, Volhynia, Pokutia, Red Russia, and Little Russia, and other considerable districts, yet she would content herself with a moderate equivalent. This equivalent was a large territory in the south of Poland, comprising Red Russia, Gallicia, and parts of the palatinates of Cracow, Sandomir, Lublin, Bezk, Volhynia, and Podolia, containing a fertile and extensive country, with a population of 2,500,000 souls, and the valuable salt-works of Vielitzka, which brought to the republic an annual revenue of 90,000l. This district was consolidated and annexed to the Austrian territories, under the antient appellation of the kingdoms of Gallicia and Lodomeria.

The partitioning powers did less injury to the republic by dismembering its fairest provinces, than by establishing a form of government, which gave still further scope to the exorbitant liberty of the nobles. They excluded all prospect of reform, by perpetuating the elective monarchy, the liberum veto, and the other inherent defects of the constitution; and still further circumscribed the authority of the crown, by taking from the King the appointment of bishops, castellans, palatines, and ministers of state, and the patronage of the starosties, or royal fiefs, and by vesting the executive power in a permanent council chosen by the diet and presided by the King.

Those restrictions on the regal power, which had hitherto been considered by the Poles as the palladium of their liberty, were now justly regarded as the causes of their country's decline. The delegates, who had been chosen by the mandates of foreign powers, and were awed by a foreign force, for a long time resisted the establishment of these new regulations, and two years elapsed before their consent was extorted. Having at length approved the form of government, the delegation

was

was dissolved, and all the articles were formally confirmed by a general diet *.

The avidity of Austria and Prussia was not gratified by these acquisitions, and the treaty of partition was scarcely signed before the courts of Vienna and Berlin began to make new encroachments. Frederic attempted to secure the district in the neighbourhood of Thorn, and to extend the limits of his acquisitions to the left bank of the Devenza; the court of Vienna, by availing themselves of inaccurate maps of the country, took possession of Casimir, part of the palatinate of Lublin, and a considerable territory on the right bank of the Bog. The two courts connived at each other's encroachments, and, from the situation of affairs, seemed likely to succeed in extending their acquisitions.

The good fortune which had hitherto attended the arms of Catherine deserted her in the campaign of 1773, and her generals were defeated in their attempts to carry the war beyond the Danube. At the same time the rebellion of Pugatchef † shook her throne; and the Turks, encouraged by this diversion, obstinately refused to listen to overtures for peace. But in the ensuing year the Russian arms again became successful; Romanzof passed the Danube, and hemmed in the Turkish army in the mountains of Bulgaria, and the Grand Vizier was compelled, by a mutiny of his troops, to accede to the terms dictated by the Russian general. By this treaty, signed at Kagniardji, the Russian head-quarters, Catherine secured the independence of the Crimea, the free navigation of the Turkish seas, and obtained the forts of Kertsch, Yenikale, Kinburn, and the surrounding district, Azof, and the cession of the Great and Little Cabardias. She restored all her other conquests to the Turks; but in the restitution of Moldavia and Wallachia, exacted such stipulations relative to their privileges and religion, as

* For this narrative have been consulted Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. ch. 1—Revolutions de la Pologne, tom. ii.—Koch Histoire des Traités relatives au Demembrement de la Pologne, tom. iii. p. 270—Travels in Poland, &c. b. i.—Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

† For an account of the rebellion of Pugatchef, who assumed the character of Peter the Third, see my Travels in Poland, Russia, &c.

afforded

Chapter 40. 1769—1777.

afforded her a pretext to interfere in the affairs of those provinces. In consequence of this glorious peace, she was enabled to crush the rebellion of Pugatchef, and to turn her attention to the affairs of Poland.

The court of Vienna were extremely mortified at this sudden pacification. Even during the whole negotiation for the partition of Poland, the Empress-queen had not intermitted her intrigues with the Porte. She had beheld with jealousy the success of the Russians; and baron Thugut, her plenipotentiary at the congress of Fotzani, had secretly caballed with the Turks, and displayed such lukewarmness or partiality in his mediation, that Catherine refused to admit an Austrian minister at the congress of Bucharest. During the last campaign the Empress-queen did not conceal her inclination to renew her connection with the Porte; and when Romanzof had crossed the Danube, and Orlof was preparing to force the passage of the Dardanelles, she even declared that she considered herself bound to march a body of troops, in order to prevent the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. But she saw with still greater regret the conclusion of the peace, which rendered the empress of Russia the protectress of Moldavia and Wallachia, and which so greatly increased her territories and ascendancy in the east of Europe, and enabled her to turn her attention to the affairs of Poland.

The fears of the Empress-queen were not ill-founded. Catherine authoritatively required the two courts to desist from their encroachments, and abide by the treaty of Partition; she even reproached the court of Vienna for the exactions of their troops in Poland, and extorted from the Emperor an humiliating disavowal of their conduct. These spirited remonstrances were attended with effect. Maria Theresa first declared her readiness to oblige the empress of Russia by restoring the territories on which she had encroached; and the king of Prussia, after an ineffectual attempt to secure the connivance or acquiescence of Catherine, was compelled to follow the example of Austria. Still, however, the final conclusion of this nefarious transaction was retarded by various negotiations: repre-

sentations, remonstrances, and threats succeeded each other, and it was not till 1777, that the three powers, influenced by mutual jealousy and fear, desisted from their projects of aggrandisement, and nearly adopted the limits which had been assigned by the first treaty of partition*.

But although the Empress-queen had been thwarted in her intended usurpations in Poland, she found means to secure the possession of the Bucovina, a small district of Moldavia, on the bank of the Dniester, extending to the neighbourhood of Chotzim. She had occupied this district with the acquiescence of the Turks, during the negotiations for the peace of Kagniardji, as a compensation for preserving Moldavia and Wallachia. Catherine was unwilling to permit this acquisition; but the Empress-queen, partly by her compliance relative to Poland, and partly by availing herself of the disputes between Russia and the Porte, in regard to the independence of the Crimea, succeeded in her object; and by a convention, signed on the 5th of February 1777, obtained from the Porte the formal cession of the Bucovina†.

* Sir Robert Murray Keith's Dispatches—Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. ch. i. and iv.—Koch.

† Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. p. 202.

CHAPTER 41.

1777.

Favourable Situation of the House of Austria after the Partition of Poland—Connections with the House of Bourbon—Views and Principles of Choiseul—Marriage of the Archduchess Maria Antonietta with the Dauphin—Rise, Progress, and System of the Anti-Austrian Party in France—Dismission of Choiseul—Ministry of the Duke d'Aiguillon—Accession of Louis the Sixteenth—Appointment of Vergennes—His System of Policy—Disappointment of the Court of Vienna—Visit of the Emperor to Paris.

Chapter 41. 1777.

AT the conclusion of the partition of Poland, the situation of Maria Theresa was highly flourishing, and her great accessions of strength and influence excited jealousy among the European powers. She possessed a well disciplined army exceeding 200,000 men, which could be considerably augmented; the finances were restored to order, and notwithstanding the numerous expences of the military establishment, the treasury was enriched by an annual saving of 2,000,000 crowns. From inclination and principle she was averse to the horrors of war, and desirous of closing her days in peace; but her son the Emperor, a prince of an aspiring and ambitious temper, was eager to augment his dominions, and panted for an occasion to signalize his name. Some time after the death of Francis, the council of the conference which had for so long a period directed the administration, was abolished, and prince Kaunitz, as prime minister, acquired unbounded influence in the conduct of foreign affairs *. He adapted himself with consummate address to the discordant characters and views of the mother and son; but he exerted his principal attention to preserve the alliance with France, which during the events of the preceding years had been repeatedly threatened with dissolution.

* Sir R. Keith's Dispatches.

Choiseul,

Choiseul, who owed his rise to the court of Vienna, had invariably promoted the views of the House of Austria, and the bonds of interest and policy had been strengthened by the ties of blood. Four children of Maria Theresa had formed matrimonial connections with different branches of the House of Bourbon; and at length the alliance with France was cemented by the marriage of the archduchess Maria Antonietta with the Dauphin. This marriage was almost the last act of Choiseul's administration; and his downfal occasioned a considerable change in the system hitherto pursued towards the court of Vienna. Choiseul had earnestly directed all his endeavours to the maintenance of that alliance to which he owed his elevation; but his views had been thwarted and his efforts shackled by an Anti-Austrian party, which, after his dismission, directed the helm of government.

Chapter 41. 1777. 1770.

During the administration of cardinal Richelieu, the French court had formed the national rivalry between the Houses of Bourbon and Austria into a regular system of policy. By uniting with the secondary powers of Europe, and raising a party in the Empire in opposition to the chief, they succeeded in diminishing the influence and dismembering the territories of the House of Austria; and at length secured the crown of Spain to a branch of the Bourbon family. This system was pursued by the French court with uniform perseverance, until the death of Louis the Fourteenth, when the regent duke of Orleans, formed, in conjunction with England, a temporary union with the House of Austria. On the reconciliation with Spain, effected by cardinal Fleury, the Anti-Austrian system was revived; and by the intrigues of France, Naples and Sicily, with the Ultra Danubian provinces, were dismembered from the Austrian dominions. The French court likewise took advantage of the death of Charles the Sixth to unite the minor powers of Europe against Maria Theresa, and endeavoured to effect the ruin of their antient rival. They failed indeed in their principal object; but the House of Austria was weakened by the loss of Silesia, and the duchy of Parma; and was rescued from destruction only by the heroism of Maria Theresa, the zeal of her subjects, and the assistance of England.

Chapter 41. 1777.

From the peace of Aix la Chapelle other principles were gradually introduced, and an Austrian party was formed in the court, and supported by the marchioness de Pompadour, the King's mistress. But the adherents of the antient system availed themselves of a secret correspondence * maintained by the King with numerous agents in the different courts of Europe, the superintendence of which was intrusted to the prince of Conti, the head of the Anti-Austrian party. By that channel they were enabled to transmit to the King memorials, papers, and plans, in support of the system of cardinal Richelieu; yet notwithstanding all their efforts the old system was exploded, and an alliance formed between the two great rival houses to reduce the secondary powers to their former insignificance. The prince of Conti, disgusted with this change of policy, resigned the charge of the correspondence; and the King transferred the direction to the count de Broglio, who had been distinguished by his inveterate enmity to the House of Austria †.

Under these circumstances the septennial war took place, and Choiseul was elevated to the helm of state. This event rendered the court of Versailles subservient to that of Vienna; but the ill success of the war, and the dishonourable terms of the peace, countenanced the clamours of the Anti-Austrian party; the opponents of Choiseul, being headed by the Dauphin, employed the secret correspondence with greater effect to decry his measures, and to represent the new alliance as degrading and ruinous to France. The death of the

* Among the principal members of this correspondence, we distinguish the names of Vergennes, Breteuil, the chevalier, alias mademoiselle d'Eon, St. Priest, Durant, Dumourier, Favier, the marquis de Bombelles. The minister, who discovered traces of this correspondence, arrested several of the agents and imprisoned them in the bastille. Among others Dumourier was confined, and has in his Life given a curious account of his arrest and detention. Louis the Fifteenth in order to conceal the secret, acquiesced in these arrests; but prevented his agents from falling victims to ministerial jealousy. He signed the order for the arrest of mademoiselle d'Eon, who was employed in England, but enabled her to escape by giving her previous notice.

† See a curious account of this secret correspondence in the Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe.

mistress

mistress in 1764 exposed the minister still more to their attacks; and they increased the odium which had been raised against him, by accusing him of poisoning the Dauphin, and many other members of the royal family, who died at that juncture. Choiseul, however, still maintained his ground; and hoped to consolidate his influence by the marriage of the Dauphin with the archduchess Maria Antonietta. But his enemies were now headed by the duke d'Aiguillon, great nephew of cardinal Richelieu, and supported by the new mistress, madame du Barry, whose introduction he had opposed. The good intelligence which seemed to reign between Austria and Prussia, contributed to render him more unpopular, and his disgrace was accelerated by his attempts to involve France in a war with England, in consequence of the disputes relative to Falkland's Islands. Chapter 41. 1777. 1770.

He was succeeded by the duke d'Aiguillon, who was anxious to renew the connection with the king of Prussia and the secondary powers, and a temporary estrangement took place between the courts of Vienna and Versailles. In the midst of these embarrassments, the measures adopted for the partition of Poland became a new source of discontent. The court of Vienna indeed attempted to excuse their conduct; and urged, that unable to prevent the dismemberment, they had accepted the most inconsiderable portion, with the sole intention to restrain the rapacity of Russia and Prussia; their embassador, count Merci, even reproached d'Aiguillon with his secret overtures to the king of Prussia; and argued, that Austria, thus deserted by France, had no other means to secure herself against the storm with which she was threatened *.

The French minister, still further inflamed by these reproaches, exerted all his eloquence in displaying the duplicity of the Austrian cabinet, and used all his efforts to rouse the spirit of his court. In a violent memorial, which he presented to Louis the Fifteenth, he asked, "What reliance can we place on the friendship, and what have we to expect from that House to which we are bound by the double ties of treaties and marriage? What is the result of our alliance with

* Politique de tous les Cabinets, &c. tom. i. p. 164.

Chapter 41. 1777.

the court of Vienna, that alliance which has drained us of our blood and treasure? We are left without a single friend, and a formidable league between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, is consolidated against us in the north of Europe. In an instant those powers can bring against us a force of 300,000 men; in an instant they can spread themselves at discretion over the feeble states of Europe; in an instant they can complete the total destruction of Poland. France without allies, France with scarcely any means of resistance; France, exhausted by the last war, undertaken for the maintenance of that very House of Austria, and the recovery of her territories, is now in the most fatal crisis; reduced to an humiliating silence, she is compelled to repress her native energy, and to approve all the transactions of other powers, who do not even deign to consult her. How are the times changed since not a single shot could be fired, in any part of Europe, without the permission of the King! But however critical the situation of France may be, she has still resources equal, if not superior to those of the northern league *." He then endeavoured to combat the national prejudices against England, and held forth the union of France, England, Spain, and Sardinia, as the only means to counterbalance the weight of the partitioning powers. In conformity with this principle, he had made overtures to England, and proposed to lord Rochfort to send an united English and French fleet to the Baltic, in order to prevent the dismemberment of Poland; but his overtures being coldly received, he did not venture to oppose singly the league of the north, and remained an inactive spectator of that transaction †.

On the death of Louis the Fifteenth, sanguine hopes were entertained by the court of Vienna, that their ascendancy at Versailles, would be secured by the influence of the young queen, and that Choiseul would be placed at the head of a new administration formed under their auspices. But in these expectations they were grievously disappointed; the young King, though warmly attached to his queen, restrained her interference in political concerns, and placed his whole

* Soulavie's Memoires Historiques & Politiques de Louis XVI. tom. 1. p. 125.
† Lord Rochfort's Dispatches.

confidence in the count de Maurepas, who had been strongly recommended by the Dauphin his father, and whose principles were adverse to Austrian politics. The resolution of the King was also strengthened by a memorial presented to him, by the order of his deceased father, on the day of his accession. This paper designated the House of Austria as the natural enemy of France; displayed in strong colours the evils which had been derived from the treaty of Versailles; and inculcated the necessity of establishing a new system of policy. Chapter 41. 1777.

By the advice of Maurepas the duke d'Aiguillon was dismissed, and the conduct of foreign affairs intrusted to the count de Vergennes, a man of a cool head, penetrating judgment, and refined address, who had highly distinguished himself in his embassies at Constantinople and Stockholm, and who from gratitude and principle was zealous in promoting the views of Maurepas. Vergennes pursued the same system of policy with consummate skill; he maintained a private and constant correspondence with Louis the Sixteenth, unknown to the Queen; he secretly renewed the friendly intercourse with the king of Prussia; and at the very moment when by lures and promises he governed in essential points the court of Vienna, he inculcated in the mind of the King the necessity of supporting the Prussian power, and of counteracting the further aggrandisement of the House of Austria, as the means of perpetuating the influence of France in Germany, and isolating England from the states of the continent. In a memoir privately submitted to the King, he earnestly inculcated this grand principle of his political system: "What would have become," he says, "of France, if the enormous efforts, made during the septennial war, had been attended with the expected success? The king of Prussia crushed, and his power annihilated, France would have been reduced to the degrading alternative of having no ally in the Empire, or of submitting to the law imposed by so precarious a friend as the House of Austria? It is to the dread inspired by the king of Prussia, that France owes the alliance of the court of Vienna. By preserving, therefore, the power which is the object of that dread, we can alone hope to perpetuate that alliance." He adds, "I dare

Chapter 41. 1777.

"I dare to assert, that we ought not to hesitate in preferring the preservation of the Prussian power in Germany, to that of the branches of the House of Bourbon in Italy. Although the kingdom of Naples, in the hands of the Emperor, would give him many advantages, those advantages have no positive weight in the balance of Europe: but it is far different with regard to Prussia; her consolidated power, particularly since the acquisition of Polish Prussia, renders her of considerable importance in the balance of the Empire, and, by a necessary consequence, in that of Europe*."

Louis the Sixteenth adopted this principle, and in most instances made it the grand rule of his conduct. He maintained the alliance with the House of Austria from a regard to treaties, from affection to the queen, and from a sense of the advantages derived from that connection; but he no less secretly and sedulously cultivated a friendly intercourse with Prussia and the secondary powers. He justly appreciated the pacific sentiments of Maria Theresa, for whom he entertained an almost filial affection, and he was equally convinced that prince Kaunitz was sincerely disposed to maintain the alliance on terms of reciprocal advantage to both nations. He entertained, however, an unfavourable opinion of his brother-in-law, the Emperor, and attributed to his sole interference the alliance with Russia and Prussia, the partition of Poland, and the seizure of the Bucovina. His prejudice against Joseph strikingly appears by a secret letter written to Vergennes, on the invasion of Venetian Dalmatia by the Imperial troops, under the pretence of a dispute relative to the limits: "The measures," he says, "which the Austrian cabinet have for some time pursued, are equivocal and fallacious. The invasion of the Venetian territories by the troops of the Emperor, denotes his ambitious and despotic temper, which he has not concealed from the baron de Breteuil; he has doubtless fascinated his mother, as she was by no means pleased with his usurpations, and did not at first conceal her dissatisfaction. It appears also by the dispatch of Thugut, that Kaunitz disapproved all that had passed, but his opinion was overruled. We

* Politique de tous les Cabinets, &c. p. 273.

have

have nothing at present to do but to watch carefully, and be on our guard relative to every thing that comes from the court of Vienna: civility and reserve must be the rule of our conduct *."

These motives, and this refined policy, explain the whole conduct of the French cabinet, and display their apparent inconsistency in supporting the petty interests of the House of Austria, while they opposed all her attempts for further aggrandisement.

The court of Vienna exhibited strong marks of disappointment and uneasiness, on the nomination of the French ministry without their knowledge or intervention: the Emperor displayed † the strongest aversion to the French court and nation; even prince Kaunitz did not refrain from sarcastic reflections on the characters and measures of the new administration, and the whole cabinet testified a returning partiality to England. During the transactions for the partition of Poland, the court of Vienna had maintained a stately reserve towards that of Versailles ‡; but the partition was no sooner completed, than their jealousy of Russia revived in consequence of her increasing preponderance, and perpetual encroachments on the side of Turkey. To resist so formidable a power, they endeavoured to regain the confidence of France, and baron Thugut was dispatched to Paris to propose a defensive league against Russia, in favour of the Turks. The French ministry however, anxious not to offend the empress of Russia, declined the proposal, under the pretence that such an alliance would alarm Europe, and that it would be sufficient to conclude the league when the Ottoman Empire was actually threatened with an attack §.

1777.

In consequence of the ill success of the minister, the Emperor himself, who was desirous to ascertain the real sentiments and situation of the French cabinet, and to exert his influence over his sister, paid a visit to Versailles. He had long meditated his journey, but had been

* Du Roi de France à M. de Vergennes, 11 Avril 1775. Soulavie, tom. iv. p. 338.

† I passed the winter of 1777 and 1778 at Vienna, and had frequently the honour of meeting the Emperor in private societies, where he visited without ceremony. On these occasions he did not affect to conceal his Anti-Bourbon sentiments, and seldom failed of uttering some severe sarcasms against the French.

‡ Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

§ Examen de la Situation Politique de la France, in Soulavie's Memoirs de Louis XVI. tom. v. p. 48, 49.

prevented

Chapter 41. 1777.

prevented by the secret opposition of the French ministry, and by the repugnance of Louis the Sixteenth, whose prejudices against his brother-in-law had rather increased than diminished. Vergennes encouraged these prejudices; he artfully expatiated on the ambitious projects of the Emperor, insinuated that the purpose of the journey was to gain the support of France to his views of aggrandisement, and endeavoured to fortify the mind of his master against the influence of the Queen. The Anti-Austrian party also were loud in their clamours; they accused the Emperor, not only of an intention of wresting Servia and Bosnia from the Turks, Friuli from the Venetians, and of seizing Bavaria on the death of the Elector, but of coveting Loraine and Alsace, the patrimony of his ancestors*. The prejudices of the King, therefore, were not effaced by all the blandishments of the Queen, and were still further augmented by the incompatible characters of the two sovereigns.

Under these circumstances the visit of the Emperor did not tend to revive the harmony between the two Houses. He was indeed received with the most flattering marks of respect and attention; but the French court viewed their illustrious guest with jealousy and alarm, and in all political matters he experienced the utmost coolness and reserve. The vanity of Joseph was mortified by his disappointment; he returned to Vienna still more disgusted with the French, whom he affected to consider as a trifling and frivolous people; and he accused the cabinet of Versailles of being jealous of his talents, fearful of his future ascendancy in Europe, and hostile to the interests of the House of Austria†.

* Lettre de Louis XVI. à Mons. de Vergennes, et de M. de Vergennes au Roi, Soulavie Memoirs de Louis XVI. tom. iv. p. 338—340.

† Sir R. M. Keith's Dispatches.

CHAPTER 42.

1777—1779.

Death of the Elector of Bavaria—Disputes relative to his Succession—Claims of the House of Austria—Opposed by the King of Prussia—Account of the Controversy—Commencement of Hostilities—Correspondence between the Emperor and the King—Endeavours of the Empress-queen to effect an Accommodation—Opposition of the Emperor—Situation of Russia and France—Their Mediation obtained by the Empress-queen—Congress of Teschen—Conclusion and Terms of the Peace.

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

JOSEPH had scarcely returned from France, when the death of the elector of Bavaria, without issue male, opened a new prospect of aggrandisement to the House of Austria, and again kindled the flames of war in Germany. Dec. 30, 1777.

On this event Charles Theodore, elector Palatine, was generally considered as rightful heir to all the Bavarian territories which were not female fiefs or allodials. The two houses of Bavaria and Palatine derived their origin from their great ancestor Otho of Wittelsbach, who, in 1180, was invested by the Emperor Frederic the First with the duchy of Bavaria, as a male fief, when Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, was put under the ban of the empire. Lewis, son and successor of Otho, united by marriage the palatinate of the Rhine and the Electoral dignity with these dominions. He was succeeded by his son Otho the Illustrious, on whose death Upper Bavaria, with the Palatinate, came to Lewis the Severe, the eldest, and Lower Bavaria to Henry the second son. The territories of Lewis were divided between his two sons Rhodolph and Lewis; Rhodolph became Elector Palatine, and founder of the Rhodolphine branch, and Lewis the younger, afterwards Emperor, was duke of Upper Bavaria, and founder of the Ludovician branch.

This division was confirmed and renewed by the convention of Pavia, between the two branches in 1329, which stipulated that these

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

territories were inalienable and indivisible, and that on the extinction of the male line of either branch, the whole patrimony should revert to the other. In the following year, Lewis took possession of Lower Bavaria, on the death of John, great grandson of his uncle Henry, without issue. But this occupation being deemed illegal, the Palatine branch after his death asserted their rights, and sold their portion of the inheritance for a sum of money, on condition that it should revert to themselves or their descendents, in default of the Ludovician line *. The Ludovician branch was afterwards divided; Stephen the eldest son of Lewis succeeded to Upper Bavaria, and Albert another son obtained Lower Bavaria, and founded the line of Straubingen †. On the death of John, son of Albert, without issue male, a dispute arose concerning the succession of Lower Bavaria; Sigismond the Emperor conferred it first as a female fief on his son-in-law Albert duke of Austria, who claimed the inheritance in right of his mother, the only daughter of Albert, and afterwards as a fief reverting to the Empire. But being compelled to revoke this grant by the opposition of the states, he restored Lower Bavaria to the Ludovician line, who purchased the renunciation of Albert with a sum of money ‡.

From this period the Ludovician branch, which was afterwards distinguished by the appellation of the Wilhelmine § line, retained both Upper and Lower Bavaria, and their possessions were occasionally increased by the investiture of new fiefs from the princes of the House of Austria, as Emperors and Kings of Bohemia. This line was extinct in Maximilian Joseph the last Elector, and Charles Theodore, chief of the Rhodolphine branch, became the representative of the Bavarian family.

The right of Charles Theodore to all the inheritance, except the allodials, was founded—1. on the Convention of Pavia, which had been sanctioned by an Emperor, confirmed by all the Electors, and renewed by various family compacts; 2. On the Golden Bull, which established

* Heinrich, vol. viii. p. 641.

† So called from the capital of Lower Bavaria.

‡ Heinrich, vol. viii. p. 643.

§ From William duke of Bavaria, who died in 1550.

in

in the Electoral Houses the order of hereditary succession, and indivisibility of territory; and 3d, on the fourth article of the peace of Westphalia, which secured to the Palatine branch the reversion of the fifth Electorate.

The elector of Saxony, in right of his mother, who was sister of the deceased Elector, claimed the allodial property, which he valued at 47,000,000 florins.

The duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin contended for the possession of the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg, in virtue of an investiture granted to his ancestor Henry by the Emperor Maximilian, in 1602.

But these petty pretensions were lost in those of a more powerful claimant. The House of Austria had long coveted the possession of Bavaria, and Joseph had even espoused Cunegunda, sister of the deceased Elector, a princess who possessed no personal attractions, with a view to secure the allodial property; her death without issue having frustrated these expectations, the court of Vienna brought forward other pretensions to almost one half of the succession.

Maria Theresa, as queen of Bohemia, claimed those fiefs in the Upper Palatinate which had been conferred by the kings of Bohemia on the Bavarian line since the Convention of Pavia; and as archduchess of Austria, and representative of Albert, she founded her pretensions to Lower Bavaria in virtue of the investiture granted by Sigismond. She claimed also the lordship of Mindelheim in Suabia, in consequence of a reversion granted to the House of Austria by Matthias in 1614, and confirmed by succeeding emperors; and she even asserted a prior title to the allodials, by what was called a right of regredience, or in virtue of her descent from Anne great grand-daughter of Albert, and wife of Ferdinand the First, and also from Mary Anne daughter of William fifth Elector of Bavaria, and wife of Ferdinand the Second.

Joseph, as Emperor, claimed the Landgraviate of Leuchtenberg, the counties of Wolfstein, Haag, Schwaabeck, Halss, and a few inconsiderable districts, as male fiefs reverting to the Empire.

In consequence of these claims, and the views which they had long

 entertained

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

entertained of appropriating Bavaria, the court of Vienna had anxiously watched the health of the Elector; and he was no sooner seized with the small-pox, than they put their troops in motion towards the frontiers. Having secured the Bavarian ministers, the gates of Munich were shut on the death of the Elector, and for five days the Austrian envoy alone was permitted to forward an express; the Imperial troops instantly entered the electorate, and occupied those parts which were claimed by the House of Austria. The Elector Palatine, however, issued letters patent remonstrating against the encroachment, and taking possession of the whole inheritance; and repaired to Munich to receive the homage of his subjects. But it soon appeared that he had consented to previous arrangements; for, on the 3d of January, his minister signed a convention, acknowledging the legitimacy of the Austrian pretensions, which was ratified on the 15th by the Elector himself. In fact, the court of Vienna had purchased his acquiescence by promising to provide for his natural son; and, as he had no legitimate issue, he sacrificed, without scruple, the interests of his presumptive heir, the Duke of Deux Ponts, who was descended from a collateral branch of the Rhodolphine line.

On the 20th of January Kaunitz delivered a circular note to the foreign ministers, briefly specifying the pretensions of the Emperor and Maria Theresa; and, from the situation of affairs, the court of Vienna deemed themselves secure of their object. Their troops were in possession of the country, and they expected the co-operation of France; Russia, embarrassed by the disputes relative to the Crimea, did not seem willing or capable of opposing their claims; England, involved in the war with the American colonies, could not turn her attention to the affairs of the continent; and they hoped that the king of Prussia, who was alone capable of interposing with effect, was too much broken with age and infirmities to encounter the dangers and fatigues of the field, or to engage the whole power of the House of Austria assisted by France. They were strengthened in this opinion by the apparent inactivity of Frederic; but that wily monarch had secretly incited the Duke of Deux

Deux Ponts to oppose the dismemberment of his future inheritance*, and made private overtures to France and Russia. Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

France, true to her system of policy, would not openly oppose, but was anxious to obstruct the aggrandisement of the House of Austria; and Frederic succeeded in convincing the Empress of Russia, that she was interested to prevent any change in the German empire. Thus encouraged, he persuaded the Duke of Deux Ponts to appeal to Prussia and France, and to protest before the diet against the cession of the Bavarian territories. The Elector of Saxony followed this example, and being thus furnished with a pretext for his interference, Frederic opened a negotiation with the court of Vienna. A paper war ensued; and on both sides notes and memorials were issued, refuting and enforcing the validity of the Austrian pretensions. March 16.

The king of Prussia urged that the whole of the Bavarian succession was an inalienable and indivisible patrimony, as well from the principles of the feudal system, as from the Convention of Pavia, renewed by subsequent family compacts, in two of which the Elector Palatine himself was a party, and confirmed by the Golden Bull, and the peace of Westphalia. He reprobated with peculiar energy the private arrangement with the Elector Palatine, without the consent of his presumptive heir the Duke of Deux Ponts, as contrary to the laws and constitutions of the Empire, and as a precedent that would expose the smaller states to be swallowed up by the larger. He also charged the Emperor with a breach of his capitulation, in authorising so illegal a transaction, and in occupying with the Austrian troops some integral parts of the duchy of Bavaria, and conferring them without the consent of the Empire.

The court of Vienna denied the indivisibility of the Bavarian succession, on the ground of the frequent changes and partitions between the different branches of the family; they called in question the

* I was informed by a foreign minister at Ratisbon, that the Duke of Deux Ponts had even been induced by the Elector Palatine to accede to the convention with the House of Austria, from the apprehension of losing Juliers and Berg: but was dissuaded by count Goertz the Prussian embassador, at the very moment when he was about to sign.

authenticity

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

authenticity of the Convention of Pavia, which had never been preserved entire; they contended that the subsequent family compacts could not derogate from the rights of another family; and they set aside the authority of the Golden Bull, because that instrument established the indivisibility of the Electorates only, whereas at the time of its publication Bavaria was not an Electorate.

To the arguments adduced against the validity of the private agreement with the Elector of Bavaria, it was replied; by the constitution of the Empire, disputed claims can only be settled by accommodation, or by the sentence of the supreme judge. The House of Austria has adopted the way of accommodation; has long since submitted her claims to the Elector Palatine, and a convention has been arranged, in consequence of which both parties have taken possession of their respective territories. The Golden Bull secures to each prince and state the power of obtaining new acquisitions by purchase or accommodation, provided they do not interfere with the rights of a third party, duly interested, nor with those of the Emperor and Empire. That power, therefore, equally belongs to all the states of the Empire; but will be totally destroyed if another member arrogates to himself the right of opposing such an agreement, or makes himself judge in a disputed succession, a privilege which belongs to the Emperor alone.

The court of Vienna likewise asserted, that the Emperor had not infringed his capitulation, as he had no right to oppose the accommodation concluded between the Empress-queen and the Elector Palatine, according to the stipulations of the Golden Bull. In regard to the fiefs reverting to the Empire, he had not occupied them with his own troops but with those of the Circle; and, far from conferring them without the concurrence of the Empire, he had not yet disposed of them; but, on the contrary, had declared that the act of possession should not prejudice the rights of any third person. He offered to submit his own claims to the decision of the diet, and even affected great readiness to listen to the demands of the Elector of Saxony, the House of Mecklenburgh, and the Duke of Deux Ponts, and to mediate an arrangement between them and the Empress-queen.

With

With respect to the argument advanced by the king of Prussia, that the Elector Palatine could not, without the consent of his presumptive heir the Duke of Deux Ponts, transfer any part of his family inheritance to another House, it was replied; the Elector Palatine being the principal heir and legitimate possessor, has a right to dispose of any part of his dominions during his life; nor can the claim of the Duke of Deux Ponts be brought forward until he becomes the principal representative of his family, by the death of Charles Theodore without issue, or the extinction of his line.

Such was the substance of the arguments advanced in the discussion of this intricate question. These were continually repeated in different forms in the course of the controversy, and were urged with all the subtlety and acuteness which marked the fertile imaginations of Kaunitz and Hertzberg, and supported with all the chicane and cavil which German jurists could invent, and with all the authorities which could be drawn from the doubtful records of antiquity *.

During this discussion, which gradually increased in acrimony, and was at length carried before the diet of the Empire, active preparations were made for hostilities; troops were assembled in Saxony and Silesia, Bohemia and Moravia; and the Emperor and Frederic repaired to take the command of their respective armies in Silesia and Bohemia.

At this juncture the Emperor, disappointed in his hopes of assistance from France, opened a correspondence with the king of Prussia, and the two sovereigns wrote to each other as private individuals. In the

* For the account of the Bavarian controversy, the author has consulted and compared the different memorials and papers given on the subject by both parties, together with the Memoires de la Guerre de 1778, by the king of Prussia. It is, however, necessary to observe, that the periodical writers of the times have relied on the Prussian statements, particularly on the "Considerations sur le droit de la Succession de Baviere;"—and the "Exposé des Motifs qui ont engagé S. M. le Roi de Prusse, à s'opposer au Demembrement de la Baviere," drawn up by count Hertzberg, which, though able and perspicuous, are, as might be expected, partial to the cause of the king of Prussia.—The reader who is desirous to examine this controversy, may consult the papers on both sides in Hertzberg's Recueil des Deductions, Traités, &c.

first

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

first letter the Emperor proposed a project of a convention, by which the King was to acknowledge the validity of the agreement between the Empress-queen and the Elector Palatine, and to make no opposition to any future arrangement relative to the exchange either of a part or the whole of the Bavarian territories, provided the acquisitions of the House of Austria did not border on the Prussian dominions. In return, he promised not to oppose the incorporation of the margraviates of Anspach and Bareith, with the territories of the reigning House of Brandenburgh, or any exchange which might suit the convenience of the king of Prussia; provided likewise that his acquisitions did not border on the Austrian territories.

These propositions were founded on the same principle of spoliation which had characterised the partition of Poland; but circumstances were changed. The king of Prussia was more interested to prevent the aggrandisement of the House of Austria in the Empire than to make any new acquisition; and he was unwilling to permit a present and illegal seizure to be put in competition with what he considered as a valid though distant reversion. He therefore rejected these propositions, affecting great abhorrence of thus parcelling out the states of the Empire for political convenience and mutual aggrandisement; and the discussion which had already exercised the ingenuity of the ministers, was again renewed by the two sovereigns. But Joseph seemed more desirous to display his own talents and power, than to offer reasonable terms of accommodation. Proud of the army, which was far more numerous, better disciplined, and more abundantly supplied with artillery than any which the House of Austria had ever brought into the field at the beginning of a war; and, anxious to cope with the great Frederic, his thirst for military glory burst forth in terms of defiance, notwithstanding his affectation of humility and love of peace.

After stating the claims of Austria, and re-asserting the validity of the agreement with the Elector Palatine, he concluded; "I expect with tranquillity whatever your majesty is pleased to answer or to do. I have already learned so many useful things from your majesty, that were I not

not a citizen, and were not the welfare of several millions of human beings concerned, I would almost add that I should not be averse to learn also from you the part of a general. Nevertheless your majesty may be convinced that the maintenance of peace, particularly with a person like you, whom I truly reverence and love, is my sincere desire, and that 400,000 brave soldiers ought not to be employed in destroying each other for no good reason and to no purpose." The answer of Frederic was no less distinguished by his characteristic irony. "Your Imperial majesty has the goodness to banter; no, Sire! you need no master, so great are the talents which heaven has conferred on your Imperial majesty, that you are capable of acting any part. You will recollect that Lucullus had never commanded an army when the Roman senate sent him into Pontus; he had scarcely arrived before he defeated Mithridates. I shall be the first to applaud your Imperial majesty's victories, provided they are not obtained at my expence *."

This correspondence was continued with little effect from day to day, until the King, suspecting that the Emperor was only desirous of gaining time, transferred the discussion to his ministers; and count Cobenzl was dispatched to Berlin on the part of the Empress-queen, with full powers to continue the negotiation. But as the proposals of the Austrian plenipotentiary were exactly similar to those of the Emperor, the negotiation was attended with no better success, and Cobenzl returned to Vienna. At length the Imperial court brought the controversy to a conclusion, by declaring, that if the king of Prussia refused to adopt the propositions which had been offered, as the basis of a preliminary treaty, all amicable arrangement was impossible, and all further explanations superfluous †.

April.

In March the respective armies had assembled: Joseph, accompanied by marshal Lacy with 100,000 men, occupied the celebrated position of Konigsgratz, above the confluence of the Adler and the Elbe, which was rendered almost impregnable by works and inundations; and

* Correspondence au Sujet de la Baviere—Œuvres Posthumes, tom v. p. 293.

† Hertzberg, tom. ii. p. 135.

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

marshal Loudon, with an army of 50,000 men, defended the frontiers of Saxony and Lusatia. The king of Prussia commenced hostilities by invading Bohemia on the 5th of July; he took possession of Nachod, penetrated to the banks of the Elbe, between Konigsgratz and Jaromitz,

August. 1.

and encamped opposite to the Emperor. Another army of Prussians and Saxons under prince Henry entered Bohemia, near the town of Zittau, forced the post of Gabel, and took 1,500 men prisoners. By this manœuvre Loudon was compelled to retreat; but taking a strong position at Munchengratz behind the Iser, he secured his communications, and covered the flank of the Emperor. To draw him from this important post, a Prussian detachment under general Platen penetrated into his rear, and spread such consternation to the gates of Prague that the archives were removed, and the garrison evacuated the town; Loudon, however, maintaining his post, the Prussian detachment retreated, and the King was baffled in his attempts to dislodge the

Sept. 14.

Austrians. After ravaging the country, and destroying the forage,

Sept. 23.

Frederic fell back towards Silesia, and prince Henry evacuated Bohemia, and retired into Saxony and Lusatia. Thus this singular campaign, in which so numerous an army was brought into the field, headed by a young sovereign panting for military glory, and eager to signalise himself against his great and formidable rival, passed without a siege or a single action of importance.

The principal cause of this inactivity was derived from the repugnance of Maria Theresa to continue hostilities, and her determined resolution to conclude peace on reasonable terms. When the account of the Elector of Bavaria's death was first brought to Vienna, she received it with the greatest emotion, and passed several days in deep anxiety*; she entreated the Emperor and prince Kaunitz to weigh her pretensions with calmness and deliberation, and to be convinced of her right to any part of the Bavarian territories before they took possession. But though her pacific sentiments were overborne by the impetuosity of Joseph, yet when she was persuaded to send an army into the

* Sir R. M. Keith to lord Suffolk, March 28, April 11, 1778.

field,

field, she persisted in her determination to conclude peace on the first opportunity. During the discussion with Prussia, she was frequently in tears at the prospect of a war; and when the correspondence between the Emperor and Frederic was closed, and the Prussian army had actually entered Bohemia, she made an extraordinary effort by opening a correspondence without the knowledge of her son. She dispatched baron Thugut, under a feigned character, and enjoined him, among other expressions, to testify her regret that Frederic and herself were going to tear the grey hairs from each other's head *. Her letter to the King on this occasion announced the pacific sentiments by which she was actuated. "From the recal of baron Riedesel, and the entrance of your troops into Bohemia, I perceive, with extreme sensibility, the breaking out of a new war. My age, and my earnest desire for maintaining peace, are well known, and I cannot give a more convincing proof than by the present proposal. My maternal heart is justly alarmed for the safety of two sons and my son-in-law, who are in the army. I have taken this step without the knowledge of my son the Emperor, and I entreat, whatever may be the event, that you will not divulge it. I am anxious to recommence and terminate the negotiation hitherto conducted by the Emperor, and broken off to my extreme regret. This letter will be delivered to you by baron Thugut, who is intrusted with full powers. Ardently hoping that it may fulfil my wishes, conformably to my dignity, I entreat you to join your efforts with mine to re-establish between us harmony and good intelligence for the benefit of mankind, and the interests of our respective families." In a postscript, she added, "Having just received the intelligence of the approach of your army towards that of the Emperor, I am the more anxious to dispatch this letter, lest some accident should change the present situation of affairs. I purpose also to send a courier to the Emperor, to prevent, if possible, any hasty measure on his part, and sincerely hope I shall succeed."

This letter inclosed a proposal for a suspension of arms, and for restoring all the possessions occupied by her troops, except an

* From a friend, to whom it was communicated by baron Thugut.

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

extent of territory which would yield an annual revenue of 1,000,000 florins, and which should not be contiguous to Ratisbon, nor divide Bavaria into two parts as the district she then held. She offered to unite her endeavours with those of the king of Prussia to negotiate a just and equitable accommodation between the electors Palatine and Saxony relative to the allodial possessions.

The King was conciliated by these moderate proposals; his answer bore an honourable testimony to the motives of the Empress-queen, and equally evinced the sincerity of his pacific professions.

"Baron Thugut has delivered to me your Imperial majesty's letter, and no one is or shall be acquainted with his arrival. It was worthy of your majesty's character to give these proofs of magnanimity and moderation in a litigious cause, after having so heroically maintained the inheritance of your ancestors. The tender attachment which you display for your son the Emperor and the princes of your blood, deserves the applause of every feeling mind, and augments, if possible, the high consideration which I entertain for your sacred person. I have added some articles to the propositions of baron Thugut, most of which have been allowed, and others will, I hope, meet with little difficulty. He will immediately depart for Vienna, and will be able to return in five or six days, during which time I will act with such caution, that your Imperial majesty may have no cause of apprehension for the safety of any part of your family, and particularly of the Emperor, whom I love and esteem, although our opinions differ in regard to the affairs of Germany."

The additional propositions were, that the House of Austria should restore the whole of Bavaria to the Elector Palatine, except part of the district of Burghausen, and in return should gratify the elector of Saxony with 1,000,000 crowns, and the investiture of the principality of Mindelheim and the district of Rotenburgh, and guaranty the reversion of the remainder of the Bavarian inheritance to the House of Deux Ponts; that the Emperor should cede to the elector of Saxony the rights which he pretended to exercise over certain fiefs in Saxony; should confer on the duke of Mecklenburgh a vacant fief of the Empire,

pire, as an indemnification for his claims; and should not oppose the future incorporation of the margraviates of Anspach and Bareith with the possessions of the crown of Prussia, nor prevent the exchange of those districts for Lusatia, with the consent of the Elector of Saxony.

The Empress-queen expressed extreme regret at her inability to accede to all these demands; but, as a final attempt to prevent a cruel and destructive war, proposed to restore all her acquisitions in Bavaria, if the King would relinquish his intention of incorporating the margraviates of Anspach and Bareith as long as there existed a younger branch of his family, in conformity with the antient compact established by the House of Brandenburgh, and confirmed by the Emperors and Empire. The King, however, rejected all proposals relative to the renunciation of these claims, and resumed with new vigour the operations of the field, which he had hitherto suspended. The Empress-queen appeared in the deepest affliction at this second rupture of the negotiation, and still more at the inflexible spirit of her son, who thwarted all her endeavours to terminate hostilities. To conquer his obstinacy she sent his confidential servant count Rosenberg, with a new plan of pacification; but Joseph peremptorily refused to concur in the renewal of the negotiation, while the armies were in the field. He did not conceal his disapprobation of the concessions made by his mother, which he stigmatized as disgraceful; and even declared, that should the Prussian propositions be accepted, he would retire to Aix-la-Chapelle, and re-establish in that city the antient seat of the Emperors. Nor was the mission of the archduke Leopold to the army attended with better success; and his interference only contributed to disunite the two brothers, who had hitherto lived in harmony *.

The Empress-queen was no less thwarted by prince Kaunitz. He deemed her repeated attempts to renew the negotiation neither well timed nor consistent with the dignity of the House of Austria †. Aware

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. p. 219.—Sir R. Keith's Dispatches, August and September 1779.

† Sir R. Keith to Lord Suffolk, August 29, 1779.

of

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

of the king of Prussia's desire of peace, he censured the extreme anxiety of his mistress for the termination of hostilities with unusual freedom, and contended, that a firm and vigorous conduct would procure more advantageous terms. Hence, in drawing up the counter propositions to the Prussian offers, he introduced new conditions, and threw in captious and obscure expressions, which tended to embarrass the negotiation. The Empress, impelled by the opposition of her son, and seduced by the persuasive eloquence of her minister, acted against her own judgement in suffering the continuance of the war; yet she never intermitted her efforts, and when the campaign was closed, renewed her attempts with perseverance and address, and applied for the mediation of France and Russia.

Her efforts were favoured by the disposition of the courts of Versailles and Petersburgh. France was bound by the treaty of 1756 to assist the House of Austria, if attacked, with a considerable body of forces, and had been repeatedly summoned to comply with her engagement. The French ministry were greatly embarrassed with this demand; in furnishing the stipulated succours, they would have contributed to the aggrandizement of the House of Austria, and involved themselves in a continental war; in continuing to delay the fulfilment of the treaty, they were apprehensive of disgusting the court of Vienna, and of occasioning the renewal of the alliance with the Maritime Powers. They therefore eluded the demand under various pretences, exhorted the Empress to effect an accommodation, and tendered their mediation between the belligerent powers. While Maria Theresa had entertained hopes of assistance, or of effecting a separate accommodation, she had declined the intervention of France; but foiled in those expectations, she again turned to the court of Versailles, and France eagerly accepted the office of pacifying Germany, and agreed to support the conditions which had been already offered.

The empress of Russia was equally willing and interested to terminate the troubles of Germany. She had continued to receive a subsidy of 500,000 crowns from Prussia, and was bound in return to assist the King

King as soon as her contest with the Porte was terminated. She had therefore no sooner entered into negotiation with the Turks, than she came forward as an armed mediatrix, declaring, that unless the Empress-queen gave satisfaction to the princes of the Empire, by removing their just causes of complaint, in regard to the occupation of Bavaria, she would assist the king of Prussia with the corps stipulated by treaty. She followed this declaration by dispatching 20,000 men under prince Repnin through Poland, towards the frontiers of Gallicia.

This unexpected declaration astonished Maria Theresa, and disconcerted Kaunitz; but Joseph received the challenge with no less satisfaction than spirit. As the disputes with the Turks were not finally settled, he hoped that the Empress of Russia would be unable to take an active part in the affairs of Germany; he therefore extorted from his reluctant mother an order for recruiting the army with 80,000 men, and entertained the most sanguine hopes that he should again take the field *. Maria Theresa, however, acted with more prudence and humanity: she sighed after the termination of the public troubles; and conscious that her people, loaded with taxes, were incapable of supporting additional burthens, deemed no concessions beneath her dignity, which could secure the continuance of peace.

Before the Russian declaration had been delivered at Vienna, she had implored the good offices of Catherine, and requested her to join her mediation with that of France, which she had already accepted. She exerted all her efforts, therefore, to conciliate France and Russia, and strengthened her interest at the court of Petersburgh by a strain of flattery which almost equalled eastern adulation. Having paid her acknowledgements for the readiness with which Catherine had accepted the proferred mediation, she said, she "embraced with zeal this opportunity of testifying her esteem, her friendship, her confidence, and her deference." She attempted to explain and apologize for her conduct in taking possession of the Bavarian territory, and expatiated on her moderation in offering

* Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. p. 267.

to

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

to restore her acquisitions, provided Frederic would recede from his illegal pretensions on the margraviates of Anspach and Bareith. After detailing her endeavours to induce the king of Prussia to accept reasonable terms of accommodation, she added, "I confide in your known equity, and leave to your Imperial majesty the choice of adopting those means of reconciliation, which, in conjunction with France, shall be proved to be the most equitable and proper for the speedy re-establishment of peace, fully persuaded that I cannot place in better hands my interests and my dignity *."

These adulatory, and even humble expressions, from the first sovereign in Europe, and from a court distinguished for its arrogated pre-eminence, flattered the vanity and conciliated the favour of Catherine. She did not support her imperious and peremptory declaration, and gradually receded from the resolution which she had at first adopted, of entering into all the views of the king of Prussia.

Meanwhile, Frederic, who had been buoyed up with the hopes of being assisted by the whole force of Russia, and by the secret encouragement of France, increased his demands, and even required the unequivocal cession of the whole of Bavaria, and the payment of 40,000,000 of crowns to the elector of Saxony. But he was disappointed in his expectations; France, though desirous to prevent the aggrandizement, was anxious to save the honour of the House of Austria; and the empress of Russia, softened by the address of Maria Theresa, refused to support his new proposition. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the court of Vienna indignantly rejected his proposal, and declared that they would rather sacrifice their whole army, than submit to conditions more humiliating than those which had been already offered. This difference of opinion seemed likely to occasion the continuance of the war, and partial hostilities were renewed on the frontiers of Bohemia and Silesia. But the King, perceiving that he was not countenanced by France and Russia, receded from his

* MS. Letter from the Empress-queen to the empress of Russia, which I procured at St. Petersburgh.

demand,

demand, and submitted to the French ministry a plan of pacification nearly similar to the last conditions offered by the Empress-queen. This plan being approved by Maria Theresa, was digested by the mediating powers, and preparations were made to open a congress at Teschen.

During this negotiation, Joseph had opposed every obstacle in his power to the arrangement of the preliminaries; and when an armistice was nearly concluded, and the ministers nominated for the congress, he sent a detachment of 10,000 men to bombard Neustadt, with the hope of provoking the king of Prussia to continue hostilities. But his views were frustrated by the pacific inclinations both of Frederic and the Empress-queen. Notwithstanding this insult, Frederic consented to an armistice; the congress was opened at Teschen, a small town in Austrian Silesia, by the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent and mediating powers, and those of Saxony, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Deux Ponts. Baron Breteuil, the French minister, who was protected by the queen of France, and attached to the House of Austria, dictated, in conjunction with the Russian minister, the terms of peace. Still, however, Maria Theresa was thwarted by the intrigues of Joseph, who perplexed the negotiation by instigating the elector Palatine to declare that rather than charge himself with the payment of the compensation for the allodials to the elector of Saxony, he would adhere to his original convention with the House of Austria. Nor did Joseph desist from his opposition, till the accommodation between the court of St. Petersburgh and the Turks alarmed him with the prospect of an immediate attack from Russia. From that moment, his attempts to embarrass the conferences ceased; the solicitations of Maria Theresa hastened the negotiation, and a peace was concluded on the 13th of May, the birth day of the benevolent princess who thus restored tranquillity to Germany.

Feb. 28.

March 7.

March 10.

By a convention with the elector Palatine, the Empress-queen annulled the convention of the 3d of January 1778, and relinquished all pretensions to the Bavarian succession. She ceded also to the Elector the lordship of Mindelheim, and, with a view to

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

facilitate the arrangement of the pretensions of Saxony, yielded all the rights of the crown of Bohemia on the lordships of Glaucha, Waldenbergh, and Lichtenstein. She agreed to confer on the elector Palatine, and his house, the fiefs of the crown of Bohemia in the Upper Palatinate, on the same terms as they were possessed by the electors of Bavaria, and promised to require the Emperor and Empire to confer on the Palatine branch the Imperial fiefs in Bavaria and Suabia, with which the Bavarian line had been separately invested. In return, the elector Palatine yielded to the House of Austria that part of the circle of Burghausen, which lies between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza.

A convention was likewise signed between the elector Palatine and the elector of Saxony, by which the former agreed to pay 6,000,000 of florins, and to cede the seignorial rights on the lordships of Glaucha, Waldenberg, and Lichtenstein, in lieu of all claims for the allodials. The duke of Deux Ponts, as presumptive heir to the Palatine house, acceded to these conventions.

The same day a treaty of peace was signed between the Empress-queen and the king of Prussia. After the usual stipulation to restore their respective conquests and prisoners, the contracting and mediating powers joined in guarantying the family compacts between the Palatine and Bavarian branches, and particularly to the line of Birkenfeld, except in regard to those parts ceded by the convention with the elector Palatine *. They also confirmed the convention concluded between the elector Palatine and the elector of Saxony. The Empress-queen engaged not to oppose the re-union of the margraviates of Anspach and Bareith to the electoral dominions of the House of Brandenburgh, and the duke of Mecklenburgh was to be gratified with the *Jus de non appellando*, or the privilege of administering justice in his own duchy, without an appeal to the superior tribunals of the empire.

* The line of Birkenfeld was specified, because some attempts had been made to exclude that line, in consequence of what is called in Germany the unequal marriage of John Charles, count Palatine of Gelnhausen, and younger brother of Christian the Second, ancestor of the dukes of Deux Ponts, with Esther de Witzleben. Puetter's Development, vol. iii. p. 205. See the annexed Genealogical Table.

These

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

These several conventions were formally guarantied by the mediating powers, acceded to by Joseph as heir and co-regent of the Austrian dominions, and finally ratified by an act of the German diet *. Both parties evinced a sincere desire to maintain their engagements, and the king of Prussia was no sooner apprised of the signature, than he ordered his troops to evacuate the Austrian territories, without waiting sixteen days, the term fixed by the treaty †. Feb. 28, 1780.

Maria Theresa was often heard to declare that no event in her whole reign ever inspired her with such heartfelt and permanent satisfaction as the treaty of Teschen. The peaces of Aix la Chapelle and Hubertsburgh had been preceded by long and bloody wars; and the acquisition of Gallicia and Lodomeria was the fruit of a series of artful and perfidious negotiations, and had at the same time secured to the House of Brandenburgh the important territory of Western Prussia. But the peace of Teschen was without alloy; it was concluded at the close of a single and almost bloodless campaign, in which the Prussians, after boasting that they would winter at Prague, had been obliged to retreat from Bohemia. However decried by the emissaries of Joseph at Vienna, and censured by the army, it was highly advantageous, as it was the first peace since the accession of Maria Theresa from which the House of Austria had derived an addition of territory. The circle of Burghausen was a valuable acquisition; though small, it was extremely fertile, and formed a direct communication between the Tyrol and the archduchy of Austria. Even the renunciation of the other territories was settled in a manner highly honourable; for, instead of confirming the unequivocal right of the elector Palatine to succeed to the dominions of Bavaria, the claims of the Empress-queen and of the Emperor were acknowledged by the clause which stipulated that Maria Theresa should re-invest the Palatine House with the fiefs of Bohemia in her regal capacity, and should prevail on the Emperor to

* Hertzberg's Recueil, tom. ii. p. 267—291. Œuvres Posthumes, tom. v. Memoires de la Guerre de 1778. Koch. tom. ii. Art. Paix de Teschen.

† Sir R. Keith to Lord Suffolk, May 15, 1779.

Chapter 42. 1777—1779.

confer on the same House the fiefs of the Empire, vacated by the death of Maximilian Joseph. Bavaria was not formally acknowledged as an electorate; but designated throughout the treaty as a duchy. By these stipulations the honour of the House of Austria was saved, and the Empire and the crown of Bohemia were empowered to reclaim those fiefs, should the Palatine line become extinct.

The Empress-queen had also the satisfaction to reflect, that the peace was totally her own work, and had been brought to a happy conclusion, by a proper mixture of moderation, firmness, and policy. Her joy, on the successful event of these negotiations, was adequate to the recollection of the difficulties she had encountered, and the consciousness of the blessings which she had conferred on her people, by delivering them from the horrors of war. When the news was conveyed to Vienna, that the king of Prussia had acceded to the conditions, she exclaimed, "I am confounded with joy. I am not partial to Frederic; but I must do him the justice to confess that he has acted nobly and honourably; he promised me to make peace upon reasonable terms, and he has kept his word. I am inexpressibly happy to spare the effusion of so much blood*." She repaired immediately to the cathedral, and rendered public thanks to God for the termination of hostilities.

The principal management of the whole transaction relative to Bavaria, had been intrusted to prince Kaunitz, and both the Emperor and Empress had expressed the highest satisfaction with his zeal and ability. But although gratified with the approbation of his sovereigns, he had been much embarrassed by the discordance of opinion between the Empress and her son, which occasioned frequent and violent altercations. The peace was therefore no sooner concluded, than he requested permission to resign; but he was prevailed upon by the importunities of his sovereigns to continue in office, on condition that a vice-chancellor should be appointed to assist him in the business of

* Communicated by the person to whom the Empress made the observation.

his

his department. His request being gratified, he recommended count Philip Cobenzl, who had acted as plenipotentiary at the congress of Teschen, and who possessed the favour and confidence of the Emperor *.

* Sir Robert Keith to Lord Suffolk, May 22, 1779.

CHAPTER 43.

1779, 1780.

Dissatisfaction of the Court of Vienna at the Conduct of France—Endeavour to conciliate England and Russia—Review of the State of England, and of the American Contest—Refusal of MARIA THERESA *to countenance the Colonies—Her Motives in seeking the Alliance of Russia—State of the Russian Court and Cabinet—Visit of the Emperor to Catherine the Second—He succeeds in overthrowing the Prussian Influence—The Archduke Maximilian appointed Co-adjutor of Cologne and Munster.*

Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

ALTHOUGH France had mediated the peace of Teschen, and assisted in procuring honourable terms for the House of Austria; yet her refusal of the succours stipulated by the treaty of Versailles, and her secret opposition to the dismemberment of Bavaria, had greatly irritated the court of Vienna. The imperious spirit of Joseph was roused to the highest pitch of indignation; he inveighed against the duplicity and perfidy of the French cabinet, and asserted that from an alliance of almost thirty years, his family had reaped neither honour nor advantage. He drew a striking comparison between the political principles of England and those of France, and seemed desirous to renew the connection with the Maritime Powers *. Maria Theresa was more calm and temperate in her resentment, though scarcely less dissatisfied; her fondness for her daughter induced her to overlook the duplicity of her ally, and she dreaded to detach herself from the Bourbon family, with five of whose branches her children had intermarried. Kaunitz likewise could not avoid seeing and lamenting the artifices of France, and at particular times detailed the evils of the French alliance; yet he was not willing to overturn a work which he had long considered as the pride of his life, and as the criterion of that esteem which he was to expect from posterity. Influenced by these discordant and opposite

* Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

sentiments,

sentiments, the court of Vienna acted with uncertainty and inconsistency; but though they were not inclined to break with France, their resentment against her conduct during the Bavarian war, and the renewal of her connection with Prussia, induced them to court England and Russia *. Chapter 33. 1779, 1780.

From the peace of Paris, England had been incessantly distracted by feuds and party contests, which rose to an unusual degree of acrimony, and occasioned continual changes of administration. Lord Bute, though a nobleman of sound sense, elegant learning, and high integrity, was ill calculated to direct the helm of government in a country like England, subject to the storms of faction. The plan which he carried into execution of delivering the crown from the shackles of the aristocracy, had alienated that powerful party, which, under the denomination of whigs, had so long influenced the public opinion. To this cause, and to his reserve and natural impracticability of temper, were added the unjust prejudices fostered against him as a native of Scotland, and his unpopularity extended to the sovereign, who was charged by the malignant voice of party with having imbibed principles hostile to the spirit of the constitution. The minister naturally timid, and deserted by those whom he had brought into office, resigned in disgust; but his retreat did not relieve the throne from the obloquy which it had incurred by his unpopularity; he was still supposed to sway the counsels of the cabinet, and idle rumours of his secret influence were circulated until they were believed. 1763.

During the short period of six years which followed his resignation, the helm of state had been directed by five successive administrations, each of which did little more than annul the measures pursued by their predecessors But in nothing was this fluctuation of counsels, and continual change of measures, more fatal, than in the conduct of government towards the American colonies.

With a view to ease the burthens of the mother country, Mr. Grenville had first adopted the plan of taxing the Americans, by imposing duties on all imports from the colonies of foreign nations, and by the

* Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

introduction

Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

introduction of a duty on stamps, nearly similar to that in England. These measures were strenuously opposed by the Americans, on the principle that they ought not to be taxed by a parliament in which they were not actually represented, and their cause was supported by a strong party in England, distinguished for eloquence and abilities. The Americans, who had rapidly increased in population and wealth, and appreciated their own power and resources, were thus encouraged to resist the authority of the British parliament; and many even aspired to emancipate themselves from the mother country. In this state of the public mind, the attempt to execute the stamp act excited the most violent commotions. The friends of government were insulted and injured, the stamps publicly burnt, and the collectors compelled to abjure the execution of their office. The provincial assemblies published declarations denying the authority of the mother country in regard to taxation, and the people eagerly entered into associations to import no British commodities until the obnoxious act was repealed.

1765.

In the midst of these events, a change took place in the administration; and the new ministry, at the head of which was lord Rockingham, repealed the offensive law; but accompanied it with a declaratory act asserting the unlimited supremacy of Parliament, and the right of the mother country to tax the colonies. In the ensuing year, another administration succeeded to power under Mr. Pitt, who was created earl of Chatham, and nominated Lord Privy Seal. He had warmly espoused the cause of the Americans, and publicly announced his opinion that taxation and representation were inseparable. But as from the declining state of his health, and the embarrassed situation of affairs, he took little part in the discussions of the cabinet, a new bill was introduced into Parliament, imposing duties in the Colonies on the importation of glass, paper, painter's colours, and tea, at a time when the Americans were highly discontented, and exulting in the confidence of their strength. This act, being considered as a pretext to establish a permanent revenue, was opposed with still greater warmth than the stamp act, and the colonists entered again into associations to suspend the importation and use of British

manufactures on which any duty was levied. At length the distress of the manufacturers who suffered by these dissensions, the outcry at home, and the dread of exciting a civil war in the colonies, induced the duke of Grafton, who was then at the head of affairs, to promise a repeal of all the duties, except that on tea. Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

Such was the state of the contest, when lord North was placed at the helm, and the first act of his administration was to fulfil the promise of his predecessor. But this partial measure was insufficient to satisfy the Americans, who saw nothing but fluctuation and imbecility in the British counsels. The advocates for emancipation had increased, and, although far inferior in number to the royalists, were greatly superior in talents, activity, union, and spirit of intrigue; they had perhaps even at this time digested their plans of independence, and eagerly seized every pretext to excite the spirit of the people against the mother country. New causes daily contributed to inflame the growing contention, and the northern colonies in particular were ripe for revolt, when the consignment of several ships laden with tea to the different ports of America brought the question to a decision. At several places they were refused admittance, and at Boston, a party disguised like Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessel, and threw the cargo into the sea. 1770. Nov. 1773.

The mother country was compelled to punish so daring a breach of the law, and to enforce its authority; but the ministry, by adopting a line of conduct neither decidedly hostile nor sufficiently conciliating, only cemented the union of the colonies, and hastened that crisis which they were desirous to avoid. An act was passed to shut up the port of Boston by armed vessels, until satisfaction was made for the outrage; and general Gage, who was much beloved in America, was sent to Boston as governor, and followed by a reinforcement of troops. These proceedings and the first measures of the new governor only tended to rouse the disaffected, and exasperate the people. A general congress of deputies from all the colonies assembled at Philadelphia; the celebrated Declaration of Rights was published,

Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

and a resolution passed to support the inhabitants of Boston, should England attempt to enforce the obnoxious bills by arms: magazines were also collected, the provincial militia exercised, and every preparation made for open rebellion. The destruction of one of these magazines at Concord, within twenty miles of Boston, by a detachment of the royal troops, occasioned the first effusion of blood; they were opposed by a small body of provincial militia, and though they succeeded in their enterprise, were greatly harassed in their return to Boston, and did not effect a retreat without extreme difficulty. This event gave new courage to the colonists; the congress of Massachussets entered into resolutions to assemble and organise an army, and appealed to the other states, and the forts, magazines, and arsenals were seized by the provincials.

General Gage, with a force sufficient to irritate but too weak to intimidate the colonists, was reduced to the defensive; the militia poured in from all quarters, and a provincial army soon paraded in the vicinity of Boston. In this situation of affairs, generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton arriving from England with considerable reinforcements, Gage proclaimed martial law, and offered a pardon to those who would lay down their arms and return to their respective occupations. But this proclamation was disregarded; the Americans had already blockaded Boston by a line of encampments, and now hastened to occupy Breed's Hill*, a height which commanded the entrance into Charlestown, on the opposite side of the river. In this post they were attacked, and after a desperate conflict driven from their intrenchments; but the royal troops experienced a loss scarcely paralleled on any occasion, where so small a number of combatants had engaged.

The congress now made the most active exertions for the prosecution of the war. They published a justification of their conduct, intrusted the chief command to general Washington, and while the royal troops, notwithstanding their recent success, were still blockaded in Boston by the provincials, they commenced offensive operations,

* Erroneously called Bunker's Hill.

and

and dispatched an expedition into Canada. The flame spread rapidly in the southern provinces; the governors of the two Carolinas and Virginia were expelled, and before the end of 1775, all the colonies were united in opposition to the mother country.

In the progress of this unfortunate contest, the British ministry manifested great supineness and indecision, with a no less reprehensible spirit of overweening confidence. They could not be induced to believe that the colonists would dare to draw the sword; and even when undeceived, despised the efforts of the Americans, and flattered themselves that the party of the loyalists, which was far superior to the disaffected in numbers and strength, would finally gain the ascendancy. Hence they adopted a mixed system of conciliation and menace, which debased the mother country in the opinion of the colonists, and, when compelled to undertake hostilities, did not dispatch an efficient force with the necessary promptitude and vigour. Hence, although the British arms were attended with frequent and considerable successes, the Americans continued to increase in confidence and military skill; without a regular government, without money, without a navy, they maintained themselves against the superior wealth, power, and resources of Great Britain; and in 1776, renounced their allegiance by a solemn declaration of independence. The failure of Burgoyne's expedition, and the surrender of his army at Saratoga, gave additional courage to the Americans, and reputation to their cause, and in the commencement of 1778 France openly declared in their favour.

From the first symptoms of the American troubles, France had been guilty of extreme duplicity, as well as impolicy. During an affected neutrality, she had secretly fomented the commotions in the colonies, encouraged the malcontents by promises of support, and finally entered into a formal treaty to acknowledge their independence. Having gradually matured their plans for depriving Great Britain of this source of commercial wealth and naval power, the French ministry threw off the mask, and sent an auxiliary force to support the insurgents. On this occasion they had acted with such extreme caution, as to deceive the court of Vienna; and Kaunitz had frequently pledged himself

Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

for the sincerity and good faith of France *. But when the conduct of the French ministry belied their professions, and war had actually commenced, the Austrian cabinet affected to declare their abhorrence of the cause of rebellion; and refused to receive the agents of America in a diplomatic capacity.

The court of Vienna acted in conformity with these sentiments, and even prohibited all commerce between their subjects in the Low Countries and the rebel colonies. Joseph said to Sir Robert Keith, who expressed the King's satisfaction at this proof of friendship, "In issuing this proclamation, and rendering it as effectual as possible, her Imperial majesty has followed the impulse of that regard which she and all her family always felt for his Majesty; as to myself, I am extremely concerned for the difficulties which embarrass the King's government. The cause in which England is engaged, is the cause of all sovereigns, who have a joint interest in the maintenance of due subordination and obedience to law, in all the surrounding monarchies. I observe with pleasure the vigorous exertions of the national strength, which the King is employing to bring his rebellions subjects to submission, and I sincerely wish success to the measures †."

Maria Theresa also expressed herself with equal warmth. "I am sensible," she said, in an audience which she gave to the British minister, "of every fresh proof of the King's kind attention to my welfare and prosperity; I am happy to find that my amicable intentions in issuing the prohibition against any intercourse between my subjects and the rebel colonies, have made a due impression on the King's mind. I have a high esteem for his Majesty's principles of government, a sincere veneration for his personal character, and a hearty desire to see the restoration of obedience and tranquillity in every quarter of his dominions. My friendship for the King, and my hereditary affection for the royal family, have never abated; though a difference in political opinions (the source of which I cannot avoid attributing to

* Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

† The reader will recollect the answer of Joseph to one who asked him, during the American contest, to which party he was inclined, "I am a royalist by profession."

the

the king of Prussia) has diminished the opportunities of an interchange of good offices between the two crowns. I have endeavoured to settle the Ostend affair in the manner most agreeable to the King. The business indeed is of a trifling nature; but his Majesty will do me the justice to believe that he would have found me equally well disposed in matters of much higher importance *.

During the Bavarian war, the conduct of France had increased this real or affected inclination towards England; the peace of Teschen was no sooner concluded, than prince Kaunitz, in the most amicable terms, proferred the intervention of his sovereign to effect an accommodation between France and Great Britain; and though this offer was declined, he continued to court the British cabinet with the hope of obtaining their assistance in conciliating the friendship of the Empress of Russia.

In thus endeavouring to conciliate Catherine, Maria Theresa had two objects in view; the first to gain her concurrence in securing for the archduke Maximilian, the co-adjutorship of Munster and Cologne, and the other to annihilate the influence of the king of Prussia.

The Empress-queen had succeeded in procuring establishments for all her younger children, except the archduke Maximilian. Leopold was great duke of Tuscany; Ferdinand governor of Milan, and by his marriage with Maria Beatrix, daughter of the duke of Modena, had secured the reversion of his father-in-law's dominions. Maximilian had entered into holy orders, and was candidate for the co-adjutorship of the archbishopric of Cologne and the bishopric of Munster, which would entitle him to succeed to those valuable sees with the electoral dignity. But in the attainment of this object, Maria Theresa experienced great opposition. The electorate of Cologne having hitherto been held by a member of the House of Bavaria; France, to whom the electors of Cologne had generally been attached, was interested to oppose the views of the House of Austria, and vest that reversion in a prince of a less powerful family. Maria Theresa, how-

* Sir Robert Keith to Lord Stormont, June 12.

ever,

Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

ever, had succeeded by means of her daughter, in gaining the acquiescence of Louis the Sixteenth, notwithstanding the opposition of Vergennes; but the advancement of the young archduke was no less opposed by the king of Prussia, who exerted his powerful influence in the chapter to prevent the election *.

As Russia possessed great weight in the Germanic body, and considerable influence in the chapter, her concurrence was of the utmost importance; but the Empress-queen was still more interested to deprive the king of Prussia of that influence at St. Petersburgh, which he had exerted with such effect during the Bavarian contest. Such however were the situation and principles of the Russian court, that this task was attended with extreme difficulty.

Catherine the Second was endowed with a quick apprehension, a lively imagination, and versatile genius. She had been carefully educated by her parents, and though introduced at an early age into a voluptuous and dissipated court, had improved her talents by a course of assidnous study, and applied herself with peculiar attention to the acquisition of political knowledge. She was distinguished for a masculine force of mind, and an intrepidity above her sex; and these talents and acquirements appeared with still more advantage in a princess of great personal attractions, affable manners, and graceful deportment. She possessed in a no less degree the failings derived from an ardent and sensitive imagination; she wanted forbearance in prosperity, and accuracy of judgment; she was impetuous in her resolutions, and tenacious of her opinions. But vanity was her predominant foible; puffed up by uninterrupted prosperity, and by the applause lavished on her character and actions from every quarter of Europe, her love of flattery was almost insatiable; she considered herself equally pre-eminent in talents and in power, expected to be addressed in a strain of oriental adulation, and to be approached with all the deference due to a divinity.

Hitherto her reign had exhibited a splendid career of success, glory and power. The spirit of Peter the Great seemed to re-ani-

* See his Letter to the Elector of Cologne, and to the Chapters of Cologne and Munster, in Hertzberg's Recueil, tom. ii. p. 377.

mate the Russian throne. The munificent zeal with which she encouraged and protected the arts and sciences, the melioration of the penal laws, the abolition of torture, the improvement of agriculture, and the attempt to form a third estate, by increasing the number and privileges of the burghers, distinguish Catherine with glory, among the most enlightened sovereigns of the age. Her foreign transactions were still more splendid; and Russia for the first time had mediated a peace in Germany, and stood forth the arbitress of Europe. The Turks, bleeding with their recent defeats, recollected and shrunk from her power; Sweden courted her with humility; Denmark was almost her vassal, Poland a province of her empire; and even the greater powers vied in an affected deference to her judgment, and in soliciting her friendship and assistance.

From her recent successes against the Turks, the ardent imagination of Catherine conceived the romantic project of reviving the antient name and power of the Greeks, and establishing a new empire at Athens or Constantinople. Inspired with this splendid vision, she gave to her second grandson the name of Constantine, clothed him in a Greek dress, procured Greek nurses to instruct him in the language of the people over whom he was to reign, and struck a medal representing on one side the head of the young prince, and on the other a cross in the clouds, from which a flash of lightning demolished the mosque of St. Sophia.

The person who had the greatest influence at St. Petersburgh, and who possessed the most extensive power over the Empress, was prince Potemkin. He first introduced himself to the notice of Catherine at the revolution, became afterwards her favourite, and though supplanted, contrived to retain his ascendancy over her mind. Intimately acquainted with the temper and disposition of his sovereign, he made her weaknesses, her desires, and her passions, subservient to the accomplishment of his views. With an imagination as romantic as that of his mistress, Potemkin promoted and even suggested her most visionary projects, and was the soul of all her schemes. He flattered her

Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

her ruling passions, fostered the jealousy she entertained of her son the great duke, and found means to represent himself as the only person who, by extensive connections and interest, was capable of discovering and thwarting any project to place that prince on the throne wrested from his father. He counteracted the influence of count Panin, by representing him as the adherent of the Great Duke, and, by his sarcasms and ridicule, diminished the credit of prince Orlof, who, during the early period of the reign of Catherine, had principally swayed the counsels of Russia. He was equally rapacious and extravagant, and though he held the chief command of the army, and was loaded with more honours, titles, and emoluments, than ever before fell to the lot of a subject, he at one time aspired to become duke of Courland, at another hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia, and even turned his views to the throne of Poland. He possessed great acuteness of understanding, versatile talents, desultory rather than extensive knowledge, and almost irresistible powers of ridicule. He was the slave of caprice, levity, interest, and vanity, and, though naturally indolent and voluptuous, was roused by the impulse of the moment to uncommon deeds of activity and exertion. He followed no regular system of policy, but was wrought upon by the suggestions of fancy or interest, to adopt those of every country: he was by turns a partisan of England and of France, and during the Bavarian war, had been gained by the king of Prussia, who lured his ambition by offering to assist him in acquiring the duchy of Courland, and to negotiate a marriage between him and a German princess *.

Count Panin had been governor of the Great Duke, and was raised to the post of prime minister, from the opinion which the Empress entertained of his integrity, and from his services in the Revolution which placed her on the throne. He possessed, however, no personal influence over his sovereign, but was enabled to thwart or change the

* For a more particular account of this extraordinary man, see the anecdotes of prince Potemkin, in my travels in Poland, Russia, &c. vol. ii. appendix No. 5, edition 5.

measures

measures of government, by his acquaintance with the routine of offices, and by the method he adopted of retarding or altering the public and private communications with foreign courts. He was cold and formal in his manners, indolent in business, and dissipated in society; but he was capable of almost impenetrable dissimulation, indefatigable in intrigue, and swayed most of the inferior agents of the court and cabinet. He was inveterate in his enmity to England and the House of Austria, and devoted to the king of Prussia, and by his means to the cabinet of Versailles.

Since the peace of Hubertsburgh, Frederic the Second had paid assidous court to the Empress of Russia, and by the most unbounded flattery and affected deference, had conciliated her esteem and friendship. To consolidate his influence, his brother prince Henry had twice visited St. Petersburgh, and had effected a marriage between the Great Duke and the princess of Wirtemberg. He likewise confirmed the great ascendancy which the King had gained over the prime minister Panin, who became so subservient to his views, as to consider the continuance of the Prussian influence necessary to the maintenance of his own.

For a considerable period of her reign, Catherine had adhered to the long established friendship between England and Russia. She possessed too acute an understanding not to perceive, that the interests of the two countries were inseparably connected; but she had been alienated and mortified by the frank and unbending spirit of the British cabinet, who would not condescend to gratify her insatiable desire of flattery, or concur in promoting her schemes of oriental grandeur. The court of Versailles with their usual address, had taken advantage of this alienation, had flattered her ruling passions, and affected to enter into all her schemes; the correspondence which Catherine maintained with the French literati * had heightened the delusion, and she persuaded herself that her power and reputation were no where so well known and so justly appreciated as at Paris. She knew and despised the spirit of intrigue and duplicity which

* Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert.

Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

distinguished the French cabinet; but their adulation was so grateful to her feelings, and the partisans of France were so numerous in her court, that she was often led into measures which were contrary to her judgment and her interests. The king of Prussia, the bitter enemy of England, warmly promoted the designs of the French cabinet, and he was ably seconded by his creature count Panin. Their great object was to draw the Empress into a close connection with the House of Bourbon; with that view they concerted directly or indirectly with Vergennes, the measures to be pursued by France, and Panin even sketched out the papers which were sent from the cabinet of Versailles, in a manner calculated to please and allure his Imperial mistress. By these artifices, Catherine had not only been prevented from coming forward to the assistance of England, but had even been induced to publish the declaration which occasioned the armed neutrality; and which was calculated to introduce a new code of maritime law, hostile to the dearest interests of England, and tending to deprive her of the advantages derived from her naval superiority.

Such being the principles, characters, and connections of the persons composing the Russian court, the views of Maria Theresa could not be effected by a common emissary, and Joseph himself undertook this important task. Availing himself of the intention of Catherine to visit her new acquisitions in Poland, he testified to prince Gallitzin, the Russian minister at Vienna, his earnest desire to be personally acquainted with so renowned a princess, and requested permission to pay his court to her during her journey. This mark of attention from the first sovereign in Europe, flattered the vanity of Catherine. Sensible that without the assistance of Austria, she could not realise her views on the side of Turkey, she blushed with joy when she received the intelligence, sent a cordial and friendly answer, fixing on Mohilef, as the place of meeting, and at the particular request of Joseph, consented to wave all parade, etiquette, and superfluous ceremony.

The Emperor reached Mohilef on the 29d of May, and on the 25th, the day of the Empress's arrival, was presented to her by the Imperial minister

minister count Cobenzl, under the title of count Falkenstein. The meeting of the two sovereigns was most cordial and friendly: Catherine, already prepossessed in favour of Joseph, was struck with his animated countenance, easy manners, agreeable behaviour, and lively conversation, and Joseph took uncommon pains to strengthen this favourable impression; he conformed himself entirely to her character and disposition, treated her with freedom mingled with respect, displayed that apparent candour which he knew how to assume, and, by the most delicate and artful flattery, wrought up her admiration of his character almost to enthusiasm. He likewise artfully affected to applaud her romantic schemes, and without giving a positive promise, succeeded in persuading her that he was inclined to promote her plans of oriental aggrandizement. He at the same time gained prince Potemkin, by humouring his caprice, flattering his ambition, and luring him with a promise to promote his views of becoming Hospodar of Moldavia, and even to assist his advancement to the throne of Poland. Potemkin who was jealous of Panin, eagerly received these overtures, and promoted the designs of the Emperor with all his influence. Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

Catherine warmly pressed the Emperor to prolong his stay, and Joseph followed her to St. Petersburgh, where he continued till the latter end of July. This favourable reception confounded count Panin and the Prussian party. In vain they had attempted to prevent his visit, and they now as vainly endeavoured to alarm their mistress by representing him as a prince wholly actuated by ambition, and who, under the mask of candour and simplicity, concealed the most dangerous designs. Besides flattering and conciliating the Empress and her powerful favourite, Joseph omitted no opportunity, and neglected no means of securing the preponderance he wished to gain in the cabinet of St. Petersburgh. Aware that France was attempting to counteract his efforts, he artfully courted the friendship of the British cabinet, by promising to exert his ascendancy in favour of England, when he had overthrown the Prussian party. The Emperor found the British cabinet warmly inclined to concur in his views: fully sensible of the inveterate enmity of Frederic, and of the disadvantages which

Chapter 43. 1779, 1780.

they had experienced from his intrigues, they eagerly seized an opportunity which seemed likely to lower the influence of so dangerous a rival, and to renew the connection with the House of Austria. Fortunately the British minister at the court of St. Petersburgh, was well calculated to co-operate in so delicate an undertaking.

Sir James Harris, since so highly distinguished under the title of lord Malmesbury, by a life spent in a diplomatic capacity, and in the midst of the most important and arduous affairs, had acquired consummate skill in negotiation. After a long residence at Berlin, in which he had penetrated the character, artifices, and principles of Frederic, he had been transferred to St. Petersburgh. Uniting manly sense with suavity of manners, insinuating address, and the prudence acquired by a long intercourse with courts, he conciliated the Empress, by whom he was honoured with high marks of confidence and esteem, and even secured the temporary friendship of the capricious and all powerful Potemkin; he gained a perfect knowledge of the secret springs which actuated the court and cabinet, and fathomed the wily character and deep intrigues of Panin. With these qualities and acquirements he well fulfilled the orders of his court; and the Emperor repeatedly testified his obligations to so able a coadjutor *.

Aided by these means, and by his own consummate address, Joseph succeeded in annihilating the Prussian interest, and in establishing his own on a permanent footing; and thus by a singular combination in politics, the House of Austria, the intimate ally of France, was supported by the British ministry; while the Prussian party was espoused with equal warmth by the French minister M. de Verac.

From the first interview at Mohilef the admiration which Catherine had formerly expressed for Frederic the Second rapidly subsided. She talked of him as superannuated, rapacious, wholly devoted to his own

* The Emperor asking, in a conversation with Sir Robert Keith, who was to succeed Sir James Harris at St. Petersburgh? the British minister replied, that he would remain there. "Your ministry judge right," resumed the monarch, "Sir James Harris possesses the talents, activity, and adroitness, which qualify him for that mission." Sir Robert Keith to Lord Grantham, Vienna, Oct. 19, 1782.

interests,

interests, and actuated by a perfidious and crooked policy; while she launched forth into new praises of the unaffected ease, openness, and amenity of Joseph, and extolled him as one of the first characters of the age.

Having fully succeeded in the great object of his journey, the Emperor quitted St. Petersburgh in the latter end of July; and the manner in which he took leave of his Imperial hostess will evince the affected candour, address, and flattery, by which he captivated her esteem. "I have shewn myself as I really am, and have used neither art nor fallacy to your Imperial Majesty; you are therefore in a situation to judge of my character and merits; and as I am well aware that, from the moment of my departure, attempts will be made to calumniate and blacken me, I intreat you, before you give implicit credit to such representations, to consult your own judgment, and establish your opinion in consequence. I am no flatterer, he added; but I will sincerely avow that your Imperial Majesty has exceeded the high reputation you enjoy; and shall always consider the few weeks I have passed in your company, as the most agreeable and profitable of my life." The Empress strongly affected with these expressions of his esteem, which were heightened by his candid, yet dignified manner of delivery, shed tears, and when he stooped to kiss her hand, embraced him with great emotion *.

The absence of Joseph did not obliterate the favourable impression which he had made on the mind of the Empress, and which was strengthened by a regular and intimate correspondence. To regain his lost ascendancy, Frederic sent his nephew the prince of Prussia, to St. Petersburgh; but in this critical attempt the foresight of the wily monarch seems to have failed. The habits, character, person, and talents of Frederic William, were ill calculated to eclipse those of his Imperial rival; he was unwieldy in person, awkward in deportment, embarrassed in conversation; he did not, like Joseph, come incognito, but as prince of Prussia, and his establishment was formed by his

* From private information.

uncle,

Chapter 43. 1779. 1780.

uncle, with a singular mixture of rigid parsimony and affected pomp, which rendered his mission ridiculous. The Empress received this visit with extreme reluctance, and was as much prejudiced against the prince, as she had before been prepossessed in favour of the Emperor. She detained him several days at Riga, and on the road; and, under various pretexts, delayed the interview till the 27th of August. The manners and person of the Prince did not remove her prejudices; and she listened with pleasure to the railleries of prince Potemkin and the prince de Ligne on Prussian economy, and the whimsical and motley appearance of the prince's attendants.

The interview was conducted with great pomp and etiquette, but was little satisfactory to either party; the Prince appeared to Catherine heavy and reserved, and her reception struck him as cold, formal, and unpromising. She could not avoid drawing an unfavourable contrast between the ease and freedom which distinguished the whole visit of the Emperor, and the etiquette, formality, and restraint which reigned during that of the prince of Prussia. She could not conceal her disgust, whenever her princely visitor was present, and though unusually affable to others, treated him even in public with scarcely common civility or attention. The nobility imitated the example of their sovereign; the Prince, unlike the Emperor, was neither followed nor courted; he was every where coldly received; and these repeated mortifications rendered him still more embarrassed, aukward, and reserved, and consequently still more increased the disgust of the Empress. Notwithstanding his numerous and powerful friends, he did not succeed in any object of his mission; the Empress even hastened his departure by intimating to count Panin that his stay was irksome and disagreeable; and he quitted St. Petersburgh displeased and disgusted, after having confirmed instead of diminishing the high opinion which Catherine entertained of the Emperor, and sunk still lower the interest of his uncle.

All the attempts of Frederic to induce her to oppose the elevation of the archduke Maximilian to the coadjutorship of Munster, were

ineffectual. She not only gave a peremptory refusal to his instances, but expressed her resolution to assist the Empress-queen with all her influence, and wrote to all her ministers in the Empire to promote the election, which was accordingly carried into effect. This refusal publicly proclaimed the final overthrow of the Prussian ascendancy; and thus, in the last year of her reign, Maria Theresa had the satisfaction of re-establishing the antient and important connection of the House of Austria with Russia.

CHAPTER 44.

1780.

Illness, Death, and Character of MARIA THERESA—*Her Offspring—Territorial Acquisitions during her Reign.*

Chapter 44. 1780.

THE peace of Teschen and the renewal of the connection with Russia were the last great acts of the reign of Maria Theresa. She had for some time suffered from an induration of the lungs, the effect of extreme corpulency, with a dropsical habit, which at length became mortal; and after a gradual decline, accompanied with frequent fits of suffocation, she was seized on the 19th of November with the illness which soon terminated her life.

During her grievous sufferings, which affected all who beheld her, she never uttered a single complaint, and scarcely gave signs of impatience; and although inclined from education and habit to a minute observance of the ceremonies of the church, she did not discover the most trifling weakness in her devotions. Fully submissive to the decrees of Providence, and only apprehensive lest her frame should be unequal to support the pains of a mortal disease, and that the motives of resignation which she had drawn from reason and religion might lose their effect, should her understanding be impaired, "God grant," she exclaimed, "that these sufferings may soon terminate, for otherwise I know not if I can much longer endure them." With the same spirit, she said to her son Maximilian, "My firmness and constancy have not yet abandoned me; address your prayers to heaven, that I may preserve my tranquillity to the last moment." On recovering from a violent attack, which took away her senses, she was affected with the sight of the Emperor, who had burst into tears; "I intreat you," she said, "to spare me; my own sufferings do not appal me; but the consciousness of your affliction will take away all my firmness."

Having

Having received the sacraments, she summoned her family into her presence, and thus addressed them: "My dear children, I have just received the sacraments, and am satisfied that I have no hope of recovery; you cannot forget the anxious solicitude with which the late Emperor your father and myself have superintended your education;" then, turning to the Emperor, "my son," she added, "as after my death all my possessions in this world belong to you, I cannot dispose of them; my children alone still are, and will always be mine; I deliver them to you, be to them a father." I shall die contented if you promise to take that office upon you;" then, turning to the others, she said, "consider the Emperor as your sovereign; obey him, respect him, follow his advice, confide in him, love him sincerely, and you will be secure of his friendship and affection." She gave to each of them her blessing; and, observing that they were all deeply affected, she calmly added, "retire into another apartment, and recover your spirits." Chapter 44. 1780.

Each time that she was relieved from fits of suffocation and fainting, and even on the evening which preceded the day of her dissolution, she employed herself in explaining to the Emperor the state of affairs, and in dictating and signing dispatches. She wrote a letter to prince Kaunitz, expressing, in the most obliging terms, her gratitude for his faithful services; she commissioned count Esterhazy, chancellor of Hungary, to thank his countrymen for their fidelity and zeal, which had secured her throne; and to entreat them to continue the same to her successor. During the night which preceded her dissolution, she held a long conversation with the Emperor, who perceiving her exhausted state, entreated her to take some repose; but she replied, "In a few hours I shall appear before the judgment seat of God, and would you have me sleep?"

In her last moments she regretted life, not for the loss of worldly honours and regal power, but from an anxious solicitude lest those numerous persons whom her secret bounty had relieved, should be deprived of subsistence, when the hand that supported them was no more; and almost her last words were, "I would wish for immortality

Chapter 44. 1780.

on earth, for no other reason than for the power of relieving the distressed." She preserved a calm tranquillity, and even serenity of mind, which seemed almost above the powers of human nature, and could only be derived from an awful sense of religion, and the recollection of a well-spent life, and expired on the 29th of November, 1780, in the sixty-fourth year of her age, and the forty-first of her reign *.

The body of Maria Theresa, plainly habited, lay in state till the 3d of December; her heart was deposited in the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, adjoining to the palace, her bowels in a vault under the high altar of the cathedral, and her corpse was interred in a monument which she had erected for herself and her husband Francis, under the church of the Capuchins. This last ceremony was performed with the accustomed pomp; but, at her particular desire, no funeral eulogium was made to her memory.

To the character of Maria Theresa, as exhibited in the preceding pages, it is only necessary to add, that she was easy of access to all her subjects, affectionate to her family, kind to her domestics, and unboundedly charitable, but without ostentation. She combined private economy with public liberality, dignity with condescension, elevation of soul with humility of spirit, and the virtues of domestic life with the splendid qualities which grace a throne. But it must not be concealed that she was subject to the failings of human nature, from which the best characters are not exempt. She readily gave ear to spies and informers, encouraged tales of private scandal, and indulged an unwarrantable curiosity in prying into the secrets of families. From a spirit of unlimited devotion to the Roman catholic faith, she was superstitiously minute in her religious exercises, and her zeal often degenerated into a culpable excess, and hurried her into acts of intolerance, which cast a shade on her memory. Her death, however, was a general loss to the people, who adored her; her reign is considered

* "Since the melancholy event of the Empress's death," writes Sir Robert Keith to lord Stormont, Dec. 2, 1780, "every thing in this capital wears the face of heartfelt affliction. Every hour brings to the public some additional instance of the astonishing fortitude and unremitting beneficence which accompanied her even to the last agonies of death, or some striking proof of filial piety and fraternal affection in the conduct of the Emperor towards his family."

as

as the best and most glorious æra of their history; and the halcyon days of Maria Theresa are still proverbial throughout the whole extent of the Austrian dominions *.

Maria Theresa had by Francis six sons and ten daughters; of whom nine survived her. Her sons were:

1. Joseph, who succeeded her.

2. Leopold, Great Duke of Tuscany, and afterwards Emperor.

3. Ferdinand, who was appointed governor of Austrian Lombardy; and, in virtue of his marriage with Maria Beatrix, daughter and heiress of Hercules Rinaldo, duke of Modena, obtained the reversion of the duchies of Modena, Mirandola, and Reggio †. Before the departure of Ferdinand from Vienna to take possession of his government, several entertainments were given on that occasion. Among others it was proposed to have a grand illumination at the palace of Schonbrunn; but, when the plan was presented to the young prince, he seemed thoughtful, sighed, and at length burst into tears. The Empress, observing his emotion, anxiously inquired the cause; "My dearest mother," he answered, "after so many feasts given for me, surely this illumination is unnecessary; it is expensive, and the pleasure will be only transitory. The dearness of bread, and the pressure of the times, have reduced many respectable families to extreme distress, and the money will be better employed in relieving the most indigent." Maria Theresa tenderly embraced her son, joined her tears with his, and gave him a considerable sum to distribute in charity. The young prince passed the whole day in secretly relieving distressed objects, and the next morning he entered the Empress's apartment with a countenance sparkling with delight, embraced her with transport, and enthusiastically exclaimed, "Oh, my mother, what a feast ‡!"

* The account of the death of Maria Theresa is principally drawn from private information received from Vienna; Histoire de Marie Therese; and the Dispatches of Sir Robert Keith.

† By the peace of Luneville these duchies were incorporated with the Italian Republic; and the duke of Modena received the Brisgau, which was taken from the House of Austria, as an indemnity. He died in 1803; and the Brisgau, in virtue of the reversion, fell to Ferdinand, who is said to have transferred it to his son Charles.

‡ Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 234.

Chapter 44. 1780.

4. Maximilian, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, coadjutor of Cologne and Munster, and elector of Cologne, April 15, 1784.

Her surviving daughters were:

1. Mary Anne, abbess of Prague and Clagenfurth.

2. Mary Christina, married to Albert of Saxony, son of Augustus the Third, king of Poland. He received on his marriage the principality of Teschen as an appanage; they were appointed joint viceroys of Hungary, and, on the death of prince Charles of Loraine, Governors General of the Netherlands. She was the favourite daughter of Maria Theresa, and inherited her personal attractions.

3. Maria Elizabeth, abbess of Inspruck.

4. Maria Amelia, who espoused Don Ferdinand, duke of Parma.

5. Caroline, queen of Ferdinand king of Naples. She owed her elevation to the premature deaths of her two elder sisters, Joanna and Josepha. Joanna was betrothed at the age of twelve, to the king of Naples, but died of the small-pox. Josepha was destined to supply her place, and in the bloom of youth and beauty, was affianced to Ferdinand, on the 8th of August, 1767. She was to have been married by proxy on the 14th, and preparations were even made for her departure. But she testified the deepest regret at quitting her family, and descended into the vault of the Capuchins, to enjoy for the last time, the melancholy pleasure of weeping over the ashes of her father. In this agitation of mind she was seized with the small-pox, which in less than a week hurried her to the grave, on the very day appointed for the commencement of her journey *.

6. Maria Antonietta, married to Louis, dauphin, and afterwards king of France.

Since the accession of Charles the Sixth, the House of Austria had lost the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the duchies of Parma and Placentia, Silesia, and the county of Glatz, and the Ultra Danubian provinces. But Maria Theresa had in some degree compensated for these losses by the acquisition of Gallicia and Lodomeria, the Bucovina, and the circle of Burghausen. She also made some accessions of

* From private information received at Vienna, and Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 193.

territory, which increased her influence in the Empire. 1. The lordship of Hohen Elms, by the death of William Maximilian, the last of the male line, without issue male. His ancestors had been created Counts of the Empire by Ferdinand the First, and the vacant lordship had been conferred by the emperor Francis on the House of Austria, in consequence of which they acquired a seat and vote on the bench of Suabia. 2. The county of Falkenstein, as a fief of Loraine. The last possessor, William Wiric count of Daun, sold the lordship in 1667 to Charles third duke of Loraine, who conferred it on his natural son Charles Henry, prince of Vaudecourt, on whose death duke Leopold reclaimed it; after some opposition from the counts of Mundersheid and Lowenhaupt it was secured to Francis as an hereditary fief by the peace of 1735, and descended to Joseph. This lordship gave to the House of Austria a vote on the princely bench, and is remarkable as the title assumed by Joseph during his travels. 3. The Bailliage of the Ortenau in Suabia, which had been conferred as a male fief by the emperor Leopold on the House of Baden, and on the extinction of the family, by the death of the margrave Augustus George, in 1771, reverted to the House of Austria *.

Chapter 44. 1780.

* De Luca, Lesebuch, vol. ii. p. 495, 496. Busching Art. Hohen Elms, Falkenstein and Ortenau.

REIGN OF JOSEPH THE SECOND.

CHAPTER 45.

1780—1784.

Character of JOSEPH II. *on his Accession—State of the Austrian Dominions—Plans of Reform—New System of Government—Ecclesiastical Innovations—Visit of the Pope to Vienna—Abolition of Feudal Vassalage, and new Land-Tax—Patronage of Literature—Establishments for the Promotion of Science, and for the Purposes of Education—Commercial Regulations.*

Chapter 45. 1780—1784.

THE eyes of Europe were fixed upon the successor of Maria Theresa, as upon a sovereign in the prime of manhood, whose personal qualifications, as well as civil and military talents, seemed capable of raising the House of Austria to a greater height of splendor and power than she had yet attained.

Joseph the Second, born in 1741, was in the fortieth year of his age, when he ascended the throne of his ancestors. He was endowed by nature with a lively disposition, quick parts, and an ardent temper; but his education had been greatly neglected, and those who were placed about his person were wholly unfit for the purpose of forming a young prince to fulfil the important duties of his exalted station. His youthful mind, trained by dull pedagogues, who rendered learning distasteful, or instructed by bigoted monks in all the tedious forms of an unmeaning devotion *, contracted an aversion for science; and he did not discover the smallest inclination for any branch of literature. From this narrow mode of education, he became timid, awkward, and reserved, and gave no indications of that active and penetrating mind which he really possessed. This timidity was still further heightened

* Till the age of twelve he was confined to the daily task of reading the Flowers of the Saints, and the Life of Christ, by Kochen, a capuchin friar, which were equally dull and unmeaning, and filled with superstitious fables. From this narrow education, it may be easily supposed that he drew no rational principles of belief, and in his advanced years he continually fluctuated between incredulity and superstition.

by

Chapter 45. 1780—1784.

by the coldness and severity with which he was treated by his parents, and the partiality which they manifested to his brother the archduke Charles, a prince of more brilliant and attractive qualities *.

Towards the sixteenth year of his age, he was roused from this state of apathy, by the great events of the seven years' war; the exploits, resources, and victories of Frederic the Second seemed totally to engross his mind, and inspired him with a desire of emulating the great rival of the House of Austria. Animated by this spirit, he desired to serve against the Prussians; but this first display of energy being repressed, and his request rejected, he relapsed into his former apathy, and seemed only anxious to avoid exciting the jealousy of his parents.

In the twenty-fourth year of his age, being called by the sudden death of his father to the possession of the Imperial dignity, appointed co-regent of the Austrian dominions, and entrusted with the command of the army, the activity of his character began to develop itself.

The long reign of his mother, the death of a beloved wife, the little share which he was allowed to enjoy in the administration of public affairs, and the leisure of a long and almost uninterrupted peace, left him at liberty to gratify his passion for useful knowledge. Europe saw and admired an emperor of Germany travelling without pomp ostentation or etiquette, affecting the frankness and simplicity of a private individual, examining with the minutest attention, the naval and military establishments, the arts, manufactures, courts of justice, and charitable institutions, and exhibiting an example of indefatigable perseverance and rational observation, which no sovereign had displayed since Peter the Great. To these valuable qualities he joined an intense application to business, easiness of access, cheerfulness in society, vivacity in conversation, politeness in demeanour, sobriety and temperance, a contempt of fatigue, and disregard of danger. During his frequent journies in the Austrian territories, he examined the situation of his subjects, particularly that of the lower classes; he visited the cabin of the shepherd, and the hut of the peasant, inquired into their wants, relieved their distresses, appeared anxious to abolish their

* Wraxall's Memoirs.

servitude,

servitude, and publicly declared that his greatest honour would be to rule over freemen. Chapter 45. 1780.

Many instances of his attention to the distress of his subjects were recorded before his accession; two of which give striking proofs of benevolence and humanity. Hearing of an old officer, who had a large family without the means of providing for them, he unexpectedly called at his house, and finding eleven children, said, "I know you have ten children, but whose is the eleventh?" "It is an orphan," replied the veteran, "whom I found exposed at my door, and I could not suffer it to perish for want of assistance." Joseph, struck with this act of humanity, said, "Let the children be in future my pensioners, and do you continue to give them examples of virtue and honour; I settle upon each of them 200 florins a year, of which you shall receive the first quarter to-morrow: I myself will take care of your eldest son, and, as an earnest of my future intentions, give him the commission of a lieutenant *."

Another time, as he was passing through the streets of Vienna, he saw a young woman with a bundle in her apron, seemingly plunged in the deepest affliction. Struck with her youth and distress, he delicately inquired into the cause of her grief, and learned that the contents of her bundle were some clothes of her mother, which she was going to sell as their last resource. "I never expected," she added, sobbing, "that we should be reduced to such extreme penury, as my mother is the widow, and I the daughter, of an officer, who served with distinction in the army of the Emperor, but without meeting the recompence he had a right to expect."

"You ought," replied Joseph, "to have presented a memorial to the Emperor; have you no friend or acquaintance, who could recommend your case to him?" She then named a courtier who had repeatedly promised to do it, but whose recommendation had failed of success; and she did not conceal her opinion of the Emperor's want of generosity. "You have been deceived," he replied, suppressing his emotion; "had the Emperor known your situation, he would not

* Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 227.

Chapter 45. 1780.

have withheld his assistance; he has been misrepresented to you; I know him well, and his love for justice; prepare a memorial, and bring it yourself to-morrow to the palace; if your circumstances are such as you describe, I will present you and your memorial, and second your request; nor will my interference, I trust, be ineffectual." The young person, overcome by this unexpected kindness from a stranger, broke forth into expressions of gratitude, which Joseph interrupted, by saying, "In the mean while you must not sell your clothes; how much did you expect to get for them?" she answered, "six ducats;" "Allow me to lend you twelve," replied the Emperor, "until we know the success of our application." He then took his leave; and, having informed himself of the truth of her story, expected her at the appointed time and place, but, on her not appearing, dispatched a messenger for her and her mother.

When the young woman returned home, her description of the person and manners of the stranger convinced her friends that he was the Emperor, and she was so much shocked at her freedom in censuring the conduct of her sovereign, that she had not courage to appear before him. Being at last prevailed upon to repair to the palace, she fainted in his presence; on her recovery, the Emperor sent for her and her friends into the closet, and delivering to her a pension for her mother, equal to the appointments of her father, he said, "I intreat you and your mother to excuse the delay which has been the cause of your embarrassment. You are convinced, I trust, it was on my part involuntary; and, should any one in future speak ill of me, I only require you to be my advocate*."

To this benevolent temper Joseph united an aspiring mind, and was not deficient in that ardour for military glory, which had distinguished the most illustrious of his ancestors. During the Bavarian war he displayed more eagerness to engage than Frederic himself; he shared the hardships, fatigues, and dangers of his troops †; slept on the bare

* Histoire de Marie Therese, p. 223.

† "His toilette," observes his biographer, "is that of a common soldier, his wardrobe that of serjeant, business his recreation, and his life perpetual motion." Vie de Joseph, p. 110.

ground,

ground, skirmished with the advanced posts, led reconnoitring parties, and the whole army joined in the exclamation of a grenadier, "Why should I complain of dangers, when I see the crown of my sovereign as much exposed as my cap!" Chapter 45. 1780.

With the advice and assistance of marshal Lacy, he new modeled the army, and introduced that wonderful system of order and economy, which so highly distinguishes the military constitution of Austria. Many of the beneficial regulations adopted by Maria Theresa had been proposed by him; his intentions were known to be pure and beneficent; and as he was no longer controled in his operations for the public good, and his power gave full scope to his talents, his accession was hailed not merely by the panegyrists of his own court, but by impartial foreigners and enlightened politicians, as the commencement of a golden age, which was to surpass the glory of antient periods, and shame the boasted exertions of modern times. With such omens of greatness and splendour, did the new sovereign begin his auspicious reign; but these flattering predictions were not realized; nor does any instance occur in history of a prince who more disappointed the expectations of mankind, and who died less esteemed, and less regretted, than Joseph the Second.

In tracing the reign of Joseph, which, though a period of only ten years, contains a multiplicity of events that materially affected the interests of the House of Austria, we shall first direct our attention to his plans of reform.

Before we attempt to sketch a detail of these numerous and complicated plans, it will not be improper to review the situation of his vast empire at the time of his accession. The Austrian monarchy, comprising an extent of 180,000 square miles, and peopled with 24,000,000 of inhabitants, was composed of as many nations as provinces, differing from each other in language, religion, government, laws, customs, and civilization. The greater part formed one large and compact body; others, as the Low Countries, Lombardy, and the possessions in Suabia, were separated from each other, and without communication either among themselves, or with the great mass of the

Chapter 45. 1780.

hereditary countries. The feudal system generally prevailed; in some parts modified by written laws, or local customs; in others, as in Hungary, existing in all its primeval absurdity and oppression. The clergy and nobles were all-powerful, the citizens in little estimation, and the peasants, except in the Low Countries, Tyrol, and Austria Proper, in a state of vassalage. The Roman catholic was the dominant religion, and the clergy possessed enormous riches, power, and influence. Each province was represented by an assembly of states, composed of the nobility and clergy, and a few deputies from the free and royal cities, who divided with the Sovereign the right of administering justice and imposing taxes, which principally fell upon the lower class of people. A monarchy so constituted could not acquire that vigour which ought to result from its extent and population. Every province was divided from the others; all the bonds which connect the subjects of a large empire were broken; and the only tie which preserved their union was the Sovereign. Poverty, wretchedness, and oppression, were the lot of the greater number; ignorance, pride, and corruption, formed the character of the smaller body.

Maria Theresa, at an early period of her reign, had turned her attention to the deplorable situation of her subjects. The necessity of resisting a vast combination of enemies, and of opposing the talents and activity of her rival, Frederic II. had compelled her to establish a permanent force, and to increase her army and revenues. In the prosecution of this work she had abridged the enormous privileges of the nobility and clergy, and lightened in many instances the yoke which oppressed the peasants. Her innovations were moderate and gradual; but the progressive mode was ill-suited to the sanguine temper and impatient spirit of Joseph, who, not content with following his mother's example, in sowing the seeds of improvement and suffering them to grow up to maturity, was anxious to reap the harvest before it was ripe.

He formed the grand but impracticable plan of abolishing all distinctions of religion, language, * and manners, by declaring that in

* In the Austrian dominions ten principal languages are spoken: German, Hungarian, Sclavonian (including the Polish, Bohemian, and Illyrian dialects), Latin, Wallachian, Turkish, modern Greek, Italian, Flemish, and French.

future

future there should be no more provinces, but one nation, one family, and one empire. He purposed to unite all these different kingdoms and nations into one great body, governed by one simple system of administration, and actuated by one common interest, both moral and political; he purposed to deliver the peasants from feudal oppressions, to annihilate superstition, and encourage industry, agriculture, arts, commerce, and manufactures; to infuse into the great political mass a force proportionate to its size, and adapted to its situation in the midst of Europe, surrounded by powerful enemies and jealous neighbours.

In conformity with these views Joseph first abolished the numerous and separate jurisdictions, and divided the Austrian monarchy into thirteen governments, * each of which was subdivided into a certain number of circles or districts, proportionate to its extent. Over each circle presided a magistrate called captain of the circle, who superintended the execution of the laws, and protected the peasants from the oppression of the feudal system. In the capital of each government was established a court of justice, divided into two tribunals, one for the nobles, and the other for the lower classes, from the decision of which an appeal lay to a second, then to a third court, and finally to the supreme tribunal at Vienna. To a subordinate magistrate was intrusted the care of the police; over him were placed a military commander and a governor general, who presided in the tribunals. Thus the whole administration was composed of four departments, political, economical, judicial, and military. All these respective officers were subordinate to the councils or chanceries of state at Vienna, whose resolutions were delivered to the sovereign for his final ratification or rejection.

Although Joseph simplified the form of government, and abolished many useless tribunals, and feudal offices, which were dilatory and

* 1. Gallicia. 2. Bohemia. 3. Moravia, with Austrian Silesia. 4. Lower Austria. 5. Interior Austria, or Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. 6. Tyrol. 7. Exterior Austria, or the possessions in Suabia. 8. Transylvania. 9. Hungary, with the Bannat of Temeswar. 10. Croatia. 11. Lombardy. 12. The Low Countries. 13. Goritz and Gradisca, with the city of Triest.

oppressive;

Chapter 45. 1780.

oppressive; he yet introduced a still greater evil, by making the basis of the administration the absolute will of the Sovereign, from which there could be no appeal. In the prosecution of this scheme he committed many violent and arbitrary acts of authority. The provincial states, which limited the power of the crown, were either entirely suppressed, or rendered inefficient by various modifications. Although he had acknowledged the rights and privileges of the Hungarian States by his circular letter on the death of his mother; yet he declined the ceremony of coronation, from an unwillingness to confirm those rights and privileges by a solemn oath. He wantonly ordered the crown, sceptre, and other emblems of royalty, which the nation cherished with superstitious reverence, to be forcibly carried from Presburgh, and deposited at Vienna. By abolishing the use of the Latin and Hungarian tongues in all the public offices, and substituting the German, (for the acquisition of which only two years were allowed,) he not only introduced great confusion into the departments of state, but justly alarmed the natives, lest the abolition of those languages, in which their statutes, charters, and capitulations were composed, should lead to the suppression of their privileges. In new modeling the courts of justice in Hungary, he totally changed the forms, usages, and times of assembling, and introduced so much disorder, that it was thought necessary by his successor to re-establish the antient tribunals with all their imperfections.

Joseph declared the Roman Catholic the dominant religion; but, at the same time, diminished the exorbitant authority of the Pope; he forbad the bishops to carry any Bull into execution, unless confirmed by government, subjected monastic establishments to the jurisdiction of their respective diocesans, and exempted them from all obedience to their chiefs resident at Rome. He lessened the revenues of the largest bishoprics, suppressed some, and created others; and, for the purpose of facilitating access to public worship, established four hundred new parishes. He suppressed many monasteries, and all the nunneries except the Ursulines and the Salesians, which were preserved for the purpose of education; but the number of the members permitted to remain was

considerably reduced *. The suppressed convents were converted into hospitals, universities, barracks, or military magazines. In abolishing the monasteries he was guilty of great injustice, by not allowing sufficient pensions for the maintenance of those who were ejected; and many nuns, who from education and long habit were incapable of providing for themselves in the world, were reduced to the lowest state of indigence and distress †. Chapter 45. 1780.

With the laudable view of purifying religion from the dregs of superstition, pilgrimages were forbidden, many of the churches were stripped of their images and ornaments, and reduced to their primitive simplicity. A politico-moral catechism ‡ was composed for

* In 1780, were 2,024 convents in the Austrian dominions, which were diminished to 700; and 36,000 monks and nuns to 2,700. Pezzl. p. 107.

† "Monastic orders," remarks an intelligent writer, "will probably in time be abolished throughout most of Europe; but humanity hopes it may be done with more justice and liberality than was practised with the Templars and the Jesuits. That prince or government will gain an eternal name, and do infinite service to the world, who shall first abolish those orders on the true and liberal principles of policy, by stopping the reception, permitting the present race of monks to die off, and appropriating their estates inviolably to public education." Jardine's Travels, vol. ii. p. 449.

‡ As a specimen of many of the childish and ridiculous regulations of Joseph, we submit to the reader a few extracts from this politico-moral catechism, which was intended for the common people, and in which the references are profanely made to his acts in the same manner as to the Bible in the ordinary catechism:

"Thou shalt not send any money into foreign countries for masses." [Ordinance, March 3, 1781.]

"Thou shalt not appear at processions with costly flags, nor dressed with sashes, or high feathers in thy hat, nor with music." [Ord. May 16, 1781.]

"Thou mayst purchase and read the Catholic Bible, which is approved by the Imperial censors." [Ord. August 10, 1781.]

"Thou mayst obtain from thy bishop a dispensation for marriage, where there is no natural or religious order to the contrary." [Ord. Sept. 14, 1781.]

"Thou shalt not seek for any dignity of the court of Rome, without the permission of thy Sovereign." [Ord. Aug. 21, and Oct. 2, 1781.]

"Thou shalt not bring into the land any foreign breviary, missal, or psalter, or other similar work or paper." [Ord. October 8, 1781.]

"Thou shalt forbear all occasions of dispute relative to matters of faith; and thou shalt, according to the true principle of christianity, affectionately and kindly treat those who are not of thy communion." [Ord. Oct. 24, 1781.]

"Thou shalt not hold in thy house any private assembly for devotion." [Ord. 14 May, 1782.]

"Thou

Chapter 45. 1780.

for the use of schools, and introduced in the instruction of youth. In making these alterations, Joseph did not duly reflect that, in abolishing the forms, he injured the substance of religion, among a people long accustomed to consider the essence of adoration as consisting in external ceremonies, and not sufficiently enlightened to appreciate a more simple form of worship. Primogeniture was abolished, and marriage degraded almost to a state of concubinage, by declaring it a civil contract, facilitating divorces, and rendering bastards capable of inheriting. Funeral honours were forbidden, and because all are reduced to a level in the grave, all were to be interred with the same ceremonies, without distinction of birth or situation; thus imprudently checking one of the first affections of the human mind, the display of virtuous respect to the memory of deceased relations, which, though often carried to excess by useless pageantry, has never been productive of the smallest inconvenience to the state *.

But

" Thou shalt not in anywise use the crown of St. Christopher, or other superstitions supplications." [Ord. Nov. 23, 1767.]

" Thou mayst marry the woman whom thou hast ravished, if she is willing to marry thee, when she is out of thy power." [Ord. Jan. 16, 1782.]

" Thou shalt not marry the woman that has murdered, or caused to be murdered, her husband, who stood in the way of thy marriage." [Ord. April 28, 1781.]

" Thou shalt not transport out of the land, hares' skins, or hares' fur." [Ord. May 27, 1784.]

" Thou shalt not keep any useless dogs." [Ord. April 24, 1781.]

" Thou shalt not plant tobacco without the permission of thy lord." [Ord. Sept. 12, 1777.]

" Volkskatechismus, in Luca's Staats anzeigen. Ersterband. 1786."

* Many of the wildest and most chimerical principles were suggested to Joseph the Second, by the French economists. On this head, the French author of the life of Joseph triumphantly exclaims, " Mais ce qui ne peut echapper à l'esprit du lecteur, c'est de voir presque tous les plans de l'assemblée nationale qui se tient actuellement à Paris ébauchés par l'Empereur. Abolition de la servitude, du droit d'aînesse des dixmes, des chasses impériales, curés *salariés* (selon son expression) juifs et protestans declarés citoyens, tolerance civile accordée, nombre de paroisses diminuées, tout sujet capable de parvenir aux premiers emplois, places données au concours, projet de mettre les provinces en departemens. Telles sont ses reformes. Rien de plus ressemblant."—Caraccioli Vie de Joseph II. p. 190.

This coincidence between many of the *despotic* innovations of Joseph and the *philosophic* innovations of the French, did not escape the notice of Brissot, in his celebrated

Chapter 45. 1780.

But the wisest and best digested part of his plan, which reflects the highest honour on his memory, and which fortunately has continued longer than his other innovations, is the Edict of Toleration. By this memorable Edict, issued on the 13th of October, 1781, and afterwards enlarged at divers intervals, Joseph granted to all members of the Protestant and Greek churches, under the denomination of Non-catholics,* the free exercise of their religion. He declared all Christians of every denomination equally citizens, and capable of holding all charges and offices in every department of state; he permitted every community consisting of 3,000 souls, resident in any town, to build a church, provided they could establish a permanent fund for the support of a preacher and the relief of the poor; and he ordered a new translation of the Bible to be made in the German tongue. On the Jews he also conferred many liberal privileges, and granted to them the right of exercising all arts and trades, following agriculture, and freely pursuing their studies at the schools and in the universities.

These innovations, introduced with such precipitancy by the first sovereign of Europe, whose ancestors had evinced so warm an attachment to the Catholic faith, alarmed the see of Rome, and occasioned the memorable journey of Pius the Sixth to Vienna. After an intimate but ineffectual correspondence, the Pope, who was vain of his eloquence, hoped by his personal interference, to arrest the progress of these dangerous reforms. The unbending spirit of Joseph did not brook this interference, and he declared, that the presence

lebrated letter to his constituents: "Joseph the Second also," he observes, "borrowed the language of philosophy when he wished to suppress the monks in Belgium, and seize their revenues. There was seen on him a mask only of philosophy covering the countenance of a greedy despot, and the people ran to arms. Nothing better than another kind of despotism has been seen in the revolutionary powers."—Brissot's Letter to his Constituents, p. 76.

Joseph might have applied to his own reforms, the remark he afterwards made to general D'Alton on the reforms of the French:

"The new constitution of France has not been very polite to the high clergy and nobility; and I still doubt much if all these *fine* things can be carried into execution."—Letters to D'Alton, Aug. 23, 1789, p. 120.

* Acatholici.

Chapter 45. 1780.

of the Pope would not change his resolutions *. The pontiff however persisted, and notwithstanding his advanced age, weak state of health, and the severity of the season, commenced his journey on the 27th of February, 1782.

The head of the church was received with every mark of exterior homage and veneration; the Emperor met him at some distance from the capital, alighted on his approach, and, after the most respectful salutations, conveyed him in his own carriage to Vienna. Attended by prince Kaunitz, Joseph accompanied the Pope to the private chapel, where a Te Deum was sung in honour of his arrival; and the venerable guest was lodged in the apartments which had been occupied by Maria Theresa. The pontiff, however, obtained only these and similar marks of distinction; his exhortations and remonstrances were received with coldness and reserve, and he was so narrowly watched, that the back door of his apartments was blocked up to prevent him from receiving private visitors, without the knowledge of the Emperor. Even his presence at Vienna did not for a moment suspend the progress of the ecclesiastical reform; the archbishop of Goritz, who had distinguished himself by his opposition to the Imperial edicts, was sent in disgrace to his diocese, and several convents in Lombardy were suppressed †.

Pius, chagrined with the inflexibility of the Emperor, and mortified by an unmeaning ceremonial, and an affected display of veneration for the

* The light in which this journey was regarded at the court of Vienna, is evident from a conversation of prince Kaunitz with Sir Robert Keith.

To Lord Stormont.

Vienna, Jan. 5, 1782.

"Prince Kaunitz has informed me that his last conversation with the Pope's nuncio amounted to a frank declaration, that his holiness's wish to negotiate in person, must inevitably fail in producing any of the effects he had in view; and that as a proof of friendship toward the Emperor, it was putting the head of the church to much unnecessary trouble.

"The Austrian minister looks upon this piece of Italian priestcraft in the same light as I do; he thinks the Pope will relinquish the idea, and the prince ended our conversation, by saying, if his holiness is ambitious to obtain the honours of an apostolic and persecuted preacher within the walls of Vienna, we have not the smallest inclination to bestow them upon him. However, we have not refused his visit; but he must have a very large share of the spirit of an enthusiastical missionary, if he chuses to carry it into execution."

† Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

Holy See, while it was robbed of its richest possessions, and deprived of its most valuable privileges, quitted Vienna at the expiration of a month, equally disgusted and humiliated, after having exhibited himself as a disappointed suppliant at the foot of that throne which had been so often shaken by the thunders of the Vatican. Chapter 45. 1780.

The abolition of feudal vassalage formed another part of the general reformation. Joseph issued, in 1780, the celebrated Edict for the regulation of taxes *, which, by altering the impost on land, was intended to give full liberty to the peasants, and effect the abolition of feudal slavery. Having ordered a measurement of all the estates in his hereditary countries, he abolished in his German dominions all feudal distinctions and manorial rights, such as tithes, heriots, and corvées,

* In order thoroughly to comprehend the nature and operation of this celebrated Edict, which has been so highly extolled, and so little understood, it is necessary to explain the tenure of land in the greater part of the Austrian dominions, except Lombardy, the Low Countries, and the Tyrol. All the lands were divided into feudal or signorial estates, and estates belonging to free cities. The estates belonging to the free cities were under the municipal administration; and the free citizens, proprietors of those lands, possessed them in full property, and might sell, give, or exchange them, without let or hindrance. The feudal taxes were divided into, 1, Dominicalia, or lordships; 2, Rusticalia, or farms. 1. The lordships were possessed and cultivated by the lord or landholder, and were charged with the land-tax. 2. The rusticalia were subdivided into ordinary and extraordinary. The extraordinary were the farms sold by the feudal lord for a certain price, on the condition of receiving an annual quit-rent. The purchaser was at liberty to alienate these copyholds without the permission of the lord; always however charged with the payment of the quit-rent and the land-tax. The ordinary were farms granted by the lord, with the following burdens: 1, The tithe of the whole produce; and, 2, Ninety days labour of one man, with two horses in the course of the year, at the option of the lord; (in Bohemia the peasant paid no tithes, but was obliged to do 160 days labour in the year). 3. A heriot paid by the successor on the death of the holder; and a land-tax of 14 per cent. which was collected by the landlord. According to the law, the land-tax ought to have been only 12 per cent. both for the lordships and rusticalia; but the feudal lords took 14 per cent. for the rusticalia, and paid only 10 per cent. for themselves, alleging, that they were responsible to the crown for the land-tax of their peasants. Joseph new modeled the land-tax and feudal taxes in the following proportion: The peasants were to pay 10 per cent. in lieu of tythes; 8 per cent. in lieu of corvées; and 12½ per cent. for the land-tax; or 30 per cent. in lieu of all taxes and task work.

Chapter 45. 1780.

or task works, due from the peasants to the lord. And as one of the pretences that attached the peasants to the soil was the responsibility of the landlords for the payment of the land-tax to the crown, he exempted the lord from that responsibility, empowered the peasants of every village to chuse among themselves a representative for the purpose of collecting the land-tax, and paying it into the exchequer; and rendered the whole village accountable for the regular discharge of the amount. Although reason and humanity may vindicate this attempt to diminish the evils of feudal vassalage, yet justice must condemn the mode of proceeding; because sufficient precautions were not taken to conciliate the landholders, and indemnify them for the loss they sustained, and because the new land-tax was raised in some instances to the enormous amount of 60 per cent. Hence this decree failed of producing the effects which the monarch designed, and prevented the introduction of the same regulations into Hungary, and the annexed provinces.

In one particular Joseph surpassed his rival Frederic the Second: though illiterate himself, and not affecting to honour or patronize men of letters, he encouraged the arts and sciences, and contributed more to the advancement of learning during his short reign, than any other sovereign in Europe. In every province he instituted or improved an university, academy, or seminaries, founded or augmented public libraries, created establishments for the study of medicine, surgery, and botany, natural philosophy, and natural history, and built numerous observatories and laboratories. He took away from the priests the power of censuring books, a power which they had hitherto exercised with such rigour, that on subjects of religion, morality, and government, a valuable and a prohibited publication were almost synonymous terms; this office he vested in a committee of men of letters at Vienna, whose liberal views were directed to encourage the freedom of the press. Yet the same sovereign who affected to give full scope to the liberty of the press, and declared that he wished to reign over free men, checked the improvement

ment of the human mind; he set bounds to inclination and curiosity, by prohibiting, that no one should travel into foreign countries before the age of twenty-seven. He did not consider that talents are developed in some sooner than in others; and that unless every person is allowed to follow the mode of instruction congenial to his peculiar disposition and habits, the delightful enthusiasm of letters will be ill supplied by the most perfect theoretical rules which despotism or pedagogues can invent. Chapter 45. 1780.

Joseph was highly attentive to the encouragement of manufactures, and the improvement of commerce. Large sums were lent to merchants; poor artists were supplied with money, either without, or at a low interest, or were assisted in erecting buildings and machinery. From a well-meant but erroneous system of policy, the importation of foreign manufactures was forbidden, except on the payment of an enormous duty, which amounted to a prohibition; domestic fabrics were supported, and others of cotton, wool, and glass, established. He removed all obstacles to a free circulation of trade, by suppressing the provincial custom-houses, and by permitting the import and export of the native productions which had been hitherto prohibited. New roads were made at an enormous expence;* canals dug or improved; Triest and Fiume declared free ports; and a harbour formed at Carlobago, in Austrian Dalmatia.

But among his numerous attempts to extend the commerce of his subjects, Joseph was peculiarly attentive to encourage the trade of Hungary, whose productions, consisting chiefly of wines, grain, forage, and heavy commodities, could not be transported by land to any considerable distance. The ports of Fiume Segnia and Carlobago being too distant, and the canal of Morlachia too tempestuous, the Danube, which dividing Hungary, and receiving all the navigable streams, forms an outlet to the Black Sea, afforded the only means of opening so valuable a trade. And as that river, from the confines of the Bannat, flows through the Turkish territories, he obtained from the Porte, in

* The new road from Carlstadt to Carlobago, did not cost less than 2,000,000 florins, or 200,000l.

1784,

Chapter 45. 1780.

1784, the free navigation of the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Dardanelles; and granted to a company of Italian merchants an exemption from all duties, and a bounty on grain exported from Hungary, and the annexed provinces. In 1786, the first effort was made; twenty vessels, freighted with corn, descended the Danube to its mouth; the grain was then embarked in ships which had sailed from Triest and Fiume, and landed at Genoa and Marseilles. But, in 1787, this valuable trade was annihilated by the impolitic war with the Turks, which terminated at once the aspiring views of Joseph the Second, and the hopes of the Hungarian nation.

CHAPTER 46.

1781—1785.

Second Visit of Joseph *to France—His favourable Sentiments of the Court of Versailles—Abolition of the Barrier Treaty—Origin and Termination of the Dispute with Holland—Convention of Fontainebleau.*

WHILE Joseph was labouring with unremitting perseverance to carry into execution his plans of reform and schemes of improvement, he was interested to preserve his country in peace, to maintain a good understanding with other nations, and to avoid all measures likely to excite the jealousy or alarm the apprehensions of foreign powers. Yet contrary to these simple principles of policy, his whole reign exhibits a series of ambitious projects, or impolitic measures; by occupying himself with a multiplicity of external concerns, his attention was drawn from those internal regulations, which peace alone could bring to maturity, and he was reduced to such a state of embarrassment and perplexity, as finally compelled him to abandon his pursuits, and repeal many of those edicts, the promulgation of which had formed the pride of his heart.

The connection with France, which he inherited as a legacy from Maria Theresa, and which, under her prudent management, had been of considerable advantage to the House of Austria, proved the source of the principal embarrassments of his reign, and the secret cause of the failure of all his projects. The dislike which Joseph had formerly manifested against France, seems to have increased on his accession; and during the first months of his reign, he openly declared his aversion to the French court and French principles; but before the close of the year, a second journey to Paris effected a total change in his sentiments.

This

Chapter 46. 1781—1785.

This change was occasioned by his eagerness to execute a project he had long meditated for abrogating the Barrier Treaty, which his family regarded as an humiliating tie of dependence on the Maritime Powers. The court of Versailles availed themselves of the ardour of Joseph prosecuting his favourite schemes, to effect the abolition of a treaty which formed the only bond of the antient union between the House of Austria and England, and to secure the influence which the Emperor had acquired in the counsels of Russia. Instead therefore of the reserve which they had maintained during his former journey, they received him with marks of the highest confidence and cordiality, gave him hopes that they would encourage and promote all his projects, and succeeded in persuading him that the power of England was hastening to its decline. The Queen likewise furthered the views of the ministry, by all the arts of insinuation, which she possessed in so eminent a degree; and by exerting her powerful influence over the mind of her brother, she succeeded in eradicating the prejudices he had fostered against Louis the Sixteenth. Flattered by these attentions, and buoyed up by the assurances of the French court, Joseph peremptorily declined an invitation of George the Third, to extend his journey to England, a country which he had been long anxious to visit; and returned to Vienna full of confidence in the alliance with France, and with new resolutions to hasten the abrogation of the Barrier Treaty.

From the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the commencement of the seven years war, the Empress-queen had been engaged in continual disputes with England and Holland, relative to the repairs of the fortifications and the payment of the annual subsidy; and her refusal to fulfil all the conditions of that treaty was the principal cause which occasioned the rupture of the long established friendship between Austria and Great Britain, and terminated in the treaty of Versailles. The ratification of the alliance between Austria and France rendered that treaty an empty name, and virtually, though not formally, annulled its influence. But Maria Theresa, on one side engaged in counteracting the rapid rise of

of the Prussian power, in consolidating the partition of Poland, and in negotiating the peace of Teschen, and on the other too prudent to offend the Maritime Powers, and throw herself wholly into the arms of France, firmly resisted all the solicitations of Joseph to drive the Dutch garrisons from the Netherlands, and to abolish the Barrier Treaty by a formal act.

Joseph was too sanguine and impetuous to act from such prudential motives, or to forego present advantages from the apprehension of uncertain and distant inconveniences. Aware that the fortifications of the barrier towns were nearly dismantled, and that great expence would be requisite to place and keep them in repair, he saw no medium between their total demolition and total restoration *. He had not sufficient sagacity to appreciate, that in the grand scale of compre-

* During the war of 1741, the fortifications had been either demolished by the French, or ruined by sieges; and in this state were restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. From that period no repairs were made; and though the Dutch garrisons were re-admitted, yet the court of Vienna refused, under various pleas, to pay to the States General the annual subsidy of 500,000 crowns, reserved by the Barrier Treaty, from the revenues of the Netherlands, for the purpose of enabling the Dutch to keep up these fortifications; but even this sum, if duly paid, was insufficient to defray so enormous a charge. In this state of ruin and decay, which was naturally increased by the ravages of time, the Netherlands remained from 1741 to 1781, when Joseph (the first sovereign who had visited the Netherlands since Philip the Second,) was much disgusted with the ruinous appearance of the fortifications of so many fine and otherwise flourishing cities. His finances were not sufficient to re-establish, or rather to rebuild the works, and even had he been able to prosecute so expensive an undertaking, he must have excited the jealousy of France. Besides, the troops stationed in the Netherlands who amounted barely to 18,000, would not have been sufficient to garrison the towns. On the other hand Joseph was tempted with the hope of drawing considerable sums from the sale of the ground on which the fortifications stood; and with the prospect of carrying into execution his advantageous plans of improvement for extending the sites of the cities, particularly Brussels and Ostend. The Emperor therefore acted on plausible grounds of policy, in demolishing such fortifications as were no longer tenable, while he maintained those which were in good order, the citadels of Namur, Antwerp, and Luxemburgh, and re-fortified, though on a smaller scale, Nieuport and Ostend. It would be unjust to withhold these reasons, which Joseph and his partisans have urged in defence of his conduct; though they cannot justify the abrogation of the Barrier Treaty, which dissolved the ancient connection between the House of Austria and the Maritime Powers.

Chapter 46. 1781—1785.

hensive politics, the Barrier Treaty, however galling to the pride of his family, was no less advantageous to the House of Austria than to the Maritime Powers; for as long as that treaty remained in force, the French could not overrun the Netherlands, without involving themselves in a war with Great Britain and Holland. In fact, he considered his alliance with France as permanent, beyond the possibility of change; and his sentiments were expressed by Kaunitz, in a conversation with count Wassenaar, plenipotentiary from the United Provinces: "The Emperor will hear no more of Barriers, for they no longer exist; every treaty of which the basis is overturned, loses its effect: the Barrier Treaty was concluded against France, now our connections with France render it null and useless, and afford a more secure barrier than the other, which was chimerical." To the observation of Wassenaar, that in this world systems are apt to change, Kaunitz replied, "The connections which the House of Austria has formed, are the consequences of a fixed and premeditated system; they are not calculated to last only for a short time, but will at least continue in force a hundred years. Even should a minister start up in the cabinets of Versailles or Vienna, sufficiently insane to attempt breaking these connections, he will be sent to the mad-house, instead of succeeding in abolishing so firm and well cemented a system. The Emperor acts for your advantage, nor have you any cause of apprehension either from him or from France *."

* This curious conversation was published at the Hague in a pamphlet, with the title of "Reflexions sur une conversation ministerielle entre le Prince de Kaunitz et le Comte de Wassenaar." Kaunitz was enraged at this publication, as appears by a letter from Sir Robert Keith to lord Grantham, August 7, 1782: "Your lordship has no doubt seen the pamphlet containing the particulars of a singular conversation between prince Kaunitz and count Wassenaar. How that conversation got into print I cannot imagine; but it bears strong marks of authenticity, and I am assured that the publication gives the prince the greatest uneasiness, and has ruined the Dutch minister in his esteem. I spoke to prince Kaunitz on the subject, treating the whole as an audacious imposition on the public; I never saw him so much at a loss for an answer: he took some time to arrange his words, and then said, "In Holland they publish truth and falshood indiscriminately; a conversation little interesting in itself may be turned to a very bad purpose, by leaving out a great deal and adding a little; this has been the case in the present instance, and you know too much of the rage of political newsmongers to be surprized."

Such was the haughty and peremptory answer which Joseph, by the mouth of Kaunitz, gave to the remonstrance of the United Provinces; and such was the weak and misguided policy of a sovereign, who in less than seven years beheld his connection with France dissolved, and the Low Countries separated from the Austrian dominions. Chapter 46. 1781—1785.

It did not escape the penetration of Joseph, that the war between Great Britain and Holland presented an opportunity, which might never again occur, to facilitate the execution of his designs. He had therefore scarcely returned from France, before he issued orders to demolish all the fortifications of the Netherlands except Luxemburgh, Ostend, and the citadels of Namur and Antwerp, and this decree was followed by a requisition delivered to the States General, requiring them to recal their garrisons from the barrier towns. After an ineffectual remonstrance, the States submitted, and the Dutch troops evacuated all the places in the Austrian Netherlands. November 1781.

The facility with which Joseph carried this point, induced him to enlarge his views, and to demand that the limits of Austrian Flanders should be re-established, as they had been fixed by the Convention of 1664, between the king of Spain and the United Provinces. He began by asserting his new pretensions in an extraordinary manner: in 1783, a Dutch soldier of the garrison of Liefkenstock, a small fort on the Scheldt, being, as it was customary, buried in the village of Doele, the sovereignty of which was claimed by the House of Austria, a detachment from the garrison of Ghent dug up the body, and threw it into the ditch of the fort. Another corps marched from Bruges, and occupied the Dutch forts of St. Donat, St. Paul, and St. Hiel, and some other districts. In the beginning of the following year also, a detachment from Antwerp surprised Old Lillo, a fort near New Lillo, where the Dutch ship which guarded the entrance of the Scheldt was stationed. Nov. 9, 1783.

With a view to terminate these disputes, conferences were held at Brussels, between the Imperial and Dutch plenipotentiaries; and Joseph increasing his demands, brought forward numerous April 1784.

Chapter 46. 1781—1785.

claims besides that of re-establishing the antient limits of Flanders. He required, 1. The demolition of certain forts, in conformity to the treaty of Westphalia. 2. The removal of the guardship stationed at Lillo, in consideration of his right to all the territory on the Scheldt from Antwerp to Saffinguen. 3. The restitution of several villages which the United States had appropriated as appertaining to the mayoralty of Bois le Duc, but which belonged to the quarter of Antwerp. 4. Of the abbey and village of Postel. 5. The renunciation of the right of sovereignty exercised by the Dutch on several villages in the environs of Maestricht, called the lands of redemption. 6. The cession of Maestricht, of the county of Wronhoven, and the district of Dutch Outremeuse, in conformity to the 18th article of the alliance signed April 30th 1673, between Charles the Second, king of Spain, and the United Provinces. 7. The payment of various sums due to the Sovereign and subjects of the Netherlands. The States General opposed these numerous and obsolete pretensions, by claiming the arrears of the subsidy stipulated by the Barrier Treaty, the expences of repairing and strengthening the citadel of Namur and other fortresses, and various sums advanced to the House of Austria, on the security of demesnes in Silesia; and these claims were supported by an application for the mediation of France, and the march of troops from Breda to Maestricht.

While the plenipotentiaries were discussing these respective claims the negotiation suddenly took a new aspect. In August 1784, Joseph declared that he would desist from all his pretensions, under the sole condition that the navigation of the Scheldt should be opened, and that his subjects of the Netherlands should be permitted to carry on a direct commerce with the East Indies; he peremptorily added, that from that moment he would consider the navigation of the Scheldt as open, and regard any opposition on the part of the States General, as an immediate declaration of hostilities. During these transactions, an Imperial brigantine from Ostend attempting to enter the Scheldt, was on the 5th of October taken by the Dutch at the mouth of that river, and conducted to Flushing; and another vessel from Antwerp

was

was stopped at Saffinguen by a Dutch brig, and after refusing to return, was fired at, and forced to strike. The Emperor little expected such acts of firmness and vigour; for at this moment the Netherlands were unprovided with troops and magazines. He was in fact convinced that the Dutch would not venture to stop the Imperial vessels, and in reply to the remonstrances of prince Kaunitz to take the necessary precautions should they fire, he repeatedly answered, "They will not fire!" When the account of their resistance reached Vienna, Joseph was in Hungary; and Kaunitz accompanied the dispatches from Brussels, with the brief remark, "But they have fired*!" Instantly the conferences at Brussels were broken up; the Imperial embassador recalled from the Hague, and orders issued for a large body of troops to march to the Netherlands, and attack the United Provinces. The Dutch on their part made the most vigorous preparations; and the two powers appealed to the other nations of Europe. The United Provinces were secretly instigated by offers of succour from the king of Prussia; the Emperor confided in the hopes of assistance from Russia and France, and these petty disputes seemed on the eve of exciting a general war.

Suddenly, however, Joseph listened to the remonstrances of Holland; he receded from his demand of opening the navigation of the Scheldt, returned to his original claims on Maestricht, and required exemplary satisfaction for the insult offered to his flag, as an indispensable preliminary to the renewal of any negotiation. This sudden change in the sentiments of so impetuous and inflexible a sovereign as Joseph, was owing to the opposition of France, on whose effectual assistance he had fondly established his expectations of success.

Hitherto the cabinet of Versailles had appeared to act in conformity with the wishes of the Emperor; they had encouraged him to abrogate the Barrier Treaty, and even affected to concur in his attempts to extend the limits of Austrian Flanders. But they were unwilling to alienate the Dutch, with whom they were on the point of concluding

* From a friend, to whom it was communicated by prince Kaunitz.

an

Chapter 46. 1781—1785.

an alliance, the object of which was to weaken the British power in the East Indies. They therefore opposed the opening of the Scheldt, and the King, in a note to the court of Vienna, declared his resolution to support the Dutch by force of arms; while he offered his mediation to compose the dispute. At the same time orders were given to form two armies of observation in the neighbourhood of Luxemburgh and on the Rhine, and the French court even complied with the request of the Dutch in sending the count de Maillebois as generalissimo of their forces, in the place of prince Louis of Baden, who had been compelled to resign.

November 1784.

This intervention was equivalent to a command. Joseph saw too late the folly of throwing himself into the hands of France, and had no other alternative than to retract in the manner least injurious to his dignity and honour. He now endeavoured to compensate in solemnity and shew, for what he lost in substance, and to impose upon Europe by imperious language, while in fact he relinquished the principal points from which he had publicly declared his resolution never to recede. But while the Emperor and the states were formally deliberating on their disputes, the whole negotiation was directed by the French minister, and Joseph finally obeyed the dictates of the cabinet of Versailles. His honour was apparently saved, and his pride gratified by the arrival of the count de Wassenaar, and the baron de Leyden, two deputies from the United Provinces, who apologised in the most submissive terms, for the insults offered to the Imperial flag. At the conclusion of this mock ceremony, the negotiation was renewed at Versailles under the auspices of France. The Emperor, after changing his ground from the free navigation of the Scheldt to that of the Meuse, and to the cession of Maestricht, and from the cession of Maestricht to the demand of an indemnity, finally limited his claims to a sum of money as a compensation for his pretensions, and an indemnification for the damages suffered by his subjects, from the inundations made by the Dutch in the environs of their fortified places. This sum, after long debates, was fixed by the Emperor at

1785.

10,000,000 guilders, and the 21st of September as the term which should

should decide on peace or war. But as the Dutch plenipotentiaries were not authorised to agree to the payment of more than 8,000,000, and as the Imperial ministers were bound by express orders, the negotiation was on the point of being broken off, when France agreed to disburse the additional two millions. The preliminary articles were concluded at Paris, Sept. 20, 1785, and the definitive peace signed at Fontainbleau, on the 8th of November, under the guaranty of France. By this treaty the Emperor renounced all right to the free navigation of the Scheldt, beyond the limits of his own territories, which ended in the county of Saffinguen, and his pretensions on Maestricht and its dependencies. In return, he received 9,500,000 guilders as an indemnity for Maestricht and its adjacent territories, and 500,000 as a compensation for the damages caused by the inundations; he also acquired the forts of Lillo and Liefkenstock, and the limits of Dutch Flanders were reduced, according to the convention of 1664. During the course of the negotiation the Dutch required the renovation of the treaty of 1731, which excluded the Flemings from the commerce of the East Indies; but Joseph resisted this demand, and exacted, that no mention should be made of the navigation of his subjects to the East, and that each power should be at liberty in regard to the regulations of commerce and duties.

Thus ended a dispute which at first seemed to threaten the peace of Europe; but which after the most violent threats and pompous discussions, terminated in a pecuniary accommodation, and in a manner predicted by Frederic the Second, who during the negotiation, said to general Bouillé, "Vergennes will compel the most serene republic to purchase an accommodation with my brother Joseph, by giving him drink money*."

* Alluding to the custom of giving postilions money to drink.

The contents of this chapter have been principally drawn from private information —official documents, and Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

CHAPTER 47.

1784—1786.

Confirmation of the Alliance with Russia—Joseph assists Catherine in her Acquisition of the Crimea—His Views of Aggrandisement on the side of Turkey thwarted by France—His ineffectual Attempts to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria—Formation of the Germanic League.

Chapter 47. 1784—1786.

WHILE the attention of Joseph appeared to be solely engrossed by his contest with Holland, he was involved in two projects no less difficult; to extend his dominions on the side of Turkey, and to obtain Bavaria in exchange for the Netherlands. In renewing the connection with Russia, Maria Theresa had no other objects in view, than to promote the establishment of her son Maximilian, and to overthrow the influence of the king of Prussia. But the sanguine temper of Joseph was not guided by equal moderation; and with a view to secure the assistance of Russia in his meditated plan of aggrandisement, he zealously promoted the projects of Catherine for the extension of her power in the east. He therefore had no sooner succeeded to the Austrian inheritance, than he directed his principal attention to increase the ascendancy which he had gained at St. Petersburgh.

The overthrow of the Prussian influence was completed by the disgrace of count Panin, and a closer and more intimate union was formed between the two imperial courts. No formal treaty was indeed concluded; because Catherine insisted on an alternate signature of the respective copies, as sovereigns of equal rank. Joseph could not make a concession so derogatory to the Imperial dignity; he urged that he held his right from the Electors, to whom he was responsible for its preservation, and that no sovereign in Europe had hitherto refused

refused to give precedence to the Imperial crown. Catherine asserted her claim with equal obstinacy, and declined purchasing even his desired alliance at so humiliating a price. At length the difficulty was adjusted; a compromise, proposed by Catherine, was accepted by the Emperor, and instead of a specific treaty, the stipulations were comprised in a secret convention, drawn up in the form of letters, which were respectively addressed and signed by the two sovereigns. The conditions were a defensive alliance and general guaranty of their dominions; and the stipulated succours, as well as the period of its duration, were unlimited *.

Chapter 47. 1784, 1786.

Encouraged by this prospect of assistance, the Empress hastened to execute her plans for the acquisition of the Crimea. The independence of that peninsula was in fact only another name for its dependence on Russia; and its separation from the Ottoman Empire a prelude to its subjugation. Catherine, availing herself of the article in the peace of Kagnardji which stipulated that the Khan should be confirmed by Russia as well as the Porte, obtained the election of her creature Sahim Gheray, and supported him in his dignity in opposition to the Porte, and to a party of his own subjects, who chose another sovereign. He was scarcely seated on the throne before he was prevailed upon or compelled to abdicate and cede the Crimea to his protectress. Repenting of this act, he made his escape, and attempted to put himself at the head of the Turkish party, but was arrested and sent a prisoner to Voronetz, and the Russian generals took possession of the Crimea in the name of their mistress. The Porte preparing to avenge this infringement of the neutrality, and to recover so important a territory, the renewal of hostilities seemed inevitable.

Catherine made the most vigorous exertions, and claimed the promised assistance of the Emperor. Nor did Joseph belie his engagements; his Internuncio at Constantinople declared to the Porte, that the two Imperial courts would act in perfect concert; and at the same time an Austrian army advanced towards the Turkish frontiers. In

* From private and particular information.

Chapter 47. 1784, 1786.

his private correspondence, likewise, with Catherine, Joseph evinced extreme ardour to promote her views, and declared that he was not only ready to fulfil his duty as an ally, but she might employ him to the whole extent of his faculties; she might consider him as her general, and his army as her own. To his zealous co-operation, the Empress owed her success; for the Porte, awed by the formidable preparations of the two Imperial allies, shrunk from the contest, and concluded, on the 9th of January, the convention which transferred to Russia the sovereignty of the Crimea and of the Kuban.

1784.

The conduct of Joseph in this transaction appears extremely impolitic, and even almost without a motive; for he affected great disinterestedness, and expressed his resolution to accept no compensation for himself, while he assisted in securing so great an acquisition to Russia. In reality he was eager to share in the spoils of the Ottoman empire; and he had coveted Moldavia and Wallachia; but finding the Empress averse to his acquisition of those countries, he grasped at the recovery of the Ultra-Danubian provinces, and was secure of the support of Catherine, who expressed her readiness to repay the essential service he had rendered in the conquest of the Crimea.

In these views he was again thwarted by the secret interposition of the French cabinet, who had acted with their usual address and duplicity; they had encouraged the Turks to resist the encroachments of the two Imperial courts; sent engineers to fortify the strong places on the side of the Danube, and endeavoured to form a coalition with England for the protection of the Ottoman dominions. Their proposals being rejected, they consented to the acquisition of the Crimea by Russia; but turned their efforts to obstruct the aggrandizement of the House of Austria on the side of Turky. They expostulated with the Emperor, threatened him with the formation of a confederacy with the kings of Prussia and Sardinia, and seemed resolved to throw all Europe into combustion rather than permit any further dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. Joseph, apprehensive for the safety of his Italian dominions, and for the Netherlands,

Netherlands, which he had rendered totally defenceless, and failing in his attempts to engage the support of England, relinquished his schemes of conquest, and again sullenly yielded to the peremptory mandates of the court of Versailles.

Notwithstanding his disappointment and disgust at being thus doubly foiled after his extensive preparations, he did not break off his connection with France, but fondly hoped for her concurrence in another object of greater importance, which he had long meditated, and which was the secret motive of all his recent transactions in the Low Countries. This project was to obtain Bavaria in exchange for the Austrian Netherlands.

Bavaria contained a population of 1,200,000 souls, whose number might under an able administration be soon doubled, and yielded a revenue of 60,000,000 florins, capable of considerable increase by the augmentation of the taxes, and by the suppression of several convents, whose annual income exceeded 2,000,000 florins. The possession of Bavaria would unite the German dominions and Hungarian provinces into a compact and solid mass, and extend the Austrian territories and influence, in a continued line from the confines of Poland and Turkey to the frontiers of Alsace and the shores of the Mediterranean*. These advantages had not escaped the attention of Joseph, and it was solely owing to his suggestion that Maria Theresa had brought forward those claims on the Bavarian succession, which had been defeated by the secret opposition of France, and by the arms and address of Frederic the Second. Foiled

* The Austrian possessions in Suabia begin from the confines of Bavaria, and run through the middle of the circle; the chain being only interrupted by the territories of some ecclesiastical and other petty princes, who could not venture to oppose the march of the Austrian troops into Brisgau, which borders on the Rhine, on the shore opposite to Alsace. The connection between the German dominions and the Mediterranean, would be made through Bavaria, the Tyrol, the Valteline, subject to the Grisons, who were under the influence of the House of Austria, the Milanese, the duchy of Modena (which at the death of the duke was to descend to his only child Maria Beatrix, married to the archduke Ferdinand), and Tuscany.

Chapter 47. 1784, 1786.

at that time in his attempts to acquire Bavaria by force of arms, he now endeavoured to obtain his object by different means.

He maintained that influence over the cabinet of Munich which he had acquired during the negotiations for the peace of Teschen, and finally prevailed on the Elector to exchange Bavaria for the Netherlands, (Namur and Luxemburg excepted,) to be erected into a kingdom with the revived title of Austrasia or Burgundy. He was well aware that as the acquisition of Bavaria would render him the virtual sovereign of all the south of Germany, the exchange would meet with a decided opposition from the King of Prussia; from the princes and states of the empire; from Great Britain and Holland, without whose concurrence as joint guarantees of the Barrier Treaty, the Netherlands could not be alienated; from the king of Sardinia, who could not without a jealous eye behold the House of Austria obtaining a free access into Italy; and from his subjects in the Netherlands, who would object to the transfer of their country to the elector of Bavaria as an infringement of their liberties.

Joseph foresaw these obstacles, and did not neglect the necessary precautions to render them ineffectual. By co-operating against the Turks he had already secured the assistance of Russia; he had gained France by the offer of Namur and Luxemburgh, and looked forward with confidence to her zealous concurrence. He considered Great Britain as not yet recovered from the distresses occasioned by the American contest, and as both unable and unwilling to enter into a continental war in support of the Barrier Treaty. He hoped to gain the United Provinces by offering to relinquish his demands for the free navigation of the Scheldt and the cession of Maestricht, and by lowering his claims; or if mild and conciliating measures failed of success, he resolved to extort their consent by an army of 80,000 men, who were marching towards the Low Countries. Thus it appeared that the motives for the resumption of the Barrier towns, and for demanding the free navigation of the Scheldt, had been the result of a plan to annihilate the Barrier Treaty, and thus to preclude the interference of Great Britain and Holland,

and

and deprive his subjects in the Netherlands of the irrefragable argument, that their country was an inalienable domain, and incapable of being possessed by any other prince than the head of the House of Austria in Germany. He hoped to divide the princes and states of the Empire, and to obtain a party no less formidable than that of the king of Prussia. He concluded subsidiary treaties with the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Wirtemberg, and had secured the neutrality or assistance of the electors of Cologne and Treves, and flattered himself that he should gain the concurrence of his subjects in the Netherlands, by his attempts to promote the renovation of their commerce to the East Indies; or if their consent could not be obtained, he confided in the co-operation of France to awe them into submission.

But he principally founded his hopes of success on the active assistance of Russia, and Catherine prepared with unabated zeal to promote the meditated exchange. In January 1785, count Romanzof, her minister at Frankfort, made a verbal proposal to the duke of Deux Ponts, requesting his concurrence, as presumptive heir of Charles Theodore, to the cession of Upper and Lower Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, the duchy of Neuburgh, the principality of Sultzbach, and the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg; in return the Elector was to receive the Austrian Netherlands, except Namur and Luxemburgh, with the title of king of Burgundy. The consent of the Elector, he added, had been already obtained, and France and Russia would guaranty the exchange. On the score of population, revenue, and local situation, he magnified the advantages on the side of the Elector; requested the Duke to give an answer within eight days, and peremptorily declared that his opposition would not prevent the exchange.

But this deep-laid scheme of policy was again thwarted by the great rival of the House of Austria, who, at the advanced age of seventy-four, still retained the spirit and vigilance which had distinguished his early years. He again privately offered his protection, and encouraged the duke of Deux Ponts to reject the proposal. By his advice

Chapter 47. 1784, 1786.

advice the duke publicly appealed to France, Prussia, and Russia, as guarantees of the peace of Teschen; by his suggestion also the states of Bavaria presented a strong remonstrance against the projected exchange; by his representations the princes and states of Germany were roused by an exaggerated list of grievances, and the precipitate and arbitrary conduct of Joseph were delineated in the most glowing colours. Frederic expatiated on the unjust claims of the Emperor to the Bavarian succession, exposed his total disregard to treaties by the resumption of the Barrier towns, and the proposal for opening the navigation of the Scheldt, and excited a serious apprehension lest the same principles should be extended to the affairs of Germany. He charged him with violating the constitutions of the empire by abolishing the diocesan rights and seizing the estates of the Sees of Saltzburgh and Passau; by the revival of obsolete claims and imperial prerogatives, by the establishment of oppressive imposts, and by injurious proceedings against weaker and neighbouring states. He at the same time made a spirited remonstrance to the court of Versailles, accused them of being bribed by the offer of Luxemburgh and Namur to acquiesce in so flagrant a violation of public law and the constitutions of the empire, and testified his resolution to spend his last moments in asserting the liberties of Germany against the tyranny of its chief.

A general alarm was thus spread from one part of the empire to the other, and the elector of Bavaria, in consequence of a demand made by the states of the duchy, delivered a notification, asserting that the reports of a convention between him and the Emperor were unfounded; and that the only treaty which he had concluded, related to an adjustment of limits, which he communicated to them.

Joseph had now reduced himself to a critical dilemma. He appeared as much astonished at this sudden and decided opposition, as if he had not foreseen the smallest obstacle, and had expected an unlimited obedience to his dictates. He first preserved a sullen silence; but at length disavowed any intention of extorting the acquiescence of the duke of Deux Ponts, while he asserted the legality of the exchange if made with

the consent of all parties. He insinuated that he had not authorized the proposals of the Russian minister; and Catherine endeavoured to save the honour of the Emperor, by declaring that she had ordered count Romanzof to suggest the exchange, from a conviction that the advantages to both parties would be reciprocal; but as the duke of Deux Ponts had declined acceding, she had no intention to enforce its execution. France also made the same declaration.

This disavowal did not satisfy either the king of Prussia, or the princes and states of Germany. For as it appeared as well from the manifestos of France and Russia, as from the declarations of the Emperor, that the plan had been relinquished, not from any conviction of its injustice or impropriety, but because the duke of Deux Ponts had withheld his consent, it followed, that should, on any future occasion, the House of Austria be enabled to obtain the concurrence of that branch of the Palatine family, the exchange might yet be effected notwithstanding the stipulations of the peace of Teschen. The king of Prussia therefore proposed to revive the league of Smalkalde, and formed the Germanic Union, or confederacy of the princes and states, for maintaining the indivisibility of the Germanic body in general, and of the respective states in particular. This union, signed at Berlin on the 23d of July 1785, between the king of Prussia, the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, and the elector of Saxony, was afterwards joined by the Elector of Mentz, the margrave of Anspach, the duke of Deux Ponts, and other princes; and under the ostensible pretext of preserving the constitution of the empire, became a formidable bar to the encroachments of the House of Austria.

Filled with resentment and alarmed with apprehensions of this league, Joseph in vain represented it as founded on the ambitious and interested views of the king of Prussia, whom he contemptuously styled Anti-Cæsar; as tending rather to disturb than promote the peace of the empire, and as imposing shackles on the princes and states; he also attempted to form a counter-confederation, and prepared for immediate hostilities. But the general disapprobation of the German States, the vigorous preparations of Prussia, the firm countenance of the

Chapter 47. 1784, 1786.

the confederate princes, the timidity of the elector of Bavaria, the conviction that France would not engage in a war to support his pretensions, that Holland was neither to be intimidated by menaces, nor lured by promises, and that Great Britain was resolved to oppose the transfer of the Austrian Netherlands, the rising discontents in Hungary, and an insurrection in Transylvania scarcely quelled, compelled him to adopt pacific views, and finally to relinquish the projected exchange *.

* For this chapter have been consulted the different memorials contained in Hertzberg's Recueil, tom. 2.—Private communications from that minister, and others.—Muller's Association des Princes.—Dohn ueber der Deutschens Furstenbund.—Puetter's Development of the Germanic Constitution, vol. 3. p. 215.—Grimoard's Examen de la Situation de la France, en Oct. 1786; in Soulavie's Memoires de Louis xvi. tom. 5.—Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches and Papers—Pezzls Characteristic Josephs II. chap. 22.

CHAPTER 48.

1786—1788.

Death of Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, and Accession of Frederic William —Decline of France, and Revival of the Ascendancy of England—Sketch of the State of Parties, and Changes of Administration—Terms of the Peace between England and France—Ministry of Mr. Pitt—Unfriendly Conduct of the Court of Vienna—Renewal of the Alliance between England and Russia—Revolution in Holland—Relative Situations of Austria and France.

THE Germanic League, the last hostile act of Frederic the Second against the House of Austria, was effected under the pressure of those infirmities which soon afterwards hurried him to the grave. He had been some time afflicted with the dropsy, and a complication of disorders; but preserved the vigour of his administration and exerted the powers of his mind almost to the last moment. He died on the 17th of August 1776, in the 75th year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his glorious reign.

It is needless to dwell on the character or exploits of a prince so well known in History; it will be sufficient to observe that his acquisitions added a population of 2,000,000 souls to his paternal inheritance, that he almost doubled his revenues, that he left a treasure o 8,000,000 sterling, and an army of 200,000 men, the best disciplined troops in Europe. He thus raised and consolidated a power which had long been a thorn in the side of the House of Austria, and which under his reign began to divide the German empire, and to be a counterbalance to the influence arising from the vast extent and numerous population of the Austrian territories.

The death of this great prince was rather unfavourable than advantageous to the Emperor. He had ever proved himself an inveterate enemy to the House of Austria; yet as in his old age he was inclined to draw the sword only for his own security, or for the maintenance of peace

Chapter 48. 1786—1788.

in Germany, his power acted as a salutary check on the ambitious and encroaching temper of Joseph. It was not probable that his nephew and successor Frederic William, who ascended the throne in the vigour of manhood, would be actuated by the same pacific spirit; or that he would not aspire to signalise his reign, and emulate the glory of his uncle. But as he inherited neither the talents nor the spirit of the great Frederic, he excited less jealousy and apprehension at the court of Vienna.

The death of the king of Prussia was followed by an essential change in the system of European policy. Before that event the ascendancy of France had for some time been paramount in Europe. During the American contest she had consolidated a confederacy which almost isolated England from the powers of the continent, and had finally succeeded in severing the colonies from the mother country. But she derived no cause of exultation from her success; her navy was almost annihilated, her commerce nearly ruined; above all, her finances were reduced to an alarming state of dilapidation, and an annual deficit of nearly three millions sterling threatened a national bankruptcy. This deficiency had been long felt; but the secret had been confined to the principal members of government, and its effects concealed; while the evil itself was aggravated by the delusive system adopted by Neckar of anticipating the revenue.

To these embarrassments were added the rising spirit of republicanism, which was a natural consequence of the interference of France in the American contest, and a just punishment for her impolicy and ill faith in fomenting and supporting rebellion. Although the French cabinet by their confident boasts, and by the activity and address of their agents, endeavoured to maintain their ascendancy, they could not wholly conceal their real situation, and sunk in influence and credit, while England, on the contrary, began to rise in the scale of Europe.

After a period of twelve years, the administration of Lord North was dissolved by its own weakness and the ill success of the contest in America, and a new ministry formed, of which lord Rockingham was the

the head, but of which Mr. Fox, who principally directed the department of foreign affairs, was the efficient leader. At this juncture the brilliant victory of Rodney in the West Indies, revived the spirit of the nation, while it disabled the marine and baffled the hopes and plans of the House of Bourbon. But as it was now too late to recover America, the British cabinet testified an inclination for peace; relinquished those lofty demands of unconditional submission which the late administration had so weakly supported; and agreed to acknowledge the independence of the colonies as the basis of a negotiation. They again accepted the proffered mediation of Austria and Russia; but instead of implicitly trusting to the interference of lukewarm friends or treacherous allies, they dispatched Mr. Grenville to Paris to open a direct negotiation with the French minister.

In the midst of these transactions, the death of lord Rockingham occasioned a partial change in the ministry; Mr. Fox, and the immediate adherents of lord Rockingham resigned; lord Shelburne, who had filled the post of secretary of state, was made first lord of the treasury, and became the head of administration, and under his auspices the negotiations for peace were continued with increasing ardour. Mr. Fitzherbert, * who was deputed to Paris in the room of Mr. Grenville, fulfilled his delicate office with great ability and address: while he treated with Vergennes, he succeeded in alarming Franklin, Adams, and Jay, the three American commissioners, and prevailed on them to sign separate and provisional articles, which severed America from France †. Vergennes, thus baffled and unable to prosecute hostilities, acceded

* Now lord St. Helens.

† Although this negotiation was carried on at Paris, even Vergennes, with all his penetration, was ignorant of the transaction until the articles were signed. The following incident induced the American commissioners thus to contravene the treaty with France, by which it was stipulated that neither of the contracting parties should conclude a peace, or even a truce, except by mutual consent. The French cabinet, however exulting in the separation of the colonies from England, were apprehensive lest the formation of an independent republic in America, might ultimately prove prejudicial to France, and occasion the loss of their West India Islands. Vergennes therefore sent to Marbois, French minister at Philadelphia, a long list of questions relative to the most effectual means of preventing the internal growth, and checking the external power

Chapter 48. 1786—1788.

acceded to the terms of peace, and a treaty was concluded at Versailles on the 3d of September 1783. Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the American colonies, and ceded East Florida and Minorca to Spain. To France she yielded the river Senegal, with several forts on the African coast, a small accession of territory in the East Indies, and the island of Tobago in the West Indies; to which were added the full sovereignty of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland, (before possessed by France,) under certain restrictions, together with a more advantageous arrangement of the respective fisheries. England also consented to abrogate the article of the peace of Utrecht, which related to the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk.

The trifling advantages which France had procured for herself and Spain, were greatly inadequate to the enormous expences of the war; but she exulted in having wrested the colonies from the mother country, * and anticipated the advantages which she expected to derive from the diminution of the British commerce and power. The same opinion prevailed throughout the continent; and the court of Vienna in particular prophesied that England would ultimately sink in the unequal contest with the House of Bourbon. Nor were there wanting even in England persons of enlightened minds, who regarded this peace as the ruin of their country, and who predicted

of the new republic. The answer to these questions formed a voluminous report, containing a regular and systematic plan for exciting such a spirit of discord, not only in the several States, but even among different classes of individuals, as would have almost reduced the country to its state of original wildness and barbarism. This dispatch being intercepted by a British cruizer, was shewn to the American commissioners. The indignation of Adams and Jay was roused at this instance of perfidy; they thought themselves justified in acceding to separate articles with England; over-ruled the opposition of Franklin, who was inveterate in his animosity to the mother country, and by threats deterred him from disclosing the secret to the French minister.

* It was a singular coincidence of events that this treaty, the source of so much triumph and exultation to Louis XVI. and his court, was signed on the 20th of January, and that on that very day ten years, the unfortunate monarch was sentenced to the scaffold; the fatal consequence of the republican spirit which had been introduced and fostered by his impolitic interference in the American contest.

that

that "the sun of Great Britain was set for ever." But such persons did not appreciate the energy of the British constitution, the resources of the country, the character of the people, and their spirit of commercial enterprise.

A combination in parliament was however formed against the peace; lord North and Mr. Fox united to overthrow the minister by whom it had been concluded, and forced themselves into the cabinet. But this coalition of parties so inimical in their opinions and conduct, raised the indignation of the King, and excited general disgust throughout the country. Their impolitic and unconstitutional attempt to secure the rich patronage of the East India Company hastened their downfal; and the king availing himself of their unpopularity, dismissed them from office, intrusted the helm of government to Mr. Pitt, the son of the earl of Chatham, and after a short but violent struggle, appealed to the sense of the nation by dissolving the parliament.

April, 1804.

The confidence of the Sovereign was not deceived; the new house of commons rallied round the throne, and an administration was established under the direction of Mr. Pitt, who, at the early age of twenty-four, displayed the firmness, genius, and eloquence of his father. The commencement of his administration became a new æra in the political History of England; the choice of the Sovereign was approved by the people, the energy of the nation revived, credit was restored, tranquillity was maintained at home, and the government resumed its wonted predominance in the counsels of Europe.

By the equivocal conduct of the Emperor, England had been alienated from the House of Austria. After assiduously courting the British cabinet, he had betrayed their confidential communications to the court of Versailles, had exerted his influence at St. Petersburgh in favour of France, and to gratify the Empress had even acceded to the armed neutrality. The breach was widened by the abrogation of the Barrier Treaty, and the contemptuous conduct of the court of Vienna during the American contest. Notwithstanding his professions

at

Chapter 48. 1786—1788.

at the commencement of the war, Joseph had countenanced the American agents, and connived at the clandestine trade which his subjects of the Netherlands carried on with the rebellious colonies. When the British cabinet accepted his mediation in conjunction with that of Russia, he proposed such terms as could only have been dictated from Versailles; and affected to prophesy that the issue of the contest would be fatal to England. The jealousy, naturally inspired by so unfriendly a line of conduct, had been still further heightened by the recent attempt of Joseph to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria. The British cabinet therefore at length relinquished those hopes, which had been too fondly cherished, of renewing the antient connection; they turned their whole attention to gain the king of Prussia, who, except in his inveterate enmity to the House of Austria, was guided by principles totally contrary to those of his predecessor; and by his assistance succeeded in overthrowing the French influence in Holland.

Since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, France had gained a considerable ascendancy in the counsels of the United Provinces, and was supported by the party adverse to the House of Orange. During the seven years war the States had maintained a neutrality, and in the American contest had displayed such an evident partiality towards France and the rebellious colonies, as involved them in hostilities with England. This war promoted the ascendancy of France; the conclusion of the disputes with the Emperor led to a formal alliance, which was signed at Fontainbleau, November 10th 1785, and soon afterwards the Anti-Orange party, or patriots, succeeded in overthrowing the authority of the Stadtholder.

The prince of Orange being supported by numerous adherents endeavoured to recover his authority by force of arms, and the country was threatened with the horrors of a civil war. Attempts were made by the mediation of France and Prussia to appease these troubles; but as France was anxious to maintain the patriot party, and as Frederic the Second was lukewarm in his support of the prince of Orange, who had

espoused

espoused his niece, their intervention failed of success. Frederic William, who was warmly attached to his sister, was anxious to adopt a more efficient line of conduct, and was easily instigated by England to take a part in the affairs of Holland. The arrest of the princess by the patriots, in her journey towards the Hague, furnished a pretext for hostilities, and the Prussian troops, led by the duke of Brunswick, made the conquest of Holland, with a rapidity and success which astonished Europe. The states were compelled to rescind their resolutions, and the prince of Orange was restored to his former authority. Chapter 48. 1786—1788.

During these events France had evinced a resolution to support the patriot party by arms; but awed by the hostile preparations of England, and checked by the increasing embarrassments in her finances, she shrunk from the contest, and yielded the preponderance in Holland to her rival. This revolution was followed by an alliance between the Maritime Powers and Prussia, * and their united influence baffled the ambitious projects of Joseph for aggrandisement on the side of Turky. France thus deserted by Prussia, threatened by England, and deprived of her influence in Holland, began to turn with warmth and sincerity towards the court of Vienna. The death of Vergennes, which happened at the commencement of 1787, had diminished that systematic jealousy which had been fostered against the House of Austria; the Queen had succeeded in eradicating the antipathy entertained by her husband against her brother; the new minister Montmorin, and afterwards de Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, courted the Emperor as their only stable and powerful ally; and Joseph seemed equally desirous to avail himself of their favourable disposition. Sept. 1787.

In consequence of these hopes, Joseph received the news of the death of his great rival Frederic the Second, with perfect indifference; and instead of attempting to execute his usual threat, that he would

* Hertzberg Recueil, tom. 2. Bowdler's Letters from Holland in Sept. and Oct. 1787 —Segur Histoire de Frederic Guillaume 2 tom. 1. ch. 4.—Mirabeau's letters. The alliance with Holland was signed in April 1788, and with England in August.

seize

Chapter 48. 1786—1788.

seize that opportunity to recover Silesia, he sent assurances of his pacific inclinations to Berlin, received the Prussian minister with great complacency, and testified an earnest desire to live on terms of amity with the new monarch *.

* Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches, August and September 1786.

CHAPTER 49.

1787—1790.

Views of JOSEPH *and Catherine for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire—Progress of Catherine through her new Dominions—Visit of the Emperor—Declaration of War against Russia by the Porte—Attempt of the Austrians to surprise Belgrade—* JOSEPH *declares War—Unsuccessful Campaign of* 1788*—Enterprises of Loudon and the Prince of Coburgh—Incursion of the Turks into the Bannat—Disgraceful Retreat of the Emperor from Caransebes—Censures of his Conduct—War between Sweden and Russia—Campaign of* 1789*—Death of the Sultan Abdelhamen, and Accession of Selim—Disgrace of the grand Vizir—Brilliant Success of Loudon and the Prince of Coburgh—Desperate Situation of the Turks—Interference of England and Prussia—Deplorable State of France—Origin and Progress of the Revolution.*

Chapter 49. 1787—1790.

ALTHOUGH Joseph had privately encouraged the patriots of Holland, and gave to the adherents of France an asylum in the Netherlands, he took no public part in their favour; but considered the contest simply as the means of employing the arms of Prussia, while he pursued his plans for sharing with Russia the spoils of the Turkish empire.

The acquisition of the Crimea having rather increased than satisfied the ambition of Catherine, she displayed on every occasion a resolution to subvert the Ottoman empire. She had secured the support of Joseph; she had gained the friendship of France by concluding a league of amity and commerce, and by refusing to renew the former treaty with England*. She revived the antient Greek names Jan. 1787.

* The privilege of paying a part of the import duties in the Russian currency, instead of Dutch silver, originally enjoyed by the English alone, was constantly inserted in the periodical treaties of amity and commerce, and was equivalent to a gain of 25 or 30 per cent. This privilege was afterwards extended to Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Prussia, Portugal, Naples and Holland, in consequence of their accession to the armed neutrality. By the treaty mentioned in the text, the French also were entitled to the same advantage, and the Empress irritated by the opposition of England to her favourite code of Maritime Law, refused to renew the commercial treaty with England, which expired in 1786.

See Treaty of Commerce with Russia, in Chalmers's Treaties, Vol. 1; also Travels in Poland, Russia, &c. Vol. iii. p. 309. 5 Edit.

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

in her new territories on the Black Sea*; her consuls and agents were exciting discontents among the Greeks and other Christian subjects of the Porte; and with a view to awe or conciliate the Tartar hordes, bordering on the Turkish empire, she made a progress into the southern provinces of European Russia, with a pomp and magnificence suitable to the grandeur of her projects. Accompanied by the principal persons of her court, as well as by the Austrian, English, and French ministers, she took her departure at the commencement of

1787. the year, travelled by land to Kiof, and on the approach of spring embarking on the Dnieper descended to Cherson. In the first part of this journey pioneers preceded to level the way; the road was illuminated by bonfires, and lined with crowds of spectators; a flotilla of magnificent barges was prepared for her voyage†; the inhabitants of whole villages, with numerous flocks and herds, were removed to the banks of the river; and a desolate and inhospitable region assumed the appearance of felicity, population, and industry. Large bodies of troops‖ were also collected at different places: at Krementschuck 14,000 men, dressed in new uniforms, exhibited the manœuvres of a battle; and at Pultawa the empress was gratified with an exact representation of the celebrated victory gained by her predecessor Peter the Great over the Swedish monarch Charles the Twelfth.

At Kaniek Catherine received a visit from the king of Poland, who, in compliment to the sovereign that had placed him on the throne, decorated the right bank of the Dnieper with a splendid illumination. Near the small village of Kaidak she was joined by a more illustrious guest. Joseph availed himself of this journey as a pretext for paying another visit to his ally, that they might in person complete arrangements for partitioning their intended conquests. He reached Lemberg in the middle of April, and after waiting twenty days, proceeded

* The Crimea was called Taurida, Aktiar, Sabastapol; Koslof, Eupatoria; and Kaffa, Theodosia.

† One of these vessels is said to have contained seven apartments, and a saloon where forty persons might dine.

‖ The Empress travelled without a military guard till her entrance into the Crimea, when she was escorted by a body of Kalmucs and Cossacs of the Don.

towards

towards Cherson, the place appointed for the interview. He arrived there on the 14th of May, and eager to display his respect towards his ally, hastened to meet her on the journey. His impatience occasioned some embarrassment. The courier, who conveyed the news of his departure, found the barge aground; and Catherine unwilling to be surprised in that situation by her imperial visitor, instantly disembarked, and with the greater part of her suite proceeded by land. On the approach of Joseph she alighted, and after the accustomed salutations, the two sovereigns pursued their journey in the carriage of the empress. At Kaidak a singular scene took place. In consequence of Joseph's precipitancy no preparations could be made for his reception; Prince Potemkin, who was waiting the arrival of the imperial flotilla, had already finished his repast; and the autocrat of all the Russias, with the emperor of Germany, could not without difficulty procure even a scanty meal. But this disappointment afforded matter of mirth, and gave to Catherine an opportunity of displaying her ease and hilarity. Joseph, who from his usual mode of travelling was not unaccustomed to similar privations, bore his part with equal spirit and good humour; the wit and raillery of Potemkin contributed to enliven the scene; and the two sovereigns condescended to assist in preparing their scanty meal, of which they partook with more enjoyment than they had before derived from the greatest luxuries of the table.

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

May 18.

From Kaidak they proceeded to Cherson, where Catherine made a magnificent entry, passing under a triumphal arch, on which was inscribed in the Greek tongue, "The way to Byzantium." After a stay of four days, distinguished by exhibitions of uncommon magnificence, she continued her progress through the Crimea, which she had recently distinguished by the Greek appellation of Taurida.

In this journey every species of splendour which the fertile and romantic genius of Potemkin could invent was exhibited to grace the presence of his Sovereign. At Batcheserai, the capital of the Peninsula, she was lodged in the antient palace of the Khans, and entertained with the spectacle of a burning mountain, artificially illuminated;

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

nated; at Sebastapol she viewed with pride and exultation a powerful navy, her own creation, riding in the finest harbour of the Black Sea. The scanty population of the Crimea was increased by numerous hordes of Tartars, who had been either driven or enticed from the neighbouring districts, and the scene was enlivened by a military force which escorted the cavalcade; the chiefs of every party and of every religion were received with attention and respect; and every art and allurement employed to win the affections of the Greeks, Albanians, and Tartars.

Joseph accompanied the empress during this progress, although he had previously received notice of the rising discontents in the Netherlands, and his presence was required at Vienna. But it was observed that he had lost much of that native vivacity which marked his first visit to Russia, and was absorbed in continual reflection, brooding over his various projects of reform and the increasing embarrassments of his reign. He examined, however, with his usual attention, the natural curiosities, the remains of antiquity, and the military works and stations which abound in the peninsula. On his

June 13. return to Perislaf, on the bank of the Dneiper, he took leave of his imperial hostess and hastened to Vienna.

The specific arrangements made during this journey have never been divulged. But the encroachments and intrigues of Russia, the petty warfare on the Turkish frontier, the hostile preparations of the two imperial courts, and the circumstances of this ostentatious

August 15. journey, drew from the Porte a sudden declaration of war against Russia; and a Turkish squadron appearing at the mouth of the Dnieper, commenced hostilities by bombarding Kinburn.

Confounded at this unexpected and vigorous measure, Catherine affected to temporise; and offered terms of accommodation through the mediation of France. At the same time she accelerated her preparations, published a vindication of her conduct, and called for the stipulated assistance of the emperor.

By this summons Joseph was reduced to a critical situation. Mortified at witnessing the importance of those acquisitions which he had

had contributed to secure to Catherine without obtaining an equivalent, he was eager to make amends for his former disappointment. But his alarms were awakened by the close union between the courts of London and Berlin; he was embarrassed by the efforts of the French court to prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire; and above all he was unwilling to engage in a Turkish war, while so considerable a part of his military force was required to quell the insurrection in the Netherlands. He therefore endeavoured to temper the ardour of his ally, and protract the commencement of hostilities. By his internuncio at Constantinople he declared that he would succour Russia if attacked; yet proffered his mediation to prevent the effusion of blood. Like Catherine, however, he did not intermit his military preparations, and bodies of troops with large magazines, and a numerous train of artillery, covered the Danube, or filled the roads from the capital to the Turkish frontier. He pursued this dubious line of conduct till he had effected a temporary suspension of the troubles in the Netherlands; and while his internuncio was acting the part of a mediator at Constantinople, he attempted to surprise the fortress of Belgrade. Chapter 49. 1787—1790.

A considerable force collected in the neighbourhood of Semlin, prepared in the night of the 2d of December to cross the Danube and the Save in two columns; one led by Alvinzy, the other by Gemmingen. Their march being obstructed by the badness of the roads and darkness of the night, and the passage of the rivers impeded by a thick fog, the vanguard alone of the first column reached the place of rendezvous, which was a neck of land on the Turkish territory under the walls of Belgrade. In this situation they were discovered at the approach of dawn, and were exposed to inevitable destruction had they been attacked by the garrison. But the governor affecting to be satisfied with the apologies of Alvinzy, permitted them to withdraw, and they repassed the Save with great precipitation*. December 2.

This flagrant violation of public faith did not, however, provoke the Turks to commence hostilities against the Emperor. They made

* Sir Robert Keith to the Marquis of Caermarthen, Dec. 15. 1787.

a dig-

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

a dignified appeal to his gratitude; they reminded him of the inviolable faith with which they had observed the treaty of Belgrade by rejecting all the allurements of France and Prussia on the death of Charles the Sixth, when the very existence of the House of Austria was endangered. Such motives had little influence on the mind of so ambitious a monarch as Joseph, eager to signalise his arms, and to share in the spoils of a feeble enemy. He published a declaration of war, in which he did not even attempt to varnish his aggression with the slightest colour of equity; he did not charge the Turks with a single infraction of the peace; he only justified his attack by pleading his engagements with the Empress, and inveighing against the obstinacy of the Porte in rejecting her demands.

February 10. 1788.

When Joseph made this declaration he not only meditated the recovery of Bosnia and Servia, but grasped at the possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, and flattered himself with the hopes of extending the boundaries of his empire to the Dniester. Accordingly, instead of acting as a mere auxiliary of Russia, he came forward as a principal in the war. He had already assembled an army of 200,000 men with a train of 2,000 pieces of artillery on the Turkish frontier, and impatiently waited the approach of spring to take the field against a nation which he considered as declining in strength, and sure to be overwhelmed by the force of two mighty empires.

The two imperial allies prepared to direct their force against the whole extent of the Turkish frontier from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. The main body of the Austrians was assembled on the borders of Sclavonia, to open the campaign with the siege of Belgrade, and to direct its progress on the side of the Danube; the principal force of the Russians, under prince Potemkin, was collected on the Bog, to pursue the advantages gained by the capture of Otchakof in the preceding year; and a considerable corps uniting with an Austrian force under the prince of Coburgh in the Bucovina, was to reduce Chotzim, and co-operate with the main armies on the Sereth, the Pruth, or the Dniester. Besides these three armies, other bodies were stationed in Transylvania, the Bannat, Sclavonia, and Croatia, to connect or support

port the principal attacks. An armament was to be fitted out in the Black Sea to favour the progress of Potemkin; and Joseph not only persuaded the Basha of Scutari to raise the standard of revolt, but even hoped to draw the Venetians into the war. Chapter 49. 1788–1790.

On the side of the Austrians the early part of the year was passed in desultory attacks against the petty posts on the frontier, and in expeditions to secure the barks on the Danube and the Save. Joseph himself joined the army in the beginning of March, accompanied by his favourite marshal Lacy, who was his chief counsellor in military affairs, and was supposed to have formed the plan of the campaign. After visiting the whole extent of his line, he returned to the main army, opened the navigation of the Save, by storming Szabatch, and made preparations for the siege of Belgrade. Lines were constructed across the marshes between the Danube and the Save to cover his operations; and the most sanguine expectations prevailed that the war would be conducted with spirit and success equal to the magnitude of the preparations, and the vast designs of the sovereign. 1788. April 25.

The plans of the allies were however frustrated by unexpected obstacles. The equipment of the naval armament was prevented by the opposition of England and Holland, who forbade their seamen to enter into the service of Russia; and an attack from the king of Sweden, equally sudden and daring, called the whole attention of Catherine to the preservation of her capital. The greater part of her troops who were marching to the scene of action were countermanded, and instead of a formidable force the prince of Coburgh was joined by Soltikof with only 10,000 men. Joseph experienced a new disappointment from the resolution of the Venetians to maintain a neutrality, notwithstanding all the promises and threats of the two imperial courts. The basha of Scutari also, discouraged by the embarrassments of the allies, massacred the Austrian officers whom he had received at his court, and made his peace with the Sultan; and his example was followed by the neighbouring bashas who were wavering between their duty and dread of his power.

Instead

Chapter 49. 1788--1790.

Instead of compensating for the weakness of his ally by his own strenuous exertions; instead of pressing the siege of Belgrade before the enemy were capable of interrupting his operations, Joseph wasted the early part of the campaign in inaction, vainly waiting for the advance of the Russians, and dreading lest he should draw on himself the whole force of the Grand Vizir. At length the consciousness that his indecision had dishonoured his character in the eyes of his army, his people, and Europe, impelled him to undertake the siege; bridges were thrown over the Save, and a train of battering artillery drawn from Semlin and the neighbouring garrisons. But his tardiness exposed him to the very danger which he had so anxiously endeavoured to avoid. At the commencement of the campaign the grand vizir Yusuph assembled his army in Bulgaria, as a central point from whence he could equally make head against the Austrians or Russians. By a judicious system of defence, he baffled and harrassed the Austrians, by desultory attacks he inured his troops to the sight of the enemy, and by a series of trifling successes inspired them with unusual confidence. Being relieved from all apprehensions of the Russians he turned his whole force against the Austrians. He advanced towards Belgrade, and as the emperor precipitately retired behind the Save, he threw bridges over the Danube at Cladova, broke the Austrian cordon by defeating a corps under Wartensleben posted on the heights of Meadia, spread alarm and devastation through the neighbouring districts of the Bannat, and threatened to pour his victorious troops into Hungary.

The affairs of the emperor were now in the most alarming situation. He had fallen from his towering hopes of subverting the Ottoman empire, and in the middle of a campaign commenced with the most powerful army which the House of Austria had ever brought into the field, and with preparations which almost exceeded belief, saw the war carried into his own dominions. His troops were disheartened by ill success and confounded at the desperate courage of the enemy. The army was thinned by an epidemic malady, and the population of the hereditary countries drained for recruits to supply the vast deficiency

ency derived from disease and the sword; the treasury was exhausted, and the populace of the capital, irritated by the dearness of provisions, broke out into tumults. The spirit of discontent spread into Hungary; the haughty magnates, dissatisfied with the recent reforms, boldly demanded permission to resume their arms under the pretence of defending their country, but with a view to take advantage of his distress, and regain those dangerous privileges which had been the pride and scourge of the nation.

In this perilous situation Joseph left 30,000 men at Semlin, and hastened with 40,000 to support Wartensleben and cover Hungary. To divert the tide of misfortune he also transferred to Loudon, whom he had hitherto neither employed nor consulted, the command of the army in Croatia, with distinguished marks of honour.

The people and the army were equally gratified by this appointment. The journey of the veteran general from the capital to the frontier was a triumphal procession, and the soldiers received their commander near Berbir with as much enthusiasm as if they had gained a decisive victory.* Loudon did not suffer this ardour to cool, and commenced offensive operations so congenial to his character and talents. The very day after he joined the army he defeated the Turks under the walls of Dubitza, and soon reduced the fortress to capitulate. He threw bridges over the Save, dispersed a corps of observation encamped near Berbir under the basha of Travnic, and pushing into the heart of Bosnia invested Novi. The trenches were opened on the 11th of September, the second parallel completed the third day, and the siege prosecuted with the greatest activity; a body of 7,000 Turks who attacked the Austrian lines were repulsed; two assaults were made

August 26.

* Loudon had always disapproved a defensive war, and his constant axiom was that more men are lost by sickness or desertion in inaction, than fall by the hand of the enemy in the most bloody campaign. He declared to his confidential friends, that he would exert his utmost endeavours to demonstrate by facts that his opinion was well founded, and prove himself worthy the confidence of the emperor and the nation: and he announced his resolution to put the valour of the troops to the trial against the Turks, which had never been brought to the test during the campaign. Sir Robert Keith's dispatches.

Chapter 49. 1787--1790. against the place, and on the 3d of October, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. The approach of winter alone retarded the successful progress of this active commander.

October 3.

During these operations the prince of Coburgh, in conjunction with Soltikof, had laid siege to Chotzim, which from the exposed situation of the works was expected to prove an easy conquest. The batteries were opened on the 20th of July; but notwithstanding an incessant fire which laid the town in ashes, and ruined the principal magazine, the heroic governor, with his half famished and intrepid garrison, did not surrender till the 20th of September, when he was allowed to depart with the honours of war. This obstinate and almost unparalleled defence wasted the season of action, and prevented the allies from undertaking any other important enterprise during the remainder of the campaign.

While Loudon and the prince of Coburgh were thus retrieving the honour of the Austrian arms, the emperor was exposed to new disgrace. After his junction with Wartensleben he took post near Slatina in the valley of Caransebes. The clamours of the troops and the representations of his officers having induced him to summon a council of war, all the generals, except Lacy, declared for an immediate engagement; but the emperor affecting to adopt the opinion of his confidential adviser remained on the defensive. His caution, however, was of little avail against his enterprising antagonist; for the Turks, encouraged by his indecision, with incredible labour formed batteries on the neighbouring hills, and made a continued attack on his camp for two days and nights. Joseph succeeded indeed in repulsing the enemy; but surrounded with difficulties, and apprehensive of another assault, he broke up his camp during the night, and fell back to Temeswar. This retreat completed the disgrace of his arms. Indignation, confusion, and dismay, pervaded the ranks; Joseph himself, exposed to the most imminent danger,* owed his safety to the

Sept. 20. 1788.

* In the retreat from Caransebes to Lugosch Joseph was exposed to extreme danger. The night was dark, and a false alarm having put the troops in

fleetness

fleetness of his horse; part of the baggage and artillery fell into the hands of the enemy, and 4000 men were lost in a march of only four days. Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

Fortunately for the emperor general Fabris kept the Turks in check by defending the passes of Transylvania, and the commencement of the rainy season compelled the Vizir to withdraw from the Bannat. He placed a strong garrison in Viplanka, and marching towards Belgrade was followed by the emperor, who resumed his former position at Semlin. No important operation, however, took place except the capture of Viplanka by a detachment under general Harrach, and in November the campaign was closed by an armistice of three months for Sirmia and the bannat of Temeswar.

Thus terminated a campaign in which 30,000 men fell in desultory skirmishes, and 40,000 were swept away by pestilence; losses but poorly compensated by the capture of Szabatch, Chotzim, Dubitza, and Novi. Joseph himself afflicted with a disorder derived from fatigue and chagrin, returned to Vienna, brooding over the loss of his military reputation, and the distress and disgrace which he had brought upon his people and his army. The voice of flattery imputed the failure of the campaign to the injudicious advice of Lacy; but the emperor could not deceive himself, nor were the people deceived, notwithstanding the marshal acquiesced in the sacrifice of his own character to save the honour of his sovereign. Although Joseph had shared with the meanest of his troops the fatigues and dangers of the field; although he had given proofs of personal courage, humanity, and Dec. 19.

motion, all who were attached to the baggage took to flight, and the soldiers in the confusion fired on each other. The emperor, who was in an open chaise at the head of one of the columns, mounted a horse and attempted to rally the fugitives at a bridge, but was hurried away by the crowd and separated from his suite. In this situation he rode alone the distance of a German mile before he was able to rejoin his troops. Pezzl's Joseph, 2. p. 227. Ashamed of being thus "entrainé parmi les fuyards," to use the expression of the king of Prussia on a similar occasion, Joseph reproached his aid-de-camps for having deserted him. One of them sarcastically replied "We used our utmost endeavours to keep up with your Imperial Majesty, but our horses were not so fleet as yours."

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

attention to the soldiers, almost to a degree of frivolous minuteness,* he had not acquired either the love or respect of his army. His incapacity for command was too glaring to escape the notice of persons the least skilled in military affairs; his alternate precipitation and indecision harrassed and discouraged the troops, and deprived them of that confidence in the talents of their leader which is necessary to ensure success, or to secure obedience. He was even accused of shackling the other generals, that he might alone reap the honours of the field, and invidious comparisons were drawn between his inactivity and failures, and the spirit and success of Loudon and Coburgh.

The emperor keenly felt these censures, and to vindicate his reputation threw the blame on the dilatoriness of the Russians; in his private letters to Catherine he likewise complained of her commanders for leaving him to cope singly with all the forces of the Ottoman empire. But in the anguish of disappointment, he did not appreciate the embarrassments of his ally, nor the magnitude of the danger which had rendered her unable to concur in the vast plan arranged for the campaign.

The king of Sweden was encouraged to invade her territories on the Baltic, while she was employed on a distant war. He entered into a subsidiary treaty with the Porte, and made his preparations with such secrecy and celerity, that he had drawn an army of 36,000 men into Finland, and his fleet appeared in sight of Cronstadt before it was known that he meditated hostilities. This threatened invasion spread consternation in the Russian capital, which was unprovided for defence, and the younger branches of the imperial family were removed to Moscow. But Catherine with her natural magnanimity did not shrink from the danger: she assembled the

* Besides paying particular attention to the supply of provisions and water, he commanded the soldiers to be exercised before the heat of the day; and issued public orders, that except when on duty they should not distinguish him with any particular honours. To use his own expression, "Whoever lies on the ground let him lie, whoever sits let him sit." Pezzl. p. 225.

few

few troops left in the neighbourhood, and dispatched a fleet from Cronstadt under Admiral Greig, against the invading squadron. A desperate engagement between the two fleets off the isle of Hoghland, terminating without any decisive advantage to either side, the Russians refitted with great expedition, again attacked the Swedes in the road of Sweaborg, drove them under the batteries, and kept them blockaded during the whole season for action. By land the empress was saved by a change equally fortunate. Gustavus had put himself at the head of his army and marched against Fredericsham, a frontier fortress of Russian Finland. As he was preparing to carry it by assault, his principal officers refused to advance, and declared their resolution not to engage in an offensive war without the consent of the nation. Gustavus appealing to the soldiers, they to his surprise and consternation, expressed the same sentiments, and many even laid down their arms. At this critical juncture the intrigues of Catherine, stimulated also the court of Denmark to invade Sweden, and Gustavus was recalled to the defence of his own territories against an attack as rapid and unexpected, as that which he meditated against Russia. The army in Finland, left under the command of the duke of Ostogothia, sent a deputation to the empress, and notwithstanding all the remonstrances of their general, concluded an armistice.

Chapter 49. 1787—1790. July 17, 1789. August 3.

Though the fortune of Catherine at length triumphed, this unexpected danger had not only forced her to countermand the principal part of the troops destined to co-operate with the Austrians, but even paralised the efforts of the main army; and the whole campaign was spent in the siege of Otchakof, which was not carried by assault till the 6th of December.*

The declining state of the emperor's health did not cause any intermission in the mighty preparations for the prosecution of the war; and his absence from the field highly contributed to the success of the ensuing campaign.

* Life of Catherine the Second.—The Russian and Swedish official accounts.—Hamburgh Politisches Journal. Passim.

The

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

The Turks anticipated the Austrians by recommencing hostilities. The Grand Vizir, leaving troops on the lower course of the Danube to observe the Russians and Austrians, crossed at Ruschuk at the head of 90,000 men, and rapidly advanced towards Hermanstadt with the intent to penetrate into Transylvania, break the Austrian line and carry the war into the hereditary countries. His progress was suddenly arrested by the death of the Sultan Abdelhamen, and the accession of Selim. He was recalled and disgraced by the new sovereign, assassinated in his way to a place of exile, and his post given to the basha of Widdin, a man of a rash and presumptuous temper, and deficient in military skill.

March, 1789.

By this fortunate revolution, the allies were enabled to recover their ascendancy. Early in the year the prince of Coburgh, proceeding with 18,000 men from Chotzim to Adjud, was joined by 7000 Russians under the celebrated Suwarof. They defeated at Fotzani a body of Turks who had advanced from Brachilow to prevent their junction, with the loss of their camp, baggage, magazines, and artillery. They then suddenly directed their march against the main army under the Grand Vizir, who had ascended the Alt to Rimnik, and gained a stupendous victory over a vast and ill organised multitude. The whole army was dispersed or put to the sword, and the camp, baggage, and artillery, with no less than one hundred standards, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

July 31.

Sept. 22.

The two sovereigns vied in rewarding their commanders and army for retrieving the credit of their arms. For the victory at Fotzani, Joseph honoured the prince of Coburgh with the grand cross of Maria Theresa, and sent a box adorned with his cypher in diamonds, accompanied by a letter of thanks to Suwarof. For the defeat of the Grand Vizir he advanced the prince of Coburgh to the rank of field marshal, and conferred on Suwarof the dignity of count of the empire. The empress presented the two generals with swords and artificial branches of laurel, bearing the device "To the conqueror of the Grand Vizir," and honoured Suwarof with the order of St. Andrew, and the surname of Rimnikski. The officers and soldiers of both

both nations were also gratified with rewards; and those who had distinguished themselves in the battle received a medal, with the inscription *Rimnik*, to be worn as an ornament to their uniform.*

This wonderful victory opened a similar career of success to the main army. Loudon commenced the campaign with the capture of Berbir; but was soon called to a theatre more worthy of his talents and enterprising spirit. Intrusted with the command of the principal army, which during a new armistice had recovered from its fatigues and losses, he hastened to Semlin, left Clerfayt at Meadia, with a body of troops to cover the Bannat, and invested Belgrade. He pressed the siege with his usual activity, on the 30th of September carried the suburbs by assault, and completed the third parallel. On the 6th of October, the governor proposing an armistice for fifteen days, Loudon briefly replied "not for fifteen hours." He ordered the cannonade to be resumed with redoubled vigour, and within three days the garrison of 7000 men surrendered prisoners of war.

July 9.

August 14.

Sept. 3.

October 9.

Joseph sinking under the disorder which carried him to the grave, was revived by this series of successes. The sick and exhausted monarch rose from his bed to receive the joyful tidings, and attend a Te Deum at the church of St. Stephen. A festival was proclaimed for three days; the capital was illuminated, the theatres opened gratis to the people, and in allusion to the christian name of Loudon, the streets resounded with the triumphal song of Gideon. The successful commander was also nominated generalissimo with the same uncontrolled authority which had been formerly intrusted to prince Eugene.†

The victory of Rimnik and the capture of Belgrade were the harbingers of greater success. Hassan Pasha, the Turkish high admiral and celebrated conqueror of Egypt, whose confidence in his good fortune had encouraged him to assume the command of an army, was totally defeated at Tobac, in Bessarabia, by prince Potemkin, and his dis-

* Campaigns of Suwarof, vol. ii. p. 111. † Loudon's Leben, p. 289.

comfiture

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

comfiture was followed by the surrender of Bender, Akerman, Kilia Nova, and Isatza, and with the investment of Ismael. At the same time the prince of Coburgh took Bucharest, and Hohenlohe, forcing the passes which lead into Wallachia, made himself master of Rimnik and Crajova. Loudon also reduced Semendria and Cladova, and blockaded Orsova, which being situated in an island of the Danube, was inaccessible to regular attacks. By these conquests, the allies became masters of the whole line of fortresses which covered the Turkish frontier; the three grand armies, originally separated by a vast extent of country, were rapidly converging to the same point, and threatened by their united force to overbear all opposition, and in another campaign to complete the subversion of the Ottoman empire in Europe.

But in the midst of this successful career, the increasing ferment in the Hereditary Countries, the rebellion in the Netherlands, and still more the interposition of the Maritime Powers and Prussia, checked the hopes of Joseph at the very moment when his projects of aggrandisement seemed hastening to their completion. Justly alarmed at the successes of the two imperial courts, they emancipated Poland from the domination of Russia; they delivered the king of Sweden from the Danish invasion, and laid the foundation of a general alliance for reducing the overgrown power of Austria and Russia. The king of Prussia even encouraged the rising discontents in Hungary, fomented the troubles which the impolitic innovations of Joseph had excited in the Netherlands, and opened a negotiation
Jan. 1790. with the Porte for the conclusion of an offensive alliance, intended not only to effect the restoration of the dominions conquered during the existing war, but even of the Crimea, and the territories dismembered by the two imperial courts from Poland.*

* See Chapter 52.—For this account of the rise and progress of the Turkish war have been consulted Sir Robt. Keith's Dispatches and Papers—Official Papers in the Hamburgh Politisches Journal—Pezzl. ch. 27, 28.—Heinrich, vol. viii. p. 745.—Loudon's Leben—Suwarof's Campaigns—Life of Catherine II.

The

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

The only power to which Joseph might have turned as a counterpoise to this combination was France, from whose recent change of system he had flattered himself with hopes of a cordial support, and from whom he had even received private largesses to a considerable amount. But in the short interval of the two preceding years a fatal alteration had taken place both in the court and kingdom. The spirit of republicanism, excited by the American contest, had increased to an alarming height, and with the growing embarrassments of the revenue, contributed to weaken the energy of government. The indecisive character of Louis the Sixteenth, and even his virtues, furthered the projects of the republicans. Without a discriminating judgment or force of mind, his great passion was to introduce beneficial reforms into the different departments of administration. Hence he became the dupe of artful or misguided men, and adopted every plausible innovation, however injurious to his prerogative. Hence he continually changed his ministers in the financial department, on the failure of their schemes, and from a well meant, though ill-judged principle of œconomy, in diminishing the establishment of his household and court, deprived the throne of its splendour and dignity, and broke those bonds of interest which attached the great body of the nobles to the sovereign.

From this motive the administration of the finances had been intrusted to Neckar, a protestant and native of Geneva, who possessed a high reputation for his knowledge of political œconomy. He was called to this arduous situation at the commencement of the American contest, and at the time when the deficiency of the revenue began to be felt, though it was concealed from the public eye. The expences of the war increased the embarrassment, and the evil was rendered incurable by the boasted system of Neckar, who, while he affected to support the public burthens without additional taxes, accumulated loans on loans, and by augmenting the permanent debt, rendered the income still more inadequate to the current expenditure. At length, encouraged by the favour of the sovereign, and buoyed up by popular applause, he demanded a seat in the privy council, for

July 1777.

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

which his religion disqualified him, and on the refusal of the king, resigned in disgust.

May, 1781.

After the temporary administrations of Joly de Fleury, and d'Ormesseau, Calonne was placed at the head of the finances. To remedy the increasing deficit, he persuaded the king to summon the notables, or a meeting of the most considerable among the nobility, clergy,

1787.

magistracy, and municipal bodies, a measure which had been resorted to by Henry the Fourth and Louis the Thirteenth. Among other schemes produced on this occasion, he proposed to establish an equal land-tax, from which no description of property, not even the royal domains, was to be exempted.* This wise plan, which was alone adequate to relieve the distresses of the country, being rejected by the selfish impolicy of the higher orders, Calonne was imprudently dismissed, and the assembly dissolved by his successor de Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse. But all the attempts of the new minister were equally unsuccessful. The outcry of the nation increasing with the distress of government, he likewise resigned, and at his recommendation

Aug. 1788.

the king convoked a meeting of the States General† at Versailles, and restored the administration of the finances to Neckar, the popular idol.

At this period the whole country was in a state of ferment. The concessions of the king encouraged new demands, and not only the magistracy, but even the greater part of the nobility and clergy joined the prevailing clamour for what was called a new order of things.

In these circumstances Neckar adopted principles only suited to a petty republic, or to a nation in a state of pristine purity and virtue, and by his unskilful endeavours to form a popular representation, hastened the explosion of the storm. In the organization

* By a custom derived from the feudal system, the clergy and nobility were exempted from many impositions, and did not in general contribute their proportion to the burdens of the state.

† The States General was an assembly not dissimilar to the notables, consisting of the principal members of the nobility, clergy, and magistracy, but their number was never regular or fixed. This assembly had not been convoked for two centuries.

of

of the States General, indeed, he separated the three orders of nobility, clergy, and tiers etat, or commonalty; but injudiciously allowed a double representation to the last, with the hope of obtaining their support. Hence the third estate gained the ascendancy, and after a violent struggle, compelled the two superior orders to unite in one house, under the appellation of the National Assembly. Confident in their superiority, and strengthened by proselytes from the other two orders, the third estate openly attacked the court, declared all existing taxes illegal, and by unanimity, perseverance, and intrigue, triumphed over all the attempts of the king to dissolve an assembly which threatened the annihilation of his authority. In this imminent danger Louis assembled troops in the vicinity of the capital to awe the factious, and again dismissed Neckar; but the populace, instigated by their demagogues and encouraged by the Duke of Orleans, rose tumultuously, seized the magazines of arms, and stormed the Bastille.

The king, who did not possess the firmness necessary to persist in vigorous measures, submitted to the will of the Assembly, and weakly consented to the recall of Neckar. His concessions were only the prelude to still greater degradations; the princes of the blood, and many of the nobles, who ought to have formed the bulwark of the throne, emigrated from France, and the National Assembly triumphantly decreed the abolition of all privileges, published a theoretical rhapsody which they called a Declaration of the Rights of Man, and voted themselves permanent. An alarming scarcity of provisions inflaming the general discontent, a sanguinary mob from Paris forced the palace of Versailles, massacred the guards, and dragged the degraded king and queen as prisoners to the capital. At the same time the National Assembly removed to Paris, and continued by their resolutions and debates to inflame the public mind, and heap new insults on the head of the unfortunate monarch.*

* Bertrand de Moleville's Annals and Memoirs—Rabaut—Adolphus's Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution, Art. The King and Neckar—Soulavie Memoires de Louis XVI.

Chapter 49. 1787–1790.

The virtues of Louis afforded but few vulnerable points for the assaults of faction; but the character and nation of the Queen presented innumerable objects for calumny and sedition to reflect dishonour on the monarch, and to vilify royalty itself. At the accession of Louis XVI. Maria Antoinetta was almost adored by a people who prided themselves on loyalty and gallantry. Long indignant at the extravagance of the royal mistresses, they hailed with joy the name of a queen who was distinguished by beauty and elegance of person, affability, and benevolence; and this enthusiasm was heightened by the endearing attachment of the king, and the birth of a dauphin. But in the moment of commotion the charm was dissolved; her failings and levity gave scope to the malignance of party, her most trifling faults were magnified into crimes, her very liberality was held forth as extravagance, * surpassing the profusion of mistresses. The degraded state of the nation was attributed to her sinister influence; even her mode of dress was adduced as a proof of a systematic hostility to the trade † and interests of France; every species of artifice and calumny was exhausted to turn the popular indignation, through her, against her brother the Emperor, as the means of increasing the embarrassments of the court, and hastening the reduction of the royal prerogatives.

This being the unfortunate situation of the country, Joseph instead of that effectual assistance which his mother had derived from France against Prussia and England in the seven years war, or even that partial support which he had himself obtained from the court of Versailles, saw the impending dissolution of the alliance on which

* This charge, like many others advanced against this great and amiable but calumniated woman, was void of foundation. During the course of eighteen years her whole expenditure, including the purchase of St. Cloud, and her buildings, did not exceed 438,000*l.* or scarcely 25,000*l.* a year.

† The Queen threw aside the brocades and velvets of Lyon, and adopted muslin dresses, the manufacture of the Netherlands. Soulavie, T 6. p. 41

The indiscretions of this amiable but unfortunate Queen have never been denied; but her innocence is proved by the circumstances of her trial, in which all the malignity of Robespierre and his satellites could not fix a stain on her character.

he

he had so confidently relied, with the revival of that hostile spirit which had formerly menaced the downfall of Austria, and he had reason to apprehend the loss of those very Netherlands, for the security of which he had made great and incessant sacrifices.

CHAPTER 50.

1787—1790.

State, Constitution, and Government of the Austrian Netherlands.—Reforms introduced by JOSEPH.—*General Discontents.—Conciliating Conduct of the Governors General.—Displeasure of the Emperor.—Deputation sent by the States of Brabant to Vienna. Duplicity of the Emperor.—Trautmonsdorf appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, and d'Alton Commandant of the Military Force.—New Attempts to introduce the Reforms.—Revival of the Discontents.—Rise and Progress of the Revolution.—Retreat of the Austrian Forces.—Establishment of the Belgic Confederation.—Fruitless Attempts of Joseph to recover the Netherlands.*

Chapter 50. 1787—1790.

THAT rich and fertile territory, usually known by the synonymous appellations of the Netherlands and the Low Countries, formed part of the vast dominions which had been attached to the Spanish monarchy. Conquered by the joint forces of the Maritime Powers, it was transferred, at the peace of Utrecht, under their guaranty, to the House of Austria, on condition that the antient laws, customs, and constitutions should be inviolably preserved. The emperor Charles the Sixth, was inaugurated on these terms. His daughter Maria Theresa entered into similar engagements on her accession; but during her reign some changes, with the consent, if not at the request, of the States, were introduced in regard to the mode of representation in Brabant, and to the system of taxation in all the provinces. Joseph succeeding to these dominions, gave the same solemn sanction to the existing constitution.

Perhaps there was no country on the surface of the globe so small in extent, under the government of one prince, of which the component parts differed so widely in manners, government, and laws. Each of the provinces * not only formed a separate sovereignty, en-

* These provinces were Brabant, Limburgh, Luxemburgh, Flanders, Hainault, Namur, Guelderland, and Mechlin. Antwerp, though annexed to Brabant, was sometimes considered as a separate province, and Tournay which originally formed a part of Flanders, had not been annexed since the peace of Utrecht, but was governed by the laws which were established by France. Hence the number of the provinces was sometimes reckoned nine and sometimes ten.

joying

joying a peculiar constitution, but the same variation extended to the cities and districts. In most of the provinces the rights and privileges were founded on tradition or prescription; but in Brabant and Limburgh they were detailed in a charter called La Joyeuse Entreé, * which contained fifty nine articles, a collection of ancient usages and immunities granted by the former dukes of Brabant. Besides a series of regulations relative to the constitution and functions of the council of Brabant, the Sovereign was restrained from conferring charges on any except natives, no inhabitant was to be tried out of the country, and full liberty of speech was to be allowed in the assembly of the States, with many other privileges; the charter was also concluded with a declaration similar to the celebrated clause in the coronation oath of Andrew the Second, king of Hungary, that if the Sovereign should cease to observe the articles, his subjects should also cease to obey him, until the breaches were repaired and the immunities restored.

All the provinces acknowledged the chief of the House of Austria as sovereign, under the titles of duke of Brabant, Luxemburgh, and Guelderland, count of Flanders, Hainault and Namur, and lord of Mechlin and Tournay. Except Flanders, † each province was represented by an assembly of the three orders of clergy, nobles, and burghers, who shared with the sovereign, or in his absence with the governor-general, ‡ the supreme authority. The members composing these three orders, differed in the different provinces; their power was nearly similar in all. They not only enjoyed the right of taxation, but fixed the quantum and the quality of all imposts, the mode of collection, and the application of the money; and even during a vacation

* It was so called because the charter on which it was founded was promulgated on the *entry* of Philip the Good, into Brussels.

† In Flanders alone the order of the nobles was not admitted into the assembly of the States.

‡ The Sovereign was represented by the governor-general, who was usually a member of the Imperial family. He was assisted by a minister plenipotentiary, who was his counsellor and lieutenant, and in his absence exercised the supreme authority with somewhat more limited powers. At this time the office of governor-general was jointly filled by the duke of Saxe Teschen, and his consort the archduchess Maria.

were

Chapter 50. 1787—1790.

were represented by a permanent committee of deputies. Each province paid annually a stipulated sum under the appellation of an ordinary subsidy, which was destined for the maintenance of the civil and military establishment; in times of war or necessity the sovereign was empowered to demand an extraordinary contribution, as a free gift, which had never been hitherto withheld by a people who prided themselves no less on their loyalty than on their freedom. These taxes were levied by numerous collectors, and consequently suffered considerable diminutions before they were paid into the national treasury.

The courts of justice were established under different forms, not only in each province, but in every district, every city, and every village; and gave employment and influence to a multitude of judges, magistrates, and advocates. Besides these were various feudal courts and petty tribunals for the cognisance of the chase, royal domains, maritime affairs, and customs. In Brabant, Hainault, and Guelderland, appeals were decided by the respective supreme tribunals; but in Luxemburgh, Namur, and the other provinces, were carried before the great council of Mechlin. Above all, the tribunal called the Council of Brabant was most respectable for the impartiality of its decisions, and the dignity and independence of its members. Its jurisdiction extended no less to affairs of state than to those of justice, and the edicts of the sovereign were not valid till approved by this court and authenticated by the great seal of the duchy. Its functions and powers were minutely defined in the Joyous Entry; its integrity was secured by the choice of the members, who were persons of reputable birth, talents, and property; and it formed the great barrier between the prerogatives of the sovereign and the liberties of the people. The power of the clergy was almost unbounded, as well from the influence of religion among a people devoted to the worship of their ancestors, as from their riches and number. The hierarchy consisted of one archbishop and seven bishops; there were also an hundred and eight abbies, each endowed with annual revenues from 60,000 to 300,000 florins*, numerous convents, and the number

* The florin of the Netherlands was about 1*s.* 9½*d.*

of

of religious persons, regular and secular of both sexes, amounted to above 30,000. The clergy possessed a considerable part of the landed property, and being the first order of the States were enabled to relieve themselves from a considerable part of the public burthens, by fixing the land tax at a low rate, and throwing the imposts on articles of consumption.

Their predominant influence was extended by the system of public education, which was subjected to the immediate controul of the hierarchy. The university of Louvain had long been celebrated for its numerous and richly endowed colleges, and was formerly distinguished for learning and discipline. It possessed extraordinary privileges, with the patronage of numerous benefices, both in the Netherlands and the bishoprick of Liege; and above all, its academical honours were an indispensable qualification for the possession of every civil and ecclesiastical office. The members devoted to the Papal See, maintained a blind adherence to the system of the ancient schoolmen, and proscribed all innovations adopted in other seminaries.

Notwithstanding the power and immunities of the clergy, the number of judges, magistrates, advocates, and tax-gatherers, and the vexatious proceedings of some tribunals, no country in Europe exhibited a more numerous population, more opulent towns, or a greater diffusion of happiness; incontestable proofs that the government was on the whole, not ill administered, and well adapted to the genius and manners of the natives. In regard to the Sovereign it might be deemed the brightest jewel of his crown. It maintained an active and industrious population of 2,000,000 souls, and afforded a considerable revenue, besides the expences of the civil and military establishment, and numerous pensions on the ecclesiastical foundations. Though distant from the seat of empire, it was the connecting link with the Maritime Powers, and since the loss of Alsace, it formed the great bulwark against the encroachments of France.

In this country, and among these people so tenacious of their customs, liberties, and religion, Joseph did not merely attempt to reform

Chapter 50. 1787—1790.

abuses and hew off superfluous branches, but even laid the axe to the very root of the constitution itself. He purposed to force on the natives what he termed a simple and efficient form of government, and to establish nearly the same system of ecclesiastical polity, finance, and jurisprudence, as he had introduced into his hereditary countries. He commenced his innovations at an early period of his reign by abolishing several convents, prohibiting processions, jubilees, and confraternities, and removing statues, images, and offerings from the churches.

But in 1786 his plans were fully developed. He reformed the system of public education, by abrogating the privileges of the university of Louvain, and instituting a seminary for the study of theology, over which he placed foreigners, as directors, independent of the controul of the bishops, and at which he ordered all youths destined for the church to pursue their studies. The innovation

Dec. 6. 1786.

was vehemently opposed by every order of the clergy, and gave rise to a tumult among the students, which was not suppressed without a military force. The archbishop of Mechlin, who took an active part in the dispute, was summoned to Vienna, and the papal nuntio, who had countenanced the opposition to the imperial decrees, was abruptly ordered to quit the Netherlands. This attempt was followed by a

March 1787.

similar change in the civil government. Joseph suppressed the permanent committee of deputies, appointed to act during the vacations of the States, abolished all the councils and courts of justice, and established the same gradation of tribunals as in the other Austrian territories. Finally, he declared the Netherlands one province of the Austrian dominions, and divided the whole territory into nine circles or intendancies*, each circle to be governed by an intendant and subordinate commissaries, forming tribunals dependent on a supreme council, exempted from the controul of the States, and at which the imperial minister presided. The discontents of the people were aggravated by other acts of less importance, but no less arbitary and

* Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Namur, Luxemburgh, and Limburgh.

uncon

unconstitutional. The rector of the capuchins at Brussels, was driven into banishment for refusing to send the students of his order to the new seminary, and de Hondt an eminent merchant, contrary to the express stipulation of the Joyous Entry, was arrested and conveyed to Vienna to be tried on a charge of peculation, while his cause was under the cognizance of a native tribunal. The larger abbies also, as they became vacant, were placed in commendam, and the ecclesiastical branch of the constitution, which in Brabant was solely represented by the abbots, was threatened with a gradual exclusion from the government. Chapter 50. 1787—1790.

The abolition of their venerated constitution excited universal indignation and alarm among the people of the Netherlands. The clergy and the laity formed a common cause for mutual security. Brabant became the focus of opposition; the states, in the terms of their constitution, refused to grant the customary subsidies, until their grievances were redressed; they forbade the collectors of the revenue to acknowledge the authority of the new intendants, and presented a spirited remonstrance to the Governors general. They suppressed also the general seminary at Louvain, dismissed the foreign professors, invited the other states to form a general confederacy, and claimed the guaranty of foreign powers, particularly of France. Their example was followed by the other provinces. Tumults broke out in different places, the populace assumed the national cockade in imitation of the French, and the aspect of the whole country portended an insurrection. April.

Joseph being at this crisis on his journey to Cherson, the ministers at Vienna, far from being authorised to take proper precautions, were not even acquainted with the intended innovations. The Governors general themselves were adverse to a system so repugnant to the feelings of the people, and at variance with count Belgioioso, the minister plenipotentiary, who carried into execution the plans of the sovereign. Thus circumstanced, the Governors general adopted the only expedient likely to prevent a rebellion. They issued a decree suspending all arrangements contrary to the constitution, promised to

Chapter 50. 1787—1790.

redress the breaches of the Joyous Entry, removed all persons obnoxious to the States, and engaged to employ their good offices in obtaining the ratification of the sovereign.

May 28, 1787.

Joseph received the first account of the tumults, at Pereslaf, as he was preparing to cross the Dnieper. But infatuated with his plans, despising the danger, and employed in paying court to Catherine, he slighted the intelligence, and gave orders that no letters should be forwarded to him during the journey. He determined, however, to pursue rigorous measures, and in answer to strong representations in favour of lenity and caution, replied "the flame of rebellion can "only be extinguished by blood." On his return to Pereslaf, he learnt with astonishment and agitation the progress of the insurrection; and after taking a hasty leave of Catherine returned to Vienna in the beginning of July. New mortifications awaited his arrival. He was thunderstruck with the intelligence that the Flemings, instead of expecting the repeal of the obnoxious edicts, had taken up arms, and obtained new concessions from the Governors general, and that prince Kaunitz, had not only approved these lenient measures, but pledged himself for the acquiescence of his Sovereign*.

Joseph highly reprobated the conduct of the Governors general and of his minister, as feeble and pusillanimous, and expressed his inflexible resolution to enforce the execution of his plans. He ordered troops to march to the Netherlands, summoned the Governors general and count Belgioioso to Vienna; and at the same time dispatched an angry mandate to the contumacious states, commanding them, as a mark of obedience, to submit their complaints, and apologise for their misconduct at the foot of the throne.

The states did not refuse to give the required proof of obedience, but charged their deputies to express the loyalty of the nation and represent its grievances. On the 15th of August they were admitted

Aug. 15. 1787.

* Sir Robert Keith to Lord Carmarthen, Vienna, Aug. 3, 1787. Prince Kaunitz was so much displeased with the violent proceedings of Joseph, and his refusal to ratify the concessions made to the people of the Netherlands, that he offered to resign, and for a time discontinued to countersign the mandates of the Emperor,

to

to an audience, and their chief addressed the emperor in a speech replete with professions of loyalty, accompanied with firmness and spirit. "Prostrate" he said "at the foot of the greatest throne of the universe, the deputies of your Belgic provinces, with the profoundest respect, present to your majesty the homage of their duty and affection. If among the people, whom Heaven has subjected to your vast empire, some are more powerful than those who inhabit our fine and fertile country, we may venture to assert with truth, that your majesty has no subjects more faithful, nor any more inviolably attached to your sacred person. Approve Sire, the respectful assurances of our affection and fidelity, deign to accept our homage with the justice of a king and the kindness of a father, and receive the pure offering of our hearts, our fortunes, and our blood. May we, under the safeguard of our ancient laws, the source of our happiness, be enabled still to sacrifice our lives and fortunes for the defence and glory of that throne which was transmitted to your majesty by your august mother, whose memory will for ever remain sacred among us." They were then permitted to read the list of their grievances.

The Emperor, who had scarcely restrained his indignation during the recital, replied in language equally stern and imperious. "The great dissatisfaction which I feel from all the late proceedings in my Belgic provinces cannot be effaced by a vain parade of words: nothing but a series of actions can prove the sincerity of your professions. I have charged prince Kaunitz to communicate to you in writing for the information of the states, certain articles, the execution of which must precede any deliberation. Your instant and entire obedience is not only necessary to restore all things to their proper order, but to put a stop to the present interruption of commerce. I give you daily proofs that the good of my subjects is the sole object of all my actions, and you must be convinced that I have no thought of overturning your constitution, as in the moment of your greatest outrages, and when you have deserved my utmost indignation, with all the power which

Chapter 50. 1787—1790.

which I possess, I only reiterate to you my assurances that I will preserve your liberties*.

The conditions announced with this parade of liberality, comprised the restoration of all innovations, ecclesiastical and civil, the payment of the subsidies, and the revocation of all orders and representations issued by the States, contrary to the views of the sovereign. In case of an immediate compliance, the emperor promised that the antient tribunals and administration of justice should be restored, that the intendancies should not be established, nor the abbies deprived of their privileges. He added also, that the territorial impost of forty per cent. and the military conscription should not be introduced into the Netherlands†.

Promises so vague, accompanied by demands so contradictory, did not satisfy the Belgic States, and they announced their resolution not to comply with the preliminary articles without full security for the redress of their grievances. But while the people waited with anxiety the march of the imperial troops, and were making preparations for resistance, a singular change took place in the conduct of Joseph. As he could not venture to drive his subjects of the Netherlands to desperation while embarrassed with the Turkish war, he endeavoured to attain by artifice what he could not effect by force. He therefore treated the deputies with the greatest condescension,

Sept. 1787.

and affected a willingness to accede to most of their demands. These concessions produced the desired effect; for although the States of Brabant hesitated to comply with his injunctions, and skirmishes even took place at Brussels between the militia and the regulars, yet by the prudent conduct of count Murray, who was intrusted with the provisional government, the objects in dispute were amicably arranged.

* Copy of the Speech made by the Flemish deputies at their first audience, and of the Emperor's Declaration in reply, read to them by the vice chancellor count Cobenzl. Keith Papers.—Also sir Robert Keith's letter to lord Caermarthen, Aug. 18.

† Note from sir Robert Keith, containing an account of the result of the Flemish Deputation. Keith Papers

The

The States announced their compliance with the wishes of their sovereign, the volunteers laid down their arms, and in return the march of the imperial troops was countermanded. Count Murray issued the edict which suppressed the new ordinances, re-established the ancient constitution, confirmed the Joyous Entry, and promised that conferences should be held with the States to adjust the subjects remaining in dispute.

These measures occasioned a temporary restoration of tranquillity. But it was soon evident that Joseph only suspended his projects to deceive his subjects, with the resolution to seize the first opportunity of dissolving the government by force or artifice. He dismissed count Murray, who had tranquillised the minds of the people. The army in the Netherlands was silently augmented, and the command intrusted to general d' Alton, a man of an undaunted and inflexible temper, and with the spirit of a rigid disciplinarian preferring coercion to lenity. Count Trautmansdorf was appointed minister plenipotentiary, ad interim, with instructions which prove the views and insincerity of the Emperor. He was ordered to consider the declaration of count Murray as extorted by fear, and consequently invalid; to hold no conference with the states on the subjects in dispute; to remove gradually all disaffected persons from their employments; but above all to effect a complete reform in the supreme council of Brabant, "without which" to use the words of the Emperor, "nothing could be done*." He was no less positively enjoined to commence his administration with the re-establishment of the general seminary at Louvain.

On the arrival of the minister at Brussels, he found the people in a state of general agitation, and with suspicions naturally inspired by the prevarications of the sovereign, watching all his proceedings Oct. 27, 1787.

* Le Conseil de Brabant, et les fiscaux qui sont les plus entêtés, et les plus mal intentionnés, et sans lesquels il n 'y a plus moyen de rien faire. Il y faudra donc une bonne reforme. "Lettre de l' Empereur au comte de Trautmansdorf, Vienne, Oct. 8, 1787." Trautmansdorf Fragmens pour servir à l' Histoire des Evenemens, aux Pays Bas, de 1787, à 1789. p. 9.

with

Chapter 50. 1787—1790.

with a jealous eye. He therefore suspended the execution of the decree for the suppression of the university during three months, and gained great popularity by this act of indulgence. The other preliminary demands were obtained without difficulty, and the subsidies which had been refused, unanimously voted, with a declaration, that this compliance was a testimony of gratitude for the appointment of a minister so agreeable to the nation.

Joseph, too ardent and arbitrary to listen to the dictates of prudence or justice, disapproved the suspension, and issued peremptory orders to establish the general seminary, whatever might be the consequence*. His views were warmly supported by general d'Alton, who was eager to bring the military force into action, and boasted that he could subjugate the whole Netherlands in six weeks. The minister plenipotentiary, reluctantly fulfilling an order of which he foresaw and deplored the fatal consequences, commanded the rector and other members of the university to submit to the plan of reform. The whole body appealing to the council of Brabant, he required the council to enforce the imperial decree. In reply to a spirited remonstrance, he reiterated his demands in a more absolute tone, allowed only two hours for deliberation, and threatened, in case of refusal, to employ force, and revoke all the recent concessions. At the same time d'Alton drew out a body of troops with artillery, near the house in which the council was assembled, and sent a detachment through the streets to awe the populace. The States however still undaunted, disdained to return an answer, and only ordered the message to be entered on their journals. The detachment which patroled the streets being insulted, fired on the populace; a tumult ensued in which six persons were killed, and several wounded, and d'Alton poured a body of troops into the town-house. But at this awful crisis Trautmansdorf again suspended the rising commotion by ceasing to press his demands, and by declaring that the general had drawn out the troops without his concurrence.

* Trautmansdorf, p. 12.

Intelligence

Intelligence of these proceedings being transmitted to Vienna, the emperor rewarded the officer who had ordered the troops to fire, and encouraged d'Alton to persist in coercive measures; yet with the same duplicity as before, he held forth to the natives the offer of a general amnesty and complete restitution of his favour. The Governors general who returned at this juncture, found the country in a state of apparent tranquillity, and the people impressed with hopes that Joseph had at length relinquished his impolitic designs. But within a few days after this public declaration, the university was again shut up, the rector banished for three years, and the refractory members expelled; while a body of troops stationed in the town slaughtered many of the inhabitants, who assembled to deplore the overthrow of that university which had been their pride and support. The general seminary was re-established; the colleges of Mechlin and Antwerp, celebrated for the education of youth destined to the ecclesiastical profession, were likewise closed, and the same measures of coercion employed against the inhabitants. May 27, 1788.

Soon after these violent proceedings the states of the different provinces assembled to grant the ordinary subsidies, and notwithstanding the causes of dissatisfaction, all complied with the usual custom except those of Hainault and Brabant. The states of Hainault were offended by the removal of their grand bailiff the duke of Aremberg, who had stood forth in defence of their rights, and the appointment of the count of Arberg, who was not a native of the province. In Brabant the nobles and clergy did not make a direct opposition; but the grant was witheld by the third estate, which was composed of the deputies from the three aggrieved cities of Antwerp, Louvain and Brussels. Their refusal drew from the emperor a severe address, in which he threatened to revoke the amnesty, to prosecute all who had taken part in the late troubles, to annul their privileges, and to abrogate the Joyous Entry. The states of Brabant, alarmed by these threats, sent a petition to deprecate the anger of the sovereign, and procured the suspension of the impending punishment. Those of Hainault persisting in their resolution, their assembly was dissolved by

Jan. 26. 1789.

Jan. 31.

Chapter 50. 1787–1790.

by the military force, their chiefs arrested, and their constitution abolished. Confident that this severe example would intimidate the refractory states of Brabant, Joseph announced his intention to make a change in their government, which should prevent a repetition of their contumacy, and secure the regular grant of a permanent subsidy, by extending the right of representation to other towns and districts.*

In the present temper of the country such an arbitary project excited general indignation. The two first orders of the states who had before preserved the appearance of obedience, refused to submit to a change in that constitution which they had sworn to maintain, and joined with the third estate in opposing the imperial mandate. All orders and ranks of people engaged in the dispute; parties of royalists and patriots were formed, and the whole province became a scene of civil commotion.

While Brabant was thus divided by internal feuds, Joseph seized the opportunity to overthrow the constitution. By his command the minister plenipotentiary summoned an extraordinary meeting of the states, and required their concurrence in the proposition for increasing the third order, and establishing a permanent subsidy; he also enjoined them to approve all the imperial edicts, which were not contrary to the Joyous Entry; and to extort submission, the house of assembly was surrounded with troops. The deputies however boldly refused their consent, exclaiming with one accord "though the emperor may dissolve "us, we will not violate a constitution which we have solemnly pledged "ourselves to preserve." In consequence of this refusal, the edict was enforced, the assembly dissolved, and the Joyous Entry annulled. The deputies repaired to the hall of the council of Brabant, and protested against these proceedings; but their protests were disregarded, and on the ensuing morning three imperial edicts proclaimed the dissolution of the antient constitution, the new arrangement for the ad-

* This plan was not without a precedent. In 1754, a similar change had taken place in Flanders, by granting the right of representation, originally confined to Ghent, Bruges and Ypres, to other cities and communities, on the condition of paying a permanent subsidy.

ministration

ministration of justice, and various alterations in the imposition and collection of the taxes.

Joseph fondly considered this event as the termination of the struggle; and d'Alton re-echoed his sentiments when he said, "the 18th of "June is a happy epoch for the House of Austria; for on that day, "the victory of Kolin saved the monarchy, and the emperor became "master of the Netherlands." But neither the infatuated monarch nor his sanguine general were acquainted with the resolution and sentiments of a free nation. Although the presence of the military prevented an immediate tumult, this apparent tranquillity was the calm which precedes the storm. The licentious spirit, which at this time agitated France, spread like an electric shock among a people who were provoked by repeated insults and oppressions; the patriots daily augmenting in numbers exulted in the hope of being assisted by their neighbours, and of forming a similar constitution on the ruins of the Austrian government. Vengeance and retaliation were denounced against the royalists; the walls, churches, and houses were covered with placards, calling on the people to imitate the example set by the citizens of Paris.

July 1789.

Trautmansdorf, who had before averted the danger by prudence and lenity, was now anxious to meet it with firmness. Aware that these commotions were fomented by France, Prussia, and some leading members of the Dutch government, and conscious that the imperial troops, who scarcely amounted to 20,000, were too few to awe a whole nation, he earnestly requested an accession of force. His apprehensions were ridiculed by d'Alton, who boasted that after sending a battalion of each regiment to the army in Hungary, he should still be able to maintain internal tranquillity; and Joseph reluctantly dispatched only a single regiment, "not because he deemed it necessary, but to encourage a timid government." The forebodings of the minister were too soon realised. Scarcely a month elapsed after the dissolution of the antient constitution, before the people tumultuously rose, in various districts, released the arrested persons, attacked the military, and plundered the houses of the magistrates. In

Chapter 50. 1787--1790.

these commotions many lives were lost at Tirlemont, Louvain, Antwerp, and Mons, before tranquillity could be restored; and at Diest, the patriots led on by the monks, expelled the imperial troops and the magistrates. Brussels being likewise the scene of a momentary effervescence, the minister proposed to disarm the citizens; but this measure was rejected by d'Alton, who presuming on the force of military discipline, contemptuously exclaimed "If they want arms, I will supply them."

July.

At this period many young men of Brussels, who had uttered seditious speeches, were sent without trial to serve in the army of Hungary; and in the agitated state of the public mind, this arbitary act spread through the nation indignant and sullen despondency. Emigrations took place from all quarters; the fugitives repairing to the frontiers of Holland and Liege, joined those who had quitted their country in the preceding troubles, and formed a numerous body, ready to act offensively against the government. They found an able chief in Vander Noot, a factious advocate of Brussels, who had taken an active part during the troubles, and at whose instigation the third estate had refused to grant the annual subsidy. Being arrested and condemned for treason, he had in 1787 escaped into England. After ineffectually endeavouring to obtain for his countrymen the protection and assistance of the British cabinet, he repaired to Berlin. Receiving from the king of Prussia only dubious promises, he went to Holland, where he was permitted to reside under a feigned name, by the connivance of the Dutch government, which on this occasion imitated the conduct of Joseph towards the exiles in the late revolution. He returned in 1789 to Breda, whither he drew the archbishop of Mechlin, the abbot of Tongaloo, Crumpiper, the chancellor of Brabant, many of the nobility from Brussels, almost all the members of the states, and Van Eupen, canon of Antwerp. By their efforts, the emigrants were disciplined, distributed in different parts of the neighbouring country, arms and ammunition secured, and a force amounting to 10,000 men organized and appointed. A committee was established

at

at Breda for the regulation of their proceedings, and their views seconded by another secret committee at Brussels. Chapter 50. 1787–1790.

In the midst of this ferment, the emperor strangely blending conciliation and severity, published a decree re-establishing the university of Louvain, in all its rights and privileges. This ridiculous versatility excited contempt instead of giving satisfaction, and produced no effect in allaying internal disaffection, or checking the efforts of the party in Holland. A regular plan of hostilities was digested by the chiefs of the insurgents, and Vander Mersch, an officer who had signalized himself in the imperial service, during the seven years war, was appointed commander. Vander Noot assumed the title of plenipotentiary agent of the people of Brabant, and a manifesto, under his signature, was published "in the name of the clergy and third estate of Brabant, in union with many of the nobility, renouncing their allegiance, and declaring that they no longer considered Joseph as their sovereign." This manifesto, as a declaration of war, was sent to the government, and followed by the march of the patriot army into Brabant.

With a view to counteract its effects, the government of Brussels ordered it to be burnt by the common executioner, and published a long vindication of the emperor, urging, that although he had abrogated the Joyous Entry, yet he had confirmed the essential principles of the constitution, the security of persons and property. To awe the disaffected within the walls, many persons of the first rank were arrested on a charge of conspiracy, the gates were shut, pallisadoes planted on the fortifications, the citizens disarmed, and active preparations made for defence.

Meanwhile hostilities commenced. A party of patriots marching from the neighbourhood of Breda, surprised the forts of Lillo and Liefgenshoek, on the Scheld, made the scanty garrisons prisoners, and conveyed the guardship and artillery to Bergen op Zoom. Another body of 3,000 men, under the comm and of Vander Mersch, penetrated to Turnhout, and though many were armed only with bludgeons, pitchforks, Oct. 25.

Chapter 50. 1787–1790.

pitchforks, and staves, and without cannon, they repulsed the imperial general Schroeder, who attacked them with 1,500 men. This unexpected victory, proclaimed a miracle by the monks, increased the spirit and numbers of the insurgents, while it disheartened the royalists. But on the approach of general d'Arberg with 7,000 men, the patriots retired within the Dutch territories, and concealing their arms, as usual, dispersed themselves in Dutch Brabant * and the neighbouring districts of Liege, waiting for a more favourable opportunity to renew their incursions.

While the imperial general remained at Hogstraten, watching the insurgents, they made a new and more effectual attempt on the side of Flanders. A body dispatched by Vander Mersch approached Ghent, seized two of the gates, and forcing their way into the town, were joined by the burghers with cannon and ammunition; the garrison of 1,200 men was overpowered by numbers, driven across the Scheld, and blockaded in the barracks of the fort of St. Pierre. D'Arberg with 3,000 men hastened to the scene of action, and occupied the citadel; but he was unable to stem the torrent of revolt. Bruges and Courtray declared for the rebels; new succours poured into Ghent; the fort of St. Pierre was stormed, the troops in the barracks made prisoners, and d'Arberg himself forced to retire in the night to Brussels. All Flanders was instantly emancipated; the states assembling at Ghent, published a declaration of independence, and invited the other provinces to form a general alliance. Terror and despondency spread to the seat of government, the Governors general quitted Brussels; d'Alton and Trautmansdorf, whose disputes were

Nov. 13-17. 1789.

* Though the protection which was given to the Flemish insurgents by the Dutch government is no doubt to be chiefly ascribed to the close political connection which subsisted between Berlin and the Hague, it was justified on the plea of retaliation, because the Dutch exiles who had fled from Holland, after the Revolution of 1787 (many of whom were actually under sentence of death or outlawry) were not only permitted to reside in the Austrian Netherlands, but were openly countenanced and caressed by the court of Brussels, and favoured in their enterprises against the established government.

increased

increased by the impending dangers, acted without concert; d'Alton concentrated his troops to make a last effort for the preservation of the capital, Trautmansdorf liberated the arrested persons, restored arms to the citizens, and issued no less than twenty two declarations in the name of the Emperor, hoping to conciliate the people by suppressing the seminary at Antwerp, re-establishing the Joyous Entry, and declaring an amnesty.

Of this confusion and alarm the patriot chiefs availed themselves with equal vigour, skill, and promptitude. Vander Mersch assembling a body of insurgents, made a new irruption into Brabant, seized Diest, and advancing to Tirlemont, threatened Louvain. D'Alton instantly marched against the rebels, but pressed by the insurgents of Flanders, and unwilling to risk a battle, which if unfortunate would have left him no hope of retreat, he suddenly concluded, with the acquiescence or consent of Trautmansdorf, an armistice for ten days, which was to be provisionally extended, with the consent of the states of Brabant. In this interval he hoped to turn his forces against Flanders; but every moment of delay was fatal to the imperial cause; the patriots anticipated his designs, seduced whole troops of his soldiers, augmented their party by new accessions of force, and organized an insurrection at Brussels, which terminated the struggle.

Encouraged by the versatile conduct of the government, and excited by the prospect of immediate succour, the inhabitants of the capital followed the example of the provinces. On the 8th of December the women and children endeavoured to demolish the entrenchments, and tore up the pallisadoes. The people assumed the national cockade; the streets resounded with the cries of "Long live the patriots! Long live Vander Noot!" The soldiers began to desert, and two companies of the regiment of Murray at once joined the patriots.

On the 11th an officer imprudently attempting to snatch a cockade from the hat of a burgher, a tumult ensued, and the inhabitants flew to arms. The imperial troops, separated and discouraged, were attacked

Chapter 50. 1787—1790.

tacked by different bands of the populace, assisted by the deserters, and after a conflict which continued the greater part of the night, were driven into the upper town. D'Alton, fallen from his former presumption, dreading the approach of Vander Mersch on one side, and the Flemish army on the other, doubtful of his troops, who were reduced to 5000 men, surrounded by secret and declared enemies, was happy to secure his retreat by a capitulation. He quitted Brussels on the evening of the 12th, leaving the cannon military chests and stores in the hands of the insurgents, and took the route to Luxemburgh, pillaging, plundering, and wasting the country as he passed. The example of the capital was followed by the other towns; the imperial troops successively retired from Antwerp, Louvain and Mechlin into Luxemburgh, and the governor, general Bender, assuming the command, prepared to defend that duchy which alone continued faithful to the House of Austria.

Trautmansdorf having withdrawn at the time of the capitulation, the government was dissolved, and after a few days the insurgents from Breda entered the capital in triumph. On the 26th of December the states of Brabant assumed the sovereign power, and declared themselves independent. Their example was followed by the states of the other provinces; a federal union was concluded by which the Netherlands were moulded into a confederacy, under the title of the United Belgic States, and a congress of deputies appointed to conduct the affairs of the new government.

Jan. 11. 1790.

The news of the revolution affected Joseph to an alarming degree, and made a deep impression on his mind, already weakened by bodily and mental infirmities. He burst into tears, complaining bitterly that he had been deceived by the intelligence from Brussels*; he acknowledged his total inability to devise measures for the recovery of those valuable dominions, and demanded the advice of Kaunitz whom he had yet scarcely deigned to consult on these

* Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches.

momentous

momentous events. By the suggestions of the minister, he consented to adopt conciliatory measures, and count Philip Cobenzl, who was supposed to possess great influence in the Low Countries, was dispatched to Brussels, to tranquillize the people, by revoking the late edicts, and restoring their rights and privileges. These measures were however adopted too late. When Cobenzl reached the frontier, all the provinces except Luxemburgh were in the possession of the insurgents, the congress was convoked to form a new constitution, and his overtures were rejected with disdain.

In this moment of distress Joseph found no resource. He in vain appealed to the empire; he in vain obtained a circular letter from the pope to the prelates of the Netherlands recommending them to return to obedience. Embarrassed by the Turkish war, deriving no assistance from the courts of Versailles and Petersburgh, his sole allies on the continent, he was reduced to the alternative of courting the interposition of Prussia, his inveterate enemy, England whom he had betrayed and insulted, and Holland whom he had despised and humbled. His haughty spirit was broken by calamity and disease; he grasped even at the shadow of a hope, and was eager to embrace any measure however degrading for the recovery of the Netherlands, even though he should reduce them again to that dependence on the Maritime Powers, from which it had been his boast to emancipate them. He hoped to conciliate Prussia by cessions on the side of Poland; he trusted that England would gladly tender her assistance to obtain the renewal of the Barrier Treaty; he relied on the jealousy which the independence of the Netherlands would excite in Holland, and the difficulty of joining the two republics in a federal union; he flattered himself that the chiefs of the different provinces would return to their allegiance and accept a free constitution under the guaranty of the Triple Alliance. But he was again deceived. England refused to interfere in a cause which was opposed by her great continental ally; Holland beheld his distress with indifference, if not with satisfaction; Frederic William, who was maturing a grand system

Chapter 50. 1787–1790.

for the reduction of Austria, fomented the discontents in the Netherlands, and exerted all his efforts to inflame that hostile spirit which pervaded every part of the hereditary dominions, and was rising against Joseph in the different courts of Europe.

* The contents of this chapter are drawn from Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches and Papers—Trautmansdorf Fragmens pour servir à l'Histoire des Evenemens aux Pays Bas de 1787 à 1789.—Pezzl ch 25. —Hamburgh Politisches Journal—Numerous pamphlets published during the contest, and private communications from persons of the most respectable authority.

CHAPTER 51.

1789—1790.

Commotions and Discontents in the Hereditary Countries, particularly in Hungary— JOSEPH *declines in health—Threatened by the King of Prussia—Revives the Constitution, and restores the Regalia of Hungary—His Sickness, Death, and Character—His Marriages.*

Chapter 51. 1789—1790.

THROUGHOUT the Hereditary Countries the same ferment prevailed as that which had preceded the explosion in the Netherlands. Addresses poured in from all quarters against the innovations of Joseph; and the principal members of the civil government represented in terms equally strong the difficulties which occurred in collecting the new land tax. In Hungary, where all the bonds which united every order of the nation were suddenly burst asunder, the discontents rose to an alarming height, and were inflamed by the severities used in enforcing the military levies, and exacting heavy contributions for the subsistence of the army. These unprecedented acts of authority were universally stigmatised as oppressive and unconstitutional; some counties granted only part, and more refused to comply with requisitions which they declared illegal and beyond their ability to fulfil. The Hungarian nobles also, in the same haughty tone in which they had formerly dictated to their kings, demanded the confirmation of their rights, the permission to resume their national dress, and the revival of their native language in the acts and records of the kingdom.

Oct. to Dec. 1789.

In the midst of these public distresses, the declining spirit of Joseph was troubled with domestic feuds. He had offended his brother Leopold, by an imprudent partiality to his nephew the archduke Francis,* who had been brought up under his auspices, and by

* Sir Robert Keith to the duke of Leeds, Sept. 26, 1789.

Chapter 51. 1789—1790.

an unjustifiable attempt to secure for him the reversion of the imperial crown. This impolitic attempt to raise the son above the father, had created an incurable jealousy between the two brothers; and Leopold not only censured every part of Joseph's conduct, both in regard to internal and external policy, but sedulously avoided even an interview or any species of communication which might implicate him in the transactions or embarrassments of his brother.

Joseph sunk under the struggle of contending passions, the weight of accumulated calamities, and the effects of disease. The same languor which prevailed in the chamber of the sick monarch, was for a time diffused through every department of state: although a war with Prussia seemed inevitable, he neither formed magazines nor made the necessary augmentations of the army; equally unable to avert, and unwilling to encounter the danger, he displayed the extremes of anxiety, alarm, and irresolution. But as the storm approached, his mind regained a portion of its pristine activity, and he

Feb. 1790.

commenced the requisite preparations for impending hostilities*. He felt also the necessity of conciliating his subjects to frustrate the designs of Prussia, which were founded on their growing disaffection, and yielded to the irresistible conviction that nothing less than a total change of measures could preserve his tottering throne. He accordingly revoked many of his unpopular edicts, and prepared to rescind many others; he re-established the provincial states, and exhorted them to employ their authority in support of law and good order. He received the haughty demands of the Hungarians with condescension and complacency, restored their constitution as it existed at his accession, promised to solemnise the ceremony of his coronation early in the ensuing year, and as an earnest of his intentions, sent back the crown of St. Stephen.

The rapture with which the crown was received, proved the precipitation and folly of wantonly shocking the feelings of a people so susceptible of national prejudice, and so awake to national honour.

* Sir Robert Keith to the duke of Leeds, Feb. 3, 1790.

Triumphal

Triumphal arches were erected in its passage, every town was a scene of festivity, numbers flocking from all quarters swelled the cavalcade, and at Buda exulting multitudes crowding to the Cathedral welcomed the precious palladium of their national splendour and freedom. In delivering this valued deposit to the keepers of the regalia, the public notary addressed them in the name of the magistrates and burghers. "Venerable nobles, guardians of the sacred and royal crown. This crown, which heretofore the archbishop of Colotza brought under the auspices of Divine Providence, from Pope Sylvester the second, to St. Stephen, which during the disastrous times of queen Isabella was removed from the city, we now see restored, as an omen of long expected happiness to the ancient capital of Hungary. The people rejoice, the citizens are delighted, the nobles exult; all the states and orders of the kingdom congratulate each other on the fulfilment of their wishes. And not undeservedly. Happy is our country in again possessing this royal diadem, preserved from so many imminent dangers, and now restored to her bosom, as a pledge of the revival of our antient glory. This event will always be considered as an object of triumph by the present age, and of applause by the latest posterity. Let us return our unbounded thanks, with submissive homage, to our gracious sovereign; let us, the inhabitants of Buda, to whom is consigned the honour of possessing this sacred treasure, consecrate this day as a solemn festival, and bind ourselves by oath, to offer up our lives and fortunes in assisting you, most noble lords, and keepers of the crown, to preserve this royal ornament for the happiness and glory of the Hungarian nation."

At night the crown was removed into the chapel of the palace, and guarded by two magistrates with drawn sabres. The whole city was illuminated, the streets resounded with songs of joy and exultation, and on every side was heard the exclamation, "Long live the liberties of the Hungarian people*."

* Schloetzers Staats—Anzeigen 14. Band, p. 134.

But

Chapter 51. 1789–1790.

But Joseph did not live to experience the good effects of this change of conduct; for at this awful crisis his reign and life were hastening to a close. Though naturally robust and hardy, his incessant exertions of body and mind had worn down his frame; and the campaign of 1781 accelerated his decay. He exposed himself to the sultry heats of the summer, and to the noxious air which exhaled from the marshes in the vicinity of the Danube, where he often slept on the bare ground. He was his own minister and general; by day he encountered the fatigues of a common soldier, and regulated the complicated affairs of the army; at night he scarcely allowed himself more than five hours for repose, conducting with his own hand, the extensive correspondence relative to all the affairs of his vast empire.

In December 1788 a fever, derived from anxiety, hardship, and fatigue, compelled him to retire to Vienna. During several months he was in considerable danger, and was afterwards long confined, by an asthmatic complaint. With extreme care and attention he seemed to recover gradually; but was still in a state of convalescence, when his incessant restlessness, and the fatal revolution in the Netherlands, occasioned a relapse. His complaints returned with new force, his irritation of spirits was extreme; he sought relief in perpetual change of place, and finally sunk under accumulated disorders of body and mind.

Joseph closed his life with great marks of piety and contrition. From the example of his mother and the effects of education, he died a sincere Christian; and in the midst of his complicated sufferings, the irritability of temper which in health formed a prominent feature of his character, gave way to sentiments of patience and resignation. Finding himself rapidly declining, he assembled his physicians, and earnestly exhorted them to inform him, whether there were any hopes of amendment. He received their prognostic of his impending dissolution with the greatest firmness, and dispatched a letter, requesting the immediate presence of his brother Leopold. He then prepared

prepared himself for his approaching end, by performing all the ceremonies of the church, and received the holy sacrament, and extreme unction, with marks of sincere contrition, and humble submission to the decrees of Providence.

Notwithstanding the pressure of a long and afflicting malady, the activity of his mind did not forsake him, and he never discontinued the use of his pen. After a violent attack of his disorder, one of the physicians inculcating the necessity of repose, he replied, I have been so much accustomed to business that it will be irksome to be unemployed, especially at a time when the welfare of my subjects requires all my attention. He therefore continued, almost without intermission, to direct the affairs of government, though in the midst of the most excruciating torments. A short time before his dissolution, he dictated the last observations on business, which he sent to prince Kaunitz for his advice and opinion, and returned an affectionate reply to the condolence of the minister:

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

Penetrated by the kindness of your expressions what can I say, but that I resign myself to the decrees of Providence? Receive, I entreat you, my assurances of the most perfect gratitude and esteem, and of the confidence to which you are above all entitled. It afflicts me to think that I never more can avail myself of your wise counsels. I embrace you, and recommend to you in these moments of danger, my country, which lies nearest my heart."

He at the same time made his last declaration to the army through count Haddick, president of the council of war. "Feeling," he said, "the approach of death, I should deem myself highly ungrateful did I not express my entire satisfaction at the fidelity, bravery, and promptitude which my army has displayed on all occasions. To be a soldier, was ever my warmest desire; to promote the honour and welfare of my troops my principal care. As a sovereign, I have directed my chief endeavours to that end; and as a companion in war,

Chapter 51. 1789–1790.

war, I vied with them in sharing their hardships and dangers. Whatever could assist in the recovery of the sick and wounded, or contribute to their comfort and preservation, was never omitted, and every soldier was to me an object of regard".

"The last campaign has fully answered my most sanguine wishes for the honour of my arms; and my troops have acquired that fame throughout Europe, which they highly deserved. I shall carry with me to the grave the consoling conviction that they will continue by their actions to merit so just a reputation. As from henceforwards all my cares for my army must cease, I cannot omit thus publicly expressing my grateful sentiments, accompanied with my wish that it will continue to be as faithful to my successor and to the state as it has always been to me"*.

Enfeebled by incessant sufferings, his dissolution was accelerated by the unexpected death of his beloved niece the archduchess Elisabeth, a princess of the House of Wirtemberg, and sister to the great duchess of Russia. He had himself chosen this amiable princess to be the consort of his favourite nephew Francis, and loved her with paternal fondness, while she looked up to him with filial reverence and affection. Being in a state of pregnancy, her anxiety for his sufferings occasioned a premature delivery, which became fatal. On receiving the melancholy intelligence, the emperor smote his forehead with his hands, remained for some time absorbed in grief, and at length exclaimed "Oh God, thy will be done!"

In the midst of his agony he had the courage to support an interview of three hours with his nephew; but although his firmness of mind did not give way, his bodily strength could not resist so awful a shock. Feeling the approach of death he summoned his confessor at three in the morning, and devoutly heard the prayers ordered by the church for persons in the last agonies. Though his sight failed, his senses remained unimpaired till the last moment, and between five and six he expired with perfect composure, and almost without a groan,

February 20.

* Pezzl Characteristic Josephs II. p. 269.

in

in the forty ninth year of his age and the tenth of his reign. His features were not distorted, and his countenance bore the appearance of a sick person sleeping; though he was extenuated to a mere skeleton, and his emaciated state shocked all who appoached him *.

His testament contained only a few lines, by which he declared Leopold his universal heir; but a codicil annexed proved a grateful and affectionate disposition, for he ordered that all employed about his person, should receive their whole salary during their lives.

On the table in his cabinet were found several letters written the preceding day, which equally displayed the calmness of his mind, and the warmth of his feelings. One of them in a trembling hand, was addressed to some ladies of high distinction, whose society he had long frequented.

" To the five ladies † who bore with my society."

" The moment draws near in which it is time to take a last farewell, and to thank you for the patience and kindness you have shewn me, for so many years, during which I have never regretted one day passed in your company. The idea of quitting it is the only act of resignation that gives me pain. In regard to myself, I cannot be sufficiently grateful for the decrees of Providence, relying on whom I wait my dissolution with perfect resignation. Remember me, and think of me also in your prayers. You will see by my writing, the state I am in. Once more adieu!"

The other letter to count Rosenberg, he dictated a few hours before his death.

" MY DEAR COUNT ROSENBERG,

Friendship is in general limited, but yours knows no bounds. Is it then possible for me to leave this world without again testifying to you my gratitude for all your acts of kindness,

* This account of his death is taken from sir Robert Keith's dispatches, and from some letters of the countess Thun, and other communications from Vienna.

† Princesses Frances and Charles Lichtenstein, countesses Clary, Kinski, and Kaunitz.

The originals of these letters, which were written in the French language, were communicated by the countess Thun.

Chapter 51. 1789—1790.

for all the restraints to which you have submitted on my account, but particularly in my long illness, during which you have wholly devoted yourself to my relief and comfort? The wisdom and goodness of your counsels, and your invariable attachment till this last moment of my life, penetrate me with gratitude and friendship. Receive then these assurances, and believe that my regret in leaving this world is derived from parting with a few friends, and the consciousness that it will give them pain. Adieu! I embrace you with my whole heart. Remember me."

We have already delineated the character of Joseph as it appeared at his accession; it now remains to describe his person and manners, and display those principles and qualities which were developed in the course of his reign.

He was of the middle stature, active, and well proportioned, capable of enduring great fatigue, and expert in all bodily exercises. His physiognomy was strikingly expressive, his complexion remarkably fair, his features were strongly marked, he had a high forehead and acquiline nose, and the keenness of his eye evinced penetration and sagacity. Like his great ancestor Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, the cast of his countenance was serious and thoughtful, but in conversation became animated, and his smile was peculiarly gracious and benign. His deportment was easy, perhaps too familiar, his address insinuating, his manners pleasing and affable.

He was kind and liberal to his domestics, and condescending to those whom he honoured with his friendship and esteem. He was sober, œconomical, temperate, and almost mechanically regular in his mode of life; though fond of female society, he never countenanced any breach of good morals by a public attachment to a mistress, and prided himself on never allowing a woman, however great her merit or her talents, to sway his decisions, or interfere in political affairs †.

But

† Mr. Wraxall speaking of his platonic attachment to the princess Charles Lichtenstein observes "She disclaims even the smallest political influence or credit with him. I have heard her do so; as he on his side frequently cites a maxim from which

But his great and amiable qualities were counteracted by a restlessness of temper, and a rage for innovation, which were with difficulty controlled even in his youth, by the calm judgment and wary circumspection of his mother; defects aggravated by inflexibility of mind, and by a spirit of despotism derived from his high birth, and fostered by his confined education*. To these may be added, an habitual duplicity, and a disregard of the most solemn engagements, which sunk him in the opinion of Europe, and deprived him at once of the love of his subjects, and the confidence of his allies.

A wise statesman will always consult the genius and temper of his people, and make even prejudice and superstition subservient to the general good. Joseph, unfortunately for himself and for Europe, acted in direct contradiction to this plain rule; he attempted to abolish deep-rooted institutions, and to extirpate prejudices and opinions which had been consecrated by ages. He expected that to be the work of a moment which could only be the gradual operation of successive years; he never distinguished what was just or specious in theory, from what was reducible to practice. He blended metaphysical subtleties with moral and political regulations, and endeavoured to accommodate the rights of nations and individuals to abstract principles. To use the words of his rival Frederick

which no sovereign should deviate. It is, that princes never ought to allow a woman, let her merit or talents be what they may, to acquire an ascendency over their affections, on account of the political consequences which must always result from such a passion." Memoirs of the courts of Berlin, &c. V. 2. p. 411.

* His mother bore testimony to his inflexible character when she said to a celebrated artist, I teach my son to love the arts, which may tend to soften his mind, for he has a hard heart. She no less regretted his restlessness of temper, and rage for innovation. "My son," she said to a lady of her court, "desires me to dismantle the fortifications of Vienna. I am an old woman, I almost remember when Vienna was besieged by the Turks, and that unless the capital had been capable of withstanding a blockade until it was relieved by John Sobieski, the Ottoman hordes would have ravaged the Hereditary Dominions, and even overrun the empire. I have myself twice seen Vienna almost the frontier of my dominions. Let Joseph act as he pleases when I am dead, but while I live, Vienna shall not be dismantled."

Chapter 51. 1789—1790.

the Second, whom he awkwardly mimicked, "his head was a confused magazine of dispatches, decrees, and projects." With the most thoughtless precipitation, he made laws before he had removed the obstacles to their execution, or could discover and remedy their defects, and changed them with the same precipitation as they were made. Hence he issued an amazing number of ordinances and rescripts, many of which being ill digested or ambiguous, were seldom carried into execution. Couriers were dispatched upon couriers contracting preceding orders, and every new edict was modified or limited by additional decrees. He joined the opposite extremes of obstinacy and indecision; rashness in planning, and weakness in execution. Vain of his own abilities, and despising those of others, he often declared that the most trifling establishment required his personal inspection, and he investigated the details of office, with a minuteness which was incompatible with a proper attention to higher views and more important objects.

The specious and plausible professions of Joseph, have misled superficial observers to form an erroneous idea of his character, and to attribute all his actions solely to an earnest desire of promoting the happiness of his people. His edicts, letters, and conversation were indeed filled with the cant of affected philanthropy, but it will appear from the account of his reign, that in reality he concealed despotism and ambition under the mask of philosophy and benevolence. For what could be more adverse to the freedom he pretended to found on the ruins of feudal oppression, than the general and forcible establishment of a military conscription? What more galling and oppressive than the enormous tax which he attempted to impose on land? What more adverse to happiness than an unqualified violation of long established privileges, and the suppression of the most delicate and grateful feelings of the human mind? Or what more opposite to the whole tenour of his professions, and his repeated wishes to rule over free-men, than the institution of a government which reduced despotism to a system, and which subjected all ranks and orders to the nod of the sovereign without check, and without controul.

With

With this character and these principles, it is no wonder that his reign was a continued scene of agitation and disappointment, and that his plans of reform, however beneficial in many particulars, excited general discontent, and provoked an opposition which threatened the very existence of his empire. In fact he himself bore witness to the folly, the inconsistency, and the impracticability of his schemes, when at the close of his life, he said, I would have engraven on my tomb "Here lies a sovereign, who with the best intentions never carried a single project into execution."

Joseph was twice married. His first wife was Elizabeth Maria, daughter of Philip duke of Parma, a princess of great beauty and accomplishments. She inherited the constitutional melancholy of her grandfather Philip the Fifth, and her distempered imagination was haunted by the apprehensions of death, which neither the pleasures of a court, nor the unremitted attentions of an affectionate husband, could remove. She died in the prime of youth, of the small pox, and left a daughter who survived her only seven years *. Nov. 1763.

Joseph was long inconsolable for her loss, and always cherished the warmest affection for her memory; he loved to talk of her, constantly wore her picture, and expatiated with unabated pleasure on her charms and accomplishments.

His second wife was Maria Josepha, princess of Bavaria, daughter of the emperor Charles the Seventh, whom he espoused in 1765. Joseph was reluctantly induced to conclude this marriage by the importunities of his parents, and the prospect of obtaining the allodial inheritance of her brother. But as the princess was deficient in personal charms and mental accomplishments, she never acquired his affection, and he treated her with extreme coldness and neglect. A violent scorbutic humour with which she was afflicted, changed his indifference into disgust; he did not attempt to conceal his aversion, but unfeelingly dwelt on her defects, and drew an invidious

* For some interesting anecdotes relating to the death of this princess, See Wraxall's Memoirs of the court of Berlin, Vienna, &c. Letter 33.

com-

Chapter 51. 1789–1790.

comparison between her and his former wife. The unfortunate princess, who loved him with ardour, was deeply affected by his unkindness; being of a meek and timid disposition, and conscious of her own inferiority, she trembled and turned pale whenever she came into his presence. Death dissolved this ill assorted union before the close of the second year, and the young empress fell a sacrifice to the same disorder, which had proved fatal to her predecessor*.

May, 1767.

Either from the attachment which he cherished to the memory of his first wife, or from the chagrin which he experienced during his second marriage, Joseph did not again enter into the bands of wedlock, and dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Leopold.

* Wraxall's Memoirs, as before.

For the reign of Joseph the Second, Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches and Papers have furnished abundant materials; and to these I have been enabled to add numerous anecdotes derived from private information. The printed authorities are, Caraccioli Vie de Joseph II. Pezzl Charakteristic, Josephs II—Heinrich, Vol. 8.—De Luca, V. 2. art. Joseph II. and the Oeuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, besides the official documents in periodical publications, too numerous to be referred to.

CHAPTER 52.

1790.

Accession of LEOPOLD *the Second—His prudent Conduct towards his new Subjects—Opens a Negotiation with the King of Prussia and England—Convention of Reichenbach—Armistice with the Turks—Peace of Szistova—Dismission of the Prussian Minister Hertzberg, and Decline of the Influence so long possessed by Kaunitz—* LEOPOLD *elected and crowned Emperor of Germany.*

Chapter 52. 1790.

LEOPOLD the Second ascended the tottering throne vacated by the death of his brother in the forty-third year of his age. Wherever he turned his eyes, he saw himself surrounded by dangers; his monarchy was shaken to its very foundations; and all parts of his vast dominions were either agitated by intestine commotions or the scene of open rebellion. The Netherlands erected into an independent republic, seemed irrecoverably torn from his empire. In Bohemia and Lower Austria the states presented a remonstrance against the new Land Tax, and purposed to follow this appeal with a general representation of their numerous grievances, and an earnest demand of redress. In Hungary the ferment had risen almost to rebellion, notwithstanding the restitution of the privileges, extorted from the late sovereign. It was urged by the disaffected that as Joseph was never crowned and had violated the fundamental laws of the realm, his despotic conduct had abrogated the rule of succession; that Leopold had therefore no hereditary claim to the throne, and that the antient right of electing the monarch reverted to the nation. In the full confidence of their strength they anticipated the exercise of this darling privilege: "Hungary" they exclaimed "has no need of an Austrian king*.

Nor was the aspect of Europe in general more favourable to the House of Austria.

* Memoirs of Baron Trenk, p. 286.

England

Chapter 52. 1790.

England had been driven by repeated acts of insult and duplicity, and by the intimate connection of the court of Vienna with France, to abandon the hope too long cherished, of renewing the antient league which had rescued the House of Austria from the brink of destruction, and maintained the safety of Europe. As a counterpoise to the union of Austria and France she had, as at the commencement of the seven years war, formed a strict alliance with the king of Prussia, which placed at her disposal the first military power of Germany. She had also rescued Holland from the trammels of France, and was preparing measures to render her political and commercial regulations independent of Austria and Russia, and to resume her former ascendency on the continent. She had rescued the king of Sweden from the dangers of a Danish invasion, and she purposed to force the two imperial courts to relinquish their conquests from the Porte; she had assisted in liberating Poland from the domination of Russia, and promoted the re-establishment of the hereditary monarchy as the means of restoring that degraded country to its pristine splendour. She was endeavouring to open new channels for the transport of naval stores, and other necessary commodities hitherto exclusively drawn from Russia; and by assisting Prussia to obtain Dantzig and Thorn from the Poles for equivalent advantages, she hoped at once to unite the two powers in promoting the interests of her trade, and to gratify a prince whose agency had contributed to her ascendency.

Frederic William king of Prussia, from habit, interests, and personal feelings hostile to the House of Austria, was concentrating all his efforts to secure that preponderance in Germany, which had been so long and so ably contested by Frederic the Second. Besides the engagements which he had formed in common with the Maritime Powers, he had entered into connections with Poland, to purchase the cession of Dantzig and Thorn, by the grant of commercial advantages and the promise of recovering Galicia. He also concluded an alliance with the Porte for obtaining the restitution of the provinces lost during the existing war, and even of the Crimea, and for securing the eventual support of the Ottoman power in wresting Galicia from Austria.

Jan. 29. 1790.

Though

Though this alliance was concluded only between Prussia and the Porte it was conceived in terms to comprise Poland and Sweden, and to unite in the same bond the Maritime Powers, by the stipulation that no peace should be concluded without their consent and under their mediation*. This treaty he held like the sword of Damocles suspended over the head of the emperor, and dispatched his confidential adjutant colonel Goetz, to enter into military arrangements with the Porte. He fomented the internal troubles in every part of the Austrian dominions, suffered his officers to assist the insurgents in the Netherlands, permitted a committee of disaffected Hungarians to hold their meetings at Berlin, and was ready to engage in a war against the House of Austria, if he could not otherwise realise his views for the increase of his political influence, and for territorial aggrandisement. Chapter 52. 1790.

In regard to the secondary powers united in this alliance; Holland obeyed the impulse of England and Prussia; Sweden relied on their assistance for support against Russia and Denmark; the Poles, grateful for their recent deliverance, looked forward with hope to the intended change of their government, and the recovery of Galicia, and were ready to make every reasonable sacrifice for the gratification of those powers to whom they owed a gleam of independence.

To resist this great combination, Leopold had no other ally except Russia, who was too much employed in the war with Turky, to afford him effectual assistance. The French revolution had burst asunder

* The king of Prussia and his minister Hertzberg, affected to consider this alliance as merely defensive, and as comprising the simple status quo, or actual possession before the war; because baron Diez, by whom it was concluded, according to their declarations, exceeded his instructions, and because it was not ratified in specific terms. This declaration is however disproved by the treaty itself, and by the ratification, which after being long delayed, was given in terms adapted to the uncertain situation of the Prussian court, comprising as circumstances might permit, either the complete fulfilment of the treaty, or only the restoration of the status quo. The subsequent letters of Frederic William to Leopold, also allude to the treaty in the same ambiguous manner, as, "an engagement equally sacred as the Polish alliance, yet allowing him time to listen to the desires of Austria for peace." Hertzberg Recueil, t. 3. p 36, & seq.

Chapter 52. 1790.

the bands of amity formed by the treaty of Versailles, and the most powerful party in the nation not only inflamed the commotions in the Netherlands, and grasped in imagination so valuable a territory; but endeavoured to animate the people with that political antipathy which in preceding times had given rise to the bloody contests between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon.

The character and genius of Leopold did not appear equal to the difficulties of his arduous situation. From the petty dominions of Tuscany, where a single province had been the limit of his tranquil sovereignty, and internal regulations the utmost effort of his counsels, he was called to the government of a vast empire, exhausted of resources, torn with discontents, deprived of its richest territories, and involved in foreign and domestic war. The wisdom of his administration had indeed been extolled, and he had doubtless introduced many changes highly beneficial to the subjects of his petty principality. He had restrained within proper bounds the feudal authority of the nobles, reformed the courts of justice, and meliorated the penal laws; he had encouraged agriculture, suppressed the onerous privileges of the capital, and extended to all his people without distinction, the benefits of commercial intercourse. But he had in various instances shewn the same arbitrary spirit of innovation, both in religious and civil affairs, the same fondness for minute detail, the same rage for multiplying laws, which had been so detrimental to Joseph the Second, and by the encouragement of spies, he had evinced a prying curiosity into the actions of his subjects, beneath a great mind, and unbecoming the dignity of his high station.

Such being the state of the monarchy and the character of the sovereign, a painful suspense prevailed at the capital. Some were apprehensive lest he should adopt a system of Italian policy; the higher orders dreaded that spirit of reform which he had displayed in Tuscany; but the greater part placed a firm reliance on his pacific principles, his love of justice and order, his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, and his general disapprobation of the plans introduced by his brother. All regretted his

his absence; all agreed in deeming every moment precious which might be employed in averting, by prudent counsels, the dangers of a rupture with Prussia, Poland, and the Maritime Powers, or in adopting prompt and vigorous measures to encounter their joint hostilities*. Chapter 52. 1790.

The wisdom, mildness, and address of Leopold, soon dissipated all alarms. In his journey from Florence to Vienna, he received with the most winning affability, the deputies of those provincial states who presented remonstrances against the new land tax, and other regulations introduced during the late reign. He explained with great condescension, and an extensive knowledge of local circumstances, his salutary views for the restoration of internal tranquillity; he assured them that he considered the provincial states as the pillars of the monarchy, and was determined to reinstate them in all their antient privileges, and to avail himself of their assistance in combining his interests with those of his people†.

On his arrival at Vienna, he proved the sincerity of his professions. He restored the etiquette established in the time of Maria Theresa, and revived the regular mode of audience which had been abolished by Joseph. He received the deputies of the provincial states with condescension and confidence, encouraged them to point out each particular grievance, and exhorted them to assist in applying the appropriate remedy, that he might be enabled to establish the happiness and prosperity of all his subjects on a permanent basis. From this happy beginning, the most sanguine hopes were entertained that the new reign would be distinguished by mildness and beneficence, by the love of truth and impartial justice, as the last had been disgraced by unprovoked aggression, by wild, theoretical, and despotic innovation. March 12, 1790.

The important points which demanded the attention of Leopold were, to compose the discontents in the Hereditary countries, to re-

* Sir Robert Keith's Dispatches, March and April, 1790.

† Sir Robert Keith to the duke of Leeds, Vienna, March 17, 1790.

Chapter 52. 1790.

cover the Netherlands, to secure a speedy and honourable peace with the Turks, to effect a reconciliation with Prussia, and to obtain the imperial crown.

Well aware that the success of all his endeavours would ultimately depend on an accommodation with Prussia and the Maritime Powers, he had scarcely reached Vienna before he opened a direct correspondence with Frederic William, in which he justified the continuance of the war against the Turks, expressed his alarm at the recent alliance with the Porte, and offered to conclude peace, on the condition of retaining the territories secured to Austria by the treaty of Passarovitz. Yet while thus earnestly courting peace, he did not act with indecision or weakness. He hastened to repair the losses of his army, and assembled a considerable force in Bohemia and Moravia, to resist any sudden attack on the part of Prussia. He intrusted to Loudon the command of this force, but to avoid the slightest pretext for aggression, he ordered him to form a cordon from Leutmeritz to Jablunka, at a considerable distance from the Prussian frontier.

In his letters to the king of Prussia, he apologized for these precautions. "In the present crisis," he said "prudence will not allow me to omit proper measures for the defence of my states in case of attack. Your majesty, I am convinced, would have taken the same precautions on a similar occasion; it is in your power to stop these armaments, and confer a great obligation on me, by explaining your intentions and removing all my doubts."

After announcing his resolution to solicit the imperial dignity, and requesting the concurrence of Prussia, he added, "In future, I solemnly protest no views of aggrandisement will ever enter into my political system. I will doubtless employ all the means in my possession to defend my country, should I unfortunately be driven to such measures; but I will endeavour to give no umbrage. To your majesty, in particular, I will act as you act towards me, and will spare no efforts to preserve perfect harmony. I will use my utmost endeavours to acquire the confidence of my co-estates of the empire, and in regard to the Germanic association, I protest, that should I be invited, I would

I would not hesitate to accede, provided its stipulations were rendered common and reciprocal.

"I have always professed moderation and good faith. I have just shewn an unequivocal proof of my sentiments by my conduct towards my Belgic subjects, to which I trust all Europe will give its due value, and as the common cause of all sovereigns is concerned on this occasion, they will be interested in my favour*. If however, the states and people of the Netherlands should not accept this proof of my solicitude for their future prosperity, if they should compel me to have recourse to those measures which my power and dignity will force me unwillingly to employ, no one can consider such a determination otherwise than just and reasonable†."

Overtures so candid met with a suitable return. In reply, Frederic William proposed to adopt as the basis of a general pacification either the status quo before the war, which was suggested by Great Britain, or a general arrangement adapted to the interests of the respective powers, by proportionate exchanges equivalents and compensations, which he himself preferred. In proposing this alternative, his object was to acquire Dantzic and Thorn, by extorting from the House of Austria a considerable part of Galicia, as an indemnification for Poland, and repaying this cession by procuring from the Turks the provinces ceded to Charles the Sixth, at the peace of Passarovitz. To secure the acquiescence of Leopold, he promised not to oppose the recovery of the Netherlands, and to give his vote at the ensuing election to the imperial crown; he at the same time, artfully held out the threat of making a common cause with the Porte in virtue of the recent alliance.

Some modifications were respectively brought forward by both parties, and an armistice with the Turks suggested by England. But Leopold, anxious to push his success before the king of Prussia could take part in the contest, rejected an armistice, and redoubled

* See the Chapter on the Netherlands.

† Correspondence des Rois de Prusse, et de Hongrie, sur la guerre entre les deux cours Imperiales, et la Porte Ottomanne. Hertzberg, t. 3. p. 50—74.

Chapter 52. 1790.

his efforts for the prosecution of the war. The grand Vizir having been strangled for his defeat at Rymnik, was succeeded by Hassan Pasha; and the Prince of Coburgh was intrusted with the direction of the Austrian army on the Danube, in consequence of the removal of Loudon to command the troops on the Prussian frontier. After a long blockade, the garrison of Orsova being alarmed by an earthquake, abandoned the place, and the Austrians hastened to besiege Widdin and Giurgevo. But the threats of the king of Prussia prevented the prosecution of the siege of Widdin; while at Giurgevo they were attacked by the Turks, and after a desperate engagement driven from their lines. This was the last action of the war; because the transactions on the Prussian frontiers soon occasioned the conclusion of an armistice.

Reinforcements had continued to pour into Bohemia and Moravia; while Frederic William, after detaching a force on the side of Poland, led a considerable army into Silesia, and took up his head quarters between Frankenstein and Reichenbach. During the pause which the approach of the two armies occasioned, the negotiations were renewed, and a congress formed at Reichenbach by the Austrian, Prussian, English, and Dutch plenipotentiaries. The king of Prussia seemed determined not to recede from his purpose of acquiring Dantzic and Thorn, and Leopold was equally resolved not to yield the fertile and populous district of Galicia, with the valuable salt mines of Vielitza, for what he termed the barren districts possessed by the House of Austria at the peace of Passarovitz. During this fruitless discussion Leopold artfully opened a separate communication with Great Britain, on whom the decision of this important contest ultimately depended; and fortunately the British cabinet and nation still fostered a predilection for Austria, which all past provocations had not obliterated. Unwilling to lessen her territories they did not approve the proposed restoration of Galicia as a compensation to Poland for Dantzic and Thorn, and were no less anxious to prevent any dismemberment of the Turkish dominions. They endeavoured therefore to promote a separate peace between Leopold and the Porte,

on

on the condition of restoring all conquests made during the war, and hoped afterwards to extort the acquiescence of Russia in similar terms. They were equally anxious to effect the restoration of the Netherlands to the House of Austria, with the revival of the Barrier Treaty, and the re-establishment of the antient constitution under the joint guaranty of Great Britain, Prussia and Holland. Chapter 52. 1790.

Leopold, acquainted with the sentiments of the British cabinet, gained their confidence, and turned their assistance to the promotion of his own views with consummate address. He expressed to the British minister at Vienna his conviction, that from the character of the sovereign, the wisdom of the administration, and the national influence, England was the only power which would restore general tranquillity; he affected a candid and implicit acquiescence in her wishes, and declared his readiness to accept the terms proposed by the king of England, except a trifling extention of frontier, necessary for the maintenance of peace and security. This extension was the town and territory of Old Orsova, and a similar district in Croatia, which gave the Turks a footing beyond the Danube and the Una. He expressed also his readiness to receive the Netherlands with their antient constitution, and to revive the Barrier Treaty; but he artfully hinted that an unsuccessful war would drive him to the necessity of relinquishing a part of those countries to France, to purchase her assistance in recovering the remainder*. By this conduct, and these lures, he drew from the Maritime Powers a public declaration that they would not co-operate in the re-establishment of peace with the Porte, except on the basis of the status, quo or actual possession before the war, and that they should not deem themselves bound to take part in a contest which might ensue from the perseverance of the king of Prussia in his demand of Dantzic and Thorn, and the cession of Galicia.

Frederic William, thus unsupported by the Maritime Powers, alarmed lest the Turks should be alienated by his proposal to dismember their territories, and aware that the Poles could not be induced

* Sir Robert Keith to the duke of Leeds, Vienna, May 11, 1790.

to

Chapter 52. 1790.

to cede Dantzic and Thorn, the two barriers of their country, without a proper equivalent, adopted more pacific sentiments. His decision was hastened by the artful threat of Leopold, that he would not hesitate to purchase a peace from the Turks by the restitution of all his conquests, in order to turn his whole force against Prussia. The discussion was therefore soon brought to a conclusion, and a Convention signed at Reichenbach, by which Leopold agreed to enter into an armistice with the Turks, to open a negotiation for peace under the mediation of the Maritime Powers, on the basis of the status quo, and to give an equivalent to Prussia should he obtain any advantage or acquisition from the Porte. He also engaged not to assist Russia, should the attempts to conclude a peace between her and the Porte fail of success; and he consented to restore to the Netherlands their antient constitution and privileges, under the guaranty of the three allied powers.

August 5. 1790.

On the signature of this convention, the two armies withdrew from the frontiers; and by the intervention of Prussia an armistice was concluded between Austria and the Porte, at Giurgevo for nine months. A congress of plenipotentiaries from Austria, Turky, and the mediating powers, was soon afterwards assembled at Szistova, and all the subjects of contention seemed on the point of being arranged by an amicable compromise. The negotiation was, however, suspended by a dispute relative to the cession of Old Orsova and the district on the Unna, which Frederic William considered as a breach of the convention, and required an equivalent. Leopold persisting in his demand, asserted that those cessions were trifling in themselves, and necessary for the security of his frontier; he argued that they had been usurped by the Turks in contravention to the peace of Belgrade, and his Plenipotentaries suspending the conferences even retired to Bucharest. But at this crisis the divisions of the allied powers favoured the views of Leopold.

Sept. 19.

Dec. 30. 1790.

June 1791.

During the proceedings of the congress, the allies were preparing to fulfil their original design, by prescribing to Russia the same conditions which they had already prescribed to Austria. With this

view

view the king of Prussia hastened his military preparations, sent a force into Poland, and took possession of Dantzic and Thorn, while England fitted out naval armaments for the Baltic and the Black Sea. They endeavoured to extort from Leopold a promise to assist in dictating peace, if their mediation proved unsuccessful. But Leopold too highly appreciated the value of his connection with Russia as a counterpoise to the increasing ascendancy of the House of Brandenburgh, to desert, still less to attack, his only ally: he did not conclude the convention of Reichenbach without the approbation of the empress; and he rejected with becoming disdain the proposal of acting offensively against Russia. Even during the discussion, and after he had secured the imperial crown, he did not entirely abandon the design of succouring Russia; for his ministers by his connivance, if not by his order, issued a declaration, that although their sovereign had consented not to assist Russia in acting offensively against the Turks; yet if she was attacked by Prussia he must consider himself bound to support her as an auxiliary without contravening the Convention of Reichenbach, which related solely to the Porte. This design being opposed by England, Leopold was too prudent to risk the advantages which he had already gained by his address and moderation, disavowed his ministers, and engaged to maintain the strictest neutrality in case of a rupture with Russia*.

Catherine sensible of the straits to which the emperor was reduced, no sooner received intelligence of the Convention concluded at Reichenbach, than she accelerated a peace with Sweden, that she might be prepared to resist the threatened attack. She redoubled her efforts against the Turks, and gained considerable advantages; but must have been ultimately reduced to relinquish her acquisitions, had the allies continued to act with vigour and unanimity.

Aug. 14. 1790.

The genius of Mr. Pitt, who had conceived and matured the new plan of continental policy, was shackled by the refusal of the nation to enter into a war with Russia, for interests in which it was not immediately concerned. He reluctantly suspended his armaments,

* From the late Mr. Ewart.

Chapter 52. 1790.

abandoned the engagements which had been contracted with Prussia, and was forced to recur to the feeble offices of negociation. This failure was a fatal blow to the ascendancy which had been gained by England in the Prussian cabinet. Frederic William, indignant at being thus deserted, inveighed against the wavering policy of the British government, and endeavoured to extricate himself from his dangerous situation, by relinquishing the grand objects of the alliance and conciliating those powers to whom he had vainly purposed to dictate terms of peace.

Leopold skilfully profited by a schism which had saved his ally from humiliation. He exerted the same address to amuse and gain Prussia, which he had before employed to conciliate England, and he found little difficulty in securing a prince who was deeply mortified by the failure of all his projects, and who had no resource but to hasten the conclusion of peace. In consequence of this change of sentiment, Leopold obtained a cordial support from that rival who had been his most dangerous opponent. A secret and intimate correspondence was opened between the courts of Vienna and Berlin; the conferences at Szistova were resumed; the principal conduct of the negotiation was thrown into the hands of the Prussian minister Lucchesini, who even negotiated the cession of those districts which had before threatened a rupture. Frederic William receded from his demand of an equivalent, and consented that no mention should be made of the convention of Reichenbach. The negotiation which had proceeded so slowly at its commencement was terminated with equal rapidity; and the memorable treaty of Szistova, which restored peace, and suspended the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, was signed on the 4th of August 1791.

Leopold relinquished all his conquests, retaining only Chotzim and its territory as a deposit, until the conclusion of a peace between Russia and the Porte; and he promised not to afford any assistance to the empress against the Turks. By a convention which was signed separately to save the honour of Prussia, the Porte ceded to Austria, Old Orsova with its territory, on the condition that

that it should not be fortified, with a small district in the mountains of Croatia, stretching along the left bank of the Una*. Chapter 52. 1790.

This negotiation and the consequent union between Austria and Prussia, produced an important change in the interior of the two courts.

Count Hertzberg, the great minister of Frederic the Second, who during an administration of forty years had imbibed an inveterate antipathy to the Austrian name, saw with indignation the enormous expences of his master's armament employed without effecting the reduction of Austria, or even affording the prospect of remuneration. He persevered in his opposition to a system which he considered as hostile to the interests of Prussia, and refused to sign the convention of Reichenbach, till he had received the peremptory order of his sovereign. He beheld with still deeper concern the proceedings which led to the treaty of Szistova, and nearly persuaded Frederic William to engage singly in hostilities, rather than suffer the slightest breach of that convention. But being opposed by the foreigners and illuminati who had acquired such an ascendancy in the Prussian counsels, and thwarted by the monarch himself, he resigned in disgust, leaving the cause of Austria to triumph almost without an opponent†.

Leopold had been no less thwarted by his own minister than Frederic William. Prince Kaunitz, from opposite principles, disapproved the humiliating engagement dictated to his sovereign by the Maritime Powers and Prussia. He warmly remonstrated against the terms of the accommodation, and in his official capacity, either purposely delayed the necessary communications, or drew them up in a style calculated to offend the cabinets whose friendship and mediation Leopold was anxious to secure. Such ill-timed opposition proved eventually fatal to his influence.

In the preceding reign, frequent causes of disgust had arisen between Joseph and Kaunitz, from his hostility to the plans of

* Hertzberg Recueil, t. 3. p. 92.

† Pieces et Memoires de la negociation de Reichenbach, Hertzberg, Rec. t. 3. Segur Histoire de Frederic Guillaume, t. 2. ch. 8.

Chapter 52. 1790.

innovation and the system of foreign policy. He had been treated with great neglect, and was consulted only for the sake of form. Joseph however, a short time before his death, reconciled himself to the aged minister, and Leopold on his arrival at Vienna paid him a visit in person, and treated him with marks of esteem and consideration. But the new sovereign was too exact in the transaction of business, not to perceive that his faculties were impaired, and that a man of so irritable a temper was a dangerous agent to conduct the communications with the allied courts in the critical situation of affairs. The opposition of Kaunitz induced Leopold to make the first overture himself by letter to the king of Prussia, and in consequence of repeated complaints from sir Robert Keith against the petulant language and haughty manners of the minister, he assumed the whole conduct of the negotiation. Unwilling, however, to disgust an aged counsellor, he still permitted the prince to carry on the official correspondence, but privately withdrew the memorials and papers from the British minister, softened the expressions, and rendered the communications between the two courts more amicable and conciliatory.

The confidential minister, who was the agent in these transactions, explained the sentiments and motives of his master in a manner which reflects high honour on his prudence, delicacy, and feeling. In a conversation with sir Robert Keith, he said "I requested this visit at the desire of my sovereign. I was afraid of prince Kaunitz's inflexible humour, and am therefore directed by the king* himself to soften and explain whatever may have hurt you in the prince's language, or in the style of his answer. I frankly declare that my sovereign wishes for peace, and is most anxious to embrace, as far as is consistent with his engagements to Russia, the beneficial proposal of an armistice suggested by your court. You know," he continued, "the foibles of prince Kaunitz, and you are too considerate not to have a great indulgence for a man of eighty, whose

* The reader needs scarcely to be informed that Leopold was at this time only styled king of Hungary.

faculties

faculties begin to sink under the weight of years, and whose temper grows every day more and more irritable. Let us draw a veil over his weakness; and let you, and I, who am the servant of a monarch heartily desirous of peace, endeavour to give a different turn to this business."

On the remark of sir Robert Keith, that this method would occasion a collision of discordant sentiments, and an incongruous mode of negotiation, the minister replied, "I thank you for the suggestion; it is candid, and I will answer it fairly, Your court will have the consideration for mine not to disclose our secret; you are requested by the king of Hungary to follow the usual mode of communication through prince Kaunitz; but to put into my hands his answers, and to wait till I give you a particular explanation from the mouth of my sovereign, of whatever may be ambiguous or harsh in those answers.*"

Leopold himself condescended to confirm these sentiments, and in answer to the complaint of the British minister, that in all his overtures through prince Kaunitz, he experienced a spirit of resistance at the very threshold of the palace, "I own it," said the king smiling, "and I own it with concern. Tell my minister, tell me your communications, and you shall have no reason to complain. I ardently wish for peace; your master alone can give it to all Europe, and I promise that when I am once in possession of that blessing, I will hold it fast, and strive most strenuously to render it as lasting as my existence.†" To Bischoffswerder, the confidential agent of Frederic William, Leopold used still stronger expressions. After recapitulating all the mischiefs which he attributed to the two prime ministers, he observed, "I have my Hertzberg and the king of Prussia has his Kaunitz; both must be removed.‡" Thus terminated the influence of a statesman, whose counsels had produced a more

* Sir Robert Keith to the duke of Leeds, April 24, 1790. † The same, May 11, 1790.

‡ From the late Mr. Ewart.—Kaunitz retained the office of chancellor, though with little authority, till his death, which happened in 1794.

essential

Chapter 52. 1790.

essential change in the situation of Austria, than the conduct of a single individual in any preceding period.

The accommodation with Prussia was followed by the attainment of the other objects to which the views of Leopold were directed.

1790. On the 30th of September he was unanimously chosen king of the Romans, made a solemn entry into Frankfort on the 4th of October, and on the 9th was crowned emperor by the elector of Mentz. The articles of the capitulation were not different from those of his predecessors; but a clause which had been omitted in the preceding capitulation, was revived, to secure his interference with the new French government, for the preservation of the rights reserved by preceding treaties to the German princes in Alsace, Loraine, and Franche Comté. This clause was a declaration that he would execute the resolutions contained in the memorials of the electoral college, and a memorial to this effect was accordingly presented immediately after his coronation.

CHAPTER 53.

1790—1791.

LEOPOLD composes the Discontents in the Hereditary Countries—Affairs of Hungary—Violent Proceedings and Demands of the Hungarian Diet—Prudence and Firmness of LEOPOLD—His Coronation—Acquires the Confidence of the Nation.

HAVING traced the conduct of Leopold in restoring external peace and obtaining the imperial crown, we call the attention of the reader to the prudent measures which he adopted for tranquillising the internal commotions of the Hereditary Countries.

We have already mentioned the mild and conciliating manner in which he received the remonstrances of the provincial states; and his earnest desire to examine and redress their grievances. His subsequent conduct did not belie his promises; for in compliance with the national wish, he proceeded with his characteristic circumspection; and while he retained most of the beneficial regulations, he modified or abolished others which were either onerous or unpopular.

The new Land Tax was the principal cause of the discontents, Leopold had scarcely reached Vienna before he gratified the ardent wishes of his subjects by suppressing the board for carrying this impost into execution, suspending two of the principal projectors who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the land holders, and finally by re-establishing the antient mode of taxation. He abolished also the general seminary for education, which had been instituted by Joseph, and restored the revenues appropriated to the maintenance of the episcopal schools. But he accompanied this restoration with salutary reforms; and he made great improvements in the German schools, and the mode of instruction in the abstract sciences. He suppressed the arbitrary system of administration and police; he restored to each kingdom, province, and district, the form of government

May.

Chapter 54. 1790–1791.

ment which existed under Maria Theresa, amended by salutary modifications, among which the ameliorations of the criminal code deserve peculiar praise. He removed the shackles with which the injudicious policy of Joseph had fettered the commerce of his subjects, with a view to prevent the importation of foreign commodities *; he retained and even extended the edict of toleration, and improved the regulations which had been introduced for the relief of the Jews.

By these wise and lenient measures he gained the affections of his subjects, and soon restored tranquillity in most parts of his extensive dominions, except Hungary.

The Hungarians, more jealous of their liberties, and more tenacious of their laws and customs than the other people of the Austrian territories, considered the restoration of their privileges by the late emperor as an act of compulsion; and they were therefore not pacified by the lenient measures which distinguished the commencement of the new reign, nor by the promises of Leopold to restore all their privileges. Encouraged by the intrigues of Prussia, and the prospect of assistance from the Turks, they hoped to revive many obsolete rights, and extort additional concessions. In the provincial assemblies the most violent language was held, and the turbulent spirit displayed in the address from that of Pest, proved that a considerable part of the nation, with the style had adopted the sentiments and principles of the French demagogues.

"The fame, august sovereign, which has preceded you, has declared you a just and gracious prince. It says that you forget not you are a man; that you are sensible the king was made for the people, not the people for the king. The violent commotions which have agitated our country after so many acts of injustice are thereby somewhat allayed. Scarcely therefore could we trust our eyes, when in your first Rescript to us of the 14th Instant, we found not

* Joseph had even prohibited the importation of Salt-fish, a regulation which in a catholic country was attended with extreme inconvenience.

those

those securities for the safety of our constitution, which our hereditary rights, and the inflexible patience of the people under the lawless reign of the late emperor demanded; securities which your majesty has fully granted to the Belgians, an act which will remain as a proof of your sentiments throughout all ages.

"From the rights of nations and of man, and from that social compact whence states arose, it is incontestable that the sovereignty originates from the people. This axiom our parent Nature has impressed on the hearts of all; it is one of those which a just prince (and such we trust your majesty ever will be) cannot dispute; it is one of those inalienable imprescriptible rights which the people cannot forfeit by neglect or disuse. Our constitution places the sovereignty jointly in the king and people, in such a manner that the remedies necessary to be applied according to the ends of social life for the security of persons and property, are in the power of the people.

"We are assured, therefore, that at the meeting of the ensuing diet, your majesty will not confine yourself to the objects mentioned in your Rescript; but will also restore our freedom to us, in like manner as to the Belgians, who have conquered theirs with the sword. It would be an example big with danger to teach the world that a people can only protect or regain their liberties by the sword, and not by obedience."

The most violent of the malcontents, not only adopted the rebellious sentiments displayed in this address, but insisted that the defence of Hungary should be intrusted to national troops; that the king should reside a part of the year at Buda, and that two deputies of the nation should be present at every negotiation for peace. Some even proposed that Prussia should be requested to guaranty their constitution and privileges.

Without attending to these lawless declamations, Leopold calmly proceeded to summon a general diet for the ceremony of his coronation, which was the more remarkable, as no similar assembly had been convened since the inauguration of Maria Theresa, a period of almost fifty years. The majority of the nobles, proud of having com-

 pelled

Chapter 53. 1790—1791.

pelled Joseph to revoke his reforms, and flattered with the hope that their concurrence was necessary for the prosecution of hostilities against the Turks and Prussia, flocked to the meeting full of confidence, and prepared a new inaugural act, which would have reduced the sovereigns of Hungary to the same state of weakness and degradation as the kings of Poland.

The judicious and undaunted conduct of Leopold triumphed over licentiousness and faction. Though involved in dangers which appeared almost insurmountable, he refused to make the slightest change in the coronation oath taken by Maria Theresa. At this critical juncture, when the spirit of opposition was spreading rapidly through the country, by the active efforts of the disaffected, he had the address and good fortune to conciliate the whole body of Illyrians. These people, amounting to no less than 3,000,000, were principally attached to the Greek religion, and settled in the Bannat and the adjacent regions; but were considered as aliens by the proud Hungarians. Their repeated solicitations to be represented in the diet having been rejected with scorn, they laid their request at the foot of the throne, and Leopold permitted them to form a national diet at Temeswar. By this concession he won their gratitude and support, and thus encouraged and strengthened the loyal party, which his firm and temperate conduct had gained in Hungary.

Still however the spirit of the malcontents was undaunted, and the opposition rose to so high a pitch that the states sent envoys to the congress of Reichenbach, claiming the privilege of attending the conferences for conclusion of peace, and insisting that their deputies should in every future negotiation be admitted with the same authority and powers as the royal plenipotentiaries. They no less peremptorily demanded the revocation of various immunities which had been granted to those who did not profess the catholic religion. The disaffection spread among the military. Several Hungarian regiments proposed to swear allegiance to the nation, and even the officers in addresses to the states announced their resolution of sending deputies to the diet. All these and still further demands were comprised

prised in the new inaugural act, which was formally presented to Leopold at Vienna. Chapter 53. 1790–1791.

He gave a firm and dignified answer to these imperious requisitions. He did not wholly resist the pretensions of the states to join their deputies with his plenipotentiaries; but he restricted that right to a negotiation with the Porte, to which it was confined by the constitution. He rejected all their other demands, particularly for the introduction of military representatives, and the revocation of the edicts which had been promulgated for the relief of the non-catholics. In a rescript sent through the chancellor count Palfy he declared "I will maintain inviolate the constitution of the kingdom as it descended to me from my grandfather and mother, in the hope that a constitution guaranteed by the pragmatic sanction will also be received by the states. According to that constitution the legislative authority is jointly vested in me and the diet; but I alone am charged with the executive and judicial powers, and with the distribution of honours and favours, in conformity to the laws and customs of the country. I will abide by the pragmatic sanction. I will never suffer the right of succession belonging to me and my heirs to be taken into consideration. I will never acquiesce in any innovation with regard to the military or executive power, nor will I ever consent to the smallest infraction of the privileges granted to the non-catholics*."

This dignified language was supported by measures equally firm and decisive. The convention of Reichenbach being concluded, the hopes entertained by the disaffected of receiving assistance from Prussia and Turky were annihilated, and Leopold awed his rebellious subjects with the force collected in Moravia and Bohemia. Sixty thousand men were drawn to the vicinity of Buda; and the officers who had signed the addresses were transferred to other regiments and replaced by Germans. The states in vain attempted by various modifications of their demands to overcome or elude the firmness of Leopold; he persisted in his resolution of receiving the crown on no other terms

* Hamburgh Politisches Journal for 1791, Vol. 2. p. 930. 934.

Chapter 53. 1790–1791.

than were contained in the inaugural acts of Charles the Sixth and Maria Theresa, and fixed the place of his coronation at Presburgh instead of Buda.

The crown and regalia being accordingly sent to Presburgh, the states assembled on the 3d of November, and on the 10th the king, accompanied by his five sons, made his solemn entry. His presence awed his enemies and animated his friends; the whole diet seemed to be actuated by principles of loyalty, and selected the archduke Leopold from among the candidates for the office of Palatine, which was vacant by the death of prince Esterhasy. On this occasion, when the primate at the head of the states returned thanks to the king for having yielded to the wishes of the nation by giving them the archduke as their Palatine, Leopold replied, "I expected to find myself in the midst of a faithful nation; but you have even exceeded my warmest wishes. I am now in the bosom of my family." Turning to his son he added, "the duties and obligations of the Palatine are specified in the laws of the country. We therefore order you as a father and as a king, to fulfil those obligations, and never to suffer your filial affection to divert you from your duty. We declare in the presence of these faithful states and orders, that we shall estimate your affection to us as a son by the exemplary discharge of your office." Then presenting the Palatine to the states, he concluded, "I offer you my son, as a pledge of my sincere regard, to become a distinguished mediator between us, and to promote our mutual affection."

A people highly susceptible of strong emotions, were touched with these noble sentiments: every heart beat with rapture; some burst into tears of loyalty and affection; and the speech was ordered to be inserted in the public records as a counterpart to the memorable exortation of the national darling, St. Stephen, to his son Emeric.

Nov. 15. 1790.

Having ratified an inaugural act, in the same terms as those of Charles the Sixth and Maria Theresa, Leopold received the crown from the hands of his son the new Palatine. After the public dinner, he gave a new proof of his earnest desire to conciliate the nation.

Rising

Rising from his seat he made a short address to the assembly, and announced his consent to the establishment of a law obliging every future sovereign to be crowned within six months after his accession. This unexpected declaration, which removed the fears of the Hungarians lest any sovereign in imitation of Joseph the Second, should evade the coronation oath, in order to infringe their liberties, raised a general transport of enthusiasm, and all vied in displaying the warmest proofs of loyalty, gratitude, and affection. The diet increased the usual honorary of 100,000 florins to 225,000. And to exculpate themselves from the imputation of having reduced their sovereign to the necessity of signing the humiliating convention of Reichenbach, they offered the whole strength and treasure of the country to secure an honourable peace with the Turks. "Let these wicked rumours" said the Primate in an address to the king, "be dissipated; may the hopes of your august house revive; may your friends exult and your enemies tremble. The Hungarian nation is united with the king; the king with the nation."

The enthusiasm which animated the assembly was still further heightened by his answer; and the affection of the lower orders captivated by his liberal attention to their welfare. "We accept", he said, "this honorary from our faithful states with a grateful mind; and it acquires additional value in our estimation, because it is not extorted from the people. We shall also hereafter appreciate the efforts of the states in proportion as they endeavour to extend their care to every class of citizens. We are not desirous to increase the royal authority, but to confine it within the bounds of law and beneficence; we are convinced that the states will be actuated by the same spirit of patriotism; far from limiting their affection to one order or class of citizens, will extend it equally to all. Convey, I intreat you into all your districts, this our earnest wish; and announce this message, that your sovereign is desirous to rule by the laws, yet still more anxious to rule by love".*

* Cronungs Angelegheiten in Ungarn, Gotting. Hist. Mag. B. 8. St. 3.

Leopold

Chapter 53. 1790–1791.

Leopold, after taking an affectionate leave of the states returned to Vienna, and the diet continued their sittings under the presidency of the Palatine, to arrange the important business submitted to deliberation. Their decisions in general coincided with the wishes of the sovereign; and such beneficial changes were made in the existing laws and customs, as redounded to the welfare and happiness of the nation.

Before his departure Leopold had laid before the diet fourteen propositions relative to the enaction of laws, and a rescript concerning the affairs of religion. These propositions were received in the most favourable manner, but the catholics made strong remonstrances against the edict of toleration. Adhering however to his resolutions, he finally established these regulations notwithstanding the opposition of the zealous catholics. However eager to redress the evils of feudal despotism, he could not venture to irritate the nobles by the abolition of customs in which their interests were so deeply concerned; he alleviated some of the burdens of vassalage, but he was unable to secure to the peasants the right of possessing landed property*.

Before the close of the diet he revoked some financial regulations which were unpopular. He also recalled count Palfy, whom he had dismissed from the office of chancellor, and even appointed him minister of the conference. But he still more gratified the nation by announcing to the diet the nomination of prince Esterhasy, an Hungarian magnate of the highest distinction, as his plenipotentiary at the congress of Szistova. In return the states gratefully acceded to his demand of 6,000 recruits, agreed to some modifications in the military system, and broke out into general exclamations, that he must recede from the convention of Reichenbach which the necessity of his circumstances had compelled him to conclude.

March 13. 1791.

Leopold returned to close in person, and in the customary forms, an assembly which from the most violent opposition had gradually

* Hamburgh Politisches Journal, Vol. 1. p. 224—426.

adopted

adopted sentiments of loyalty and patriotism, and finally evinced the most ardent enthusiasm in his cause. By his prudent and conciliating behaviour, as well as by his judicious and beneficial alterations, which formed a striking contrast with the arbitrary and precipitate reforms of his brother, he regained the affection of the nation, and during the remainder of his short reign Hungary continued a scene of national happiness and undisturbed tranquillity *.

* For this chapter have been consulted, among other documents, Cronungs and Reichstags Angelegheiten in Ungarn, with the capitulation of Leopold and the articles relative to Hungary in the Gottingisches Historiches Magazin, 1790. Also Hamburgh Politisches Journal, and in particular sir Robert Keith's dispatches.

CHAPTER 54.

1790—1791.

State of Parties in the Netherlands.—Conduct of LEOPOLD *at his Accession.—Mediation of the Maritime Powers and Prussia.—Congress of the Hague.—Events of the Counter Revolution—Subjugation of the Netherlands.—Convention of the Hague.—Evaded by* LEOPOLD.—*His Inauguration.—Mediating Powers withold their Guaranty.—Revival of Internal Ferments.—Views of* LEOPOLD.

Chapter 54. 1790—1791.

THE recovery of the Netherlands was the next object to which Leopold directed his attention; and his views were furthered by the party contests natural to all popular governments, as well as by a change which had taken place in the sentiments of the people.

Without any systematic plan, united only by indignation against the arbitrary measures of their sovereign, roused by the exhortations of the priests, and above all, encouraged by unexpected success, all ranks and orders had cordially co-operated in overthrowing the Austrian government. But fortune had no sooner crowned their efforts, than cabals and factions agitated the new government, the army, and the people. The chief power was appropriated by Vander Noot and Van Eupen, whose efforts had principally contributed to the revolution. Their influence soon became obnoxious to the nobles and clergy who were excluded from authority, and the opposition arising from this schism, rendered their administration more jealous, oppressive and arbitrary. The country was therefore overwhelmed with all the horrors of a revolutionary government, and loaded with greater evils than had been experienced under the despotic rule of Joseph. Tumults took place, and the two parties of aristocrats and democrats struggled for superiority; the one under Vander Noot and Van Eupen, supported the existing congress as the engine of their own power; the other headed by Walchiers a rich banker, joined with the duke of Arem-

Aremberg and Ursel, and the count de la Mark, clamoured for the establishment of a national assembly similar to that of France.

In these contests the heads of both parties endeavoured to gain the countenance and support of foreign powers; Vander Noot applied to England, Prussia, and Holland, and offered to purchase their recognition of the new republic, by renewing all the treaties of commerce and alliance, concluded between the house of Austria and the Maritime Powers, relative to the Netherlands. The king of Prussia, whose principal view was to prevent the re-establishment of the Austrian sovereignty, was not disinclined to the proposal; but Great Britain and Holland, with equal justice and policy rejected the overture, pressed the congress to return to their allegiance, and offered to concur in the re-establishment of the antient constitution. On the other hand, the democrats made application to the popular party in France, from the chiefs of which they received the strongest assurances of support, and swarms of agents from the jacobin clubs excited the people against the congress.

These dissensions spread into the army. The troops who had nominated by acclamation, Vander Mersch generalissimo of the Belgic forces, were dissatisfied with the refusal of the congress to confirm their appointment, and espoused the popular cause. A representation was also made by the officers, supporting the nomination of the troops, demanding the re-appointment of the duke d'Ursel to the direction of the military department, and peremptorily requiring the reformation of abuses, and the establishment of a new form of government. Six deputies who were sent by the congress to displace the general, being arrested under the charge of attempting to disorganize the army, the congress dispatched Schoufield, a Prussian officer, with 6000 men, to enforce their authority. Vander Mersch, on his part, made preparations for defence; but he had no sooner drawn his troops out of Namur, than the inhabitants detained his artillery and ammunition; and the army refusing to act against their fellow citizens, he was compelled to surrender, and confined in the citadel of Antwerp. This arrest and imprisonment of a general, whose military services had

March 31.

April 3.

April 5.

Chapter 54. 1790—1791.

greatly contributed to the revolution, occasioned general discontent, and alienated the people of Flanders, of which country he was a native. These disputes not only enabled the troops at Luxemburgh, whose number did not exceed 12,000, to maintain themselves against the insurgents, but even to recover Limburgh, by the assistance of the peasants, who still preserved their loyalty to the Austrian government.

The signature of the convention at Reichenbach, gave a new impulse to the partisans of Austria. By the sixth article, Leopold engaged to proclaim a general amnesty, for the offences committed in the course of the revolution, and revive the antient constitution as he had already offered it, under the guaranty of the Maritime Powers and the empire, provided the States would return to their allegiance, in conformity with the advice of the king of Prussia. He further promised not to employ force till all means of conciliation had failed. This offer was strengthened by a declaration of Frederic William, announcing his resolution "to co-operate with the Maritime Powers, and adopt all necessary measures in the way the most direct and effectual, to restore the Netherlands to the king of Hungary, and to secure the antient constitution under the guaranty of the allies." The congress, after a warm but fruitless remonstrance with the king of Prussia, prepared to assert their independence, and issued regulations for assembling a patriotic army; but the chiefs had lost all influence among the people, and embarrassed by factions at home, and discountenanced abroad, were ill prepared to resist the whole force of the House of Austria.

Such was the situation of the Netherlands, when the signature of the Convention of Reichenbach enabled Leopold to avail himself of the divisions in the government, and of the revolution which had taken place in the sentiments of the people.

March 3. 1790.

Soon after his accession he had published a manifesto to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, in which he disapproved the measures of his predecessor, and offered on their return to allegiance to restore their privileges, confirm the Joyous Entry, and replace the civil, ecclesi-

ecclesiastical, and military establishments on the former footing. He even invited them to propose any clause, limitation, or article, which they might deem necessary for the welfare of their country, or for securing their liberties against all future encroachments. Although this declaration made some impression, the majority of the people were too vain of their newly acquired liberty, too jealous of the Austrian family, and too suspicious of Leopold's sincerity, to listen to his overtures. The aristocratic and democratic parties formed a coalition, received the proposals of the sovereign with silent contempt, and united in making preparations to defend their darling independence.

All hope of conciliation being frustrated, Leopold made preparations to reduce the Netherlands by arms, sent gradual reinforcements to the troops at Luxemburgh; and had no sooner concluded the convention, than he dispatched a succour from the hereditary dominions, which augmented the army to 30,000 men. During the march of the troops he renewed his offers of reconciliation, and requested the mediation of the allied powers. A congress was accordingly formed at the Hague, by count Mercy the Austrian plenipotentiary, lord Auckland the British embassador, count Keller the Prussian envoy, and Van der Spiegel the grand pensionary of Holland. Soon after their meeting, and subsequent to his coronation at Frankfort, the emperor published a second manifesto, promising to govern each of the provinces according to the constitutions, charters, and privileges in force during the reign of Maria Theresa, under the guaranty of the allied powers, and to revoke all the unconstitutional regulations introduced by Joseph. He offered a general amnesty; and at the instances of the three plenipotentiaries, fixed the term of submission on the 21st of November. He also engaged after his inauguration, to receive from the different states additional demands, which, without infringing the constitution, or abridging the authority of the sovereign, should tend to promote the public welfare; and in case of contumacy he declared his resolution of subjugating the country by force.

September.

Oct. 14.

Chapter 54. 1790—1791.

These offers made a sensible impression at Tournay, Ghent, Ostend, and other parts of Flanders; but the people of Brussels displayed a decided aversion to the Austrian government, and some of the most violent publicly tore in pieces, and burnt the imperial manifesto. Deputies from the States were, however, dispatched with full powers to the Hague, to negotiate the terms of submission. They were charged with an answer from the congress to the imperial manifesto, conceived in strong terms, and urging that the constitution offered by Leopold was not the antient and legal constitution; but a constitution of charters and privileges, altered in many points, and differing from that guarantied by the Maritime Powers. They claimed the confirmation of the antient and legal constitution established by the inaugural act of Charles the Sixth. At the same time they bore testimony to the general loyalty of the Belgic people, and demanded a prolongation of the armistice for eight days, to summon the states and elect deputies for the arrangement of a final accommodation. They claimed also the interference of the mediating powers, particularly recommending themselves to the British Court, to whose good faith and consistency they bore an honourable testimony; who "had never encouraged the insurrection in its outset, nor fed them with false promises in its progress; but had on every occasion exhorted them to return to their allegiance, and expressed an earnest desire to assist them in recovering and securing their antient and legal constitution."

The demands of the Belgic deputies being both equitable and agreeable to the stipulations of the convention of Reichenbach, were warmly supported by the ministers of the mediating powers. But all endeavours to procure a prolongation of the armistice, or to enter into further negotiation, were peremptorily rejected by count Mercy, who declared that the mediation of the allies terminated with the expiration of the term fixed by themselves; that they had no further right to interfere in the affairs of the Netherlands; that the very name of an armistice was disgraceful, in a discussion between a sovereign and his rebel subjects, and that the army, which had been augment-

augmented to 45,000 men, would commence its march the very first hour after the expiration of the 21st of November. The plenipotentiaries in vain remonstrated, appealed to the transactions of Reichenbach, and even to the declaration of the emperor himself, that force should not be employed till all hopes of conciliation had failed. Their remonstrances were received with arrogance and contempt; and the army which had reached the borders of the Netherlands, was ready to invade the country at the expiration of the armistice. They next applied to the Belgians, urging them to submit; but from the distracted state of the country, the collision of parties, and the indignation excited by the peremptory language of the Austrian court, their exhortations produced as little effect as their remonstrances with the imperial minister.

The insurgents suffered the 21st of November to elapse without the required submission. But the congress, as a final effort, elected by acclamation the archduke Charles, third son of the emperor, as Hereditary Great Duke of Belgium, under the condition that this dignity should never be held by the head of the House of Austria, or by any prince who would not reside in the provinces; "because" it was added "the nation is convinced that its decline and misfortunes are derived from the absence of its sovereign*." This chimerical proposal being rejected by count Mercy, and discountenanced by the three plenipotentiaries, the imperial troops under general Bender passed the Meuse, entered Namur amidst the acclamations of the people, seized the artillery, drove back the Belgic forces, and on the 30th of November appeared before Brussels. Bender summoned the congress to submit, and allowed twenty-four hours for deliberation. The people and members of the government, who were encouraged by the arrival of general Koehler with 7,000 patriots, at first determined to resist; but being left without leaders by the flight of Van der Noot, Van Eupen and other chiefs, Koehler retired again into Flanders; and on the 3rd of December a corps of Austrian troops entering the town were received as the heralds of peace and secu-

* Declaration des Etats Generaux à 10 heures du Soir, 21 Nov. 1790.

rity.

Chapter 54. 1790—1791.

rity. At the same time detachments took possession of Tirlemont Mechlin, Louvain and Antwerp, and before the close of the year all the provinces were again subjected to the Austrian power.

The refusal of Leopold to prolong the armistice for so short a term, and the rejection of all interference from the three mediating powers, excited the most lively indignation, particularly at Berlin and the Hague. The grand pensionary declared that he would throw up his commission, and instantly return to Holland; and the king of Prussia commanded count Keller to remonstrate against this conduct as a breach of the convention, to claim the revival of the antient, not the new fangled constitution, and to exhort the natives not to conclude an accommodation with the House of Austria, except with the concurrence and under the guaranty of the Maritime Powers. He followed these orders by a still stronger remonstrance written to the emperor himself in his own hand. "I cannot" he said "suppose that your majesty approves the proceedings of your plenipotentiary, or that your intention is to obtain possession of the Netherlands by force of arms. My declaration accepted by your majesty at Reichenbach, and guarantied by the Maritime Powers, authorises the allies to concur in restoring the Netherlands, to secure to them their antient constitution, and to settle with your majesty the terms and the epoch for the re-establishment of that antient constitution, on the true sense of which so much difference of opinion has existed during the late reigns." He bitterly censured the conduct, the prejudices, and the arbitrary resolutions of count Mercy, "who ought not," he added "to have preferred force to conciliation, and who by yielding to the urgent demands of the other plenipotentiaries for a prolongation of the armistice, would have prevented the effusion of blood, and perhaps the ruin of those fine provinces." He concluded with exhorting the emperor "in conformity with his assurances at Reichenbach to bring back the Belgic nation under his dominion by peaceable means, without having recourse to arms; and secure to them a constitution which might restore tranquillity and re-unite the interests of the sovereign with those of his subjects."

This

This dispute might perhaps have involved Europe in a new war, had not the British cabinet been guided by more moderate and pacific motives. They joined indeed in the remonstrances of Prussia and Holland, while they soothed the resentment of Frederic William, and dispatched lord Elgin to Vienna, to persuade the emperor to adopt more conciliatory measures. At the congress, lord Auckland seconded the views of his court with equal spirit and address. The conferences being renewed on the 8th of December, by the consent of the emperor, count Mercy, with much reluctance, was induced to retract his declaration and to conclude the convention of the Hague. By this act the emperor was to receive the homage of the Belgic provinces in the usual form, and to confirm their respective constitutions, privileges and customs, in the same manner as they had been confirmed by the inaugural acts both of Charles the Sixth and Maria Theresa. An amnesty, with a few exceptions, was to be proclaimed; the proceedings relative to the public seminaries and the university of Louvain were to be revoked; the suppressed abbies, which possessed the right of representation in the states were to be re-established, and the revenues of those convents which were not restored were to be applied to pious uses, with the concurrence of the States-general and the respective municipalities. No military conscription or forced levy was to be made, nor any tax imposed without the consent of the states; and all affairs were to be placed in the same situation as before the troubles. The fulfilment of these articles was to be guarantied by the Maritime Powers and Prussia, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands confirmed to the house of Austria, as an inalienable and indivisible domain*."

Oct. 11.

This convention being provisionally signed by Mercy, was transmitted to Vienna for the approbation of his sovereign. Leopold however again disappointed the expectations of the mediating powers. Instead of ratifying the agreement concluded by his minister, he adhered to his former declaration, and confirmed the constitution, privileges, and customs existing at the close of the reign of Maria Theresa,

* Hertzberg Rec. t. 3. p. 175.

Chapter 54. 1790—1791.

resa*, before the innovations of Joseph. As the three mediating powers could not depart from the principle of the convention concluded at Reichenbach, nor break their solemn promises to the Belgians, to procure the revival of the constitution which subsisted when the Netherlands were transferred to Charles the Sixth, they withheld their ratification, and Leopold recovered these provinces without subjecting himself to foreign interference.

The impolicy of Leopold in refusing to gratify the people of Brabant with the renewal of their antient constitution, excited general dissatisfaction, and gave a colour to the complaints of the disaffected. Unfortunately other popular pretexts for opposition were afforded, by the removal of five obnoxious members of the council of Brabant. Against this measure the states presented a violent protest, and not only witheld the customary subsidy, but refused their assent to a proposal for liquidating the debt contracted during the revolution, and remedying the damages sustained by individuals, notwithstanding the proposal had been agreed to by all the other provinces. The suspension of their sittings, the razure of their protests from the journals, and the arrest of four of their members increased the ferment. To prevent the interference of the Dutch, Leopold concluded an alliance with the States-General, and procured the expulsion of Vander Noot and Van Eupen from Holland. But in spite of all his precautions the discontents continued to augment; the revolutionary spirit spread like contagion over the land; the democrats were incited and encouraged by the Jacobins of France; corps of emigrant insurgents were formed in French Hainault, under the count of Bethune Charost;

* We subjoin the clause of the emperor's ratification, which gave rise to such disputes, because it has been erroneously transcribed.

"Nos hisce declaramus, nos omnibus ac singulis provinciis in ipso inaugurationis actu, cunctis predecessoribus nostris usitato, constitutionem, privilegia ac legitimas consuetudines quæ ab iisdem confirmari solebant esse quidem confirmaturos, non alia tamen quam ea observationis ratione, quæ sub regimine imperatricis regimæ Mariæ Theresæ felicis memoriæ vigebat, antequam scilicet ulla illarum innovationum existeret quæ regnante imperatore Josepho II. felicis pariter recordationis novissimorum motibus ac tumultibus causam dederunt."

plots

plots were daily formed, insurrections organized, and the most vigorous measures scarcely maintained the tottering authority of government.

The conduct of Leopold, throughout this whole transaction, seems to have been the result of a deep laid, but unfortunately mistaken plan of policy. Notwithstanding repeated instances of political jealousy given by the French government, he was no less firmly attached to the fatal alliance of the house of Bourbon than his two predecessors. In spite of the increasing ferment in France, he still fondly entertained sanguine hopes, that his brother-in-law would recover his pristine authority, and that a renewal of the treaty of Versailles, would again secure the safety and tranquillity of the Low Countries. Above all, he had inherited a rooted dislike of the barrier treaty, and was averse to rivet the shackles which England and Holland had formerly imposed on the Netherlands. From these motives he employed every art to evade their guaranty, and still more that of Prussia, which would have afforded a pretext for the perpetual interference of an inveterate rival. He had indeed made that concession, in the convention of Reichenbach, as the only means of extricating himself from the difficulties which embarrassed the commencement of his reign; but he artfully introduced equivocal and contradictory expressions in the article relating to the Netherlands. He had no sooner effected an accommodation with Prussia, and concluded an armistice with the Porte, than he directed all his efforts to recover the Netherlands by force, and to evade the interference of foreign powers. With this view he temporized, cavilled on the meaning of the stipulations, hastened the march of his troops, and the first moment he had obtained a plausible pretext for throwing off the mediation of the Maritime Powers, he subjugated the country. The apprehension of a Prussian war again induced him to bend to circumstances, and renew the conferences; but finding the court of Great Britain unable, or averse, to engage in hostilities, and having acquired an ascendancy in the cabinet of Berlin, he again refused to ratify the terms accepted by his minister, and thus gained the point which he had so steadily pursued from the opening to the close of the negotiation.

Chapter 54. 1790–1791.

Although Leopold recovered the Netherlands, on terms which he deemed more consistent with his honour and interests, than by owing their restoration to the agency of the Maritime Powers, yet by eluding their guaranty, he relinquished the advantages which he might have derived from their support in case of hostilities with France. He lost their confidence, which he might have secured by a more candid line of conduct; and he irritated a people already alienated by the innovations of his brother, and scarcely recovered from the ferment of a revolution, at the moment when the views of the hostile party in France rendered it doubly necessary to establish his government on the affections of his subjects. To this erroneous system of policy, and this mistaken point of honour, may be attributed the subsequent loss of the Netherlands, and with that loss, the stupendous ascendancy of France, and fatal degradation of the house of Austria*.

* The contents of this chapter have been principally drawn from secret and official correspondence, and the printed acts and documents of the respective powers concerned in these events. We have besides consulted the numerous periodical works, both domestic and foreign, and the pamphlets published during the revolution in the Netherlands.

CHAPTER 55.

1790—1792.

Progress of the French Revolution—Distresses of the King—Ascendancy of the Jacobin Faction—Encroachments of the National Assembly on the Rights of the German Princes—Plans of Leopold for the Relief of the King—His Attempt to Escape, and Arrest at Varennes—Declaration of Leopold at Padua—His fruitless Application to England—Connections with Prussia—Meeting at Pilnitz—Pacific conduct of Leopold—Vast Designs of the Jacobin Faction—Their Attempts to force the Nation into a War with Austria—Discussion relative to the Feudal Rights of the German Princes; and the Protection granted to the Emigrants—Reply of Leopold to the peremptory Requisitions of France—His Death, Character, and Issue.

Chapter 55. 1790—1792.

THE accommodation with Prussia, the armistice with the Porte, the recovery of the Netherlands, and the restoration of internal tranquillity, left Leopold at liberty to turn his attention to the affairs of France, and direct his efforts to the relief of his unfortunate relatives. A pressing and additional motive for his interference was derived from the encroachments of the national assembly on the rights of the Germanic body.

In France the delirium of liberty had continued to spread; and a people at once emancipated from all the restrictions of ages, were wild for new systems, and disdained the bounds of reason and moderation. The national assembly instead of introducing prudent and gradual reforms or remedies for existing evils, razed the constitution to its very foundations to rebuild it according to abstract theories, and systems of fancied perfection. They stripped the crown of its prerogatives, changed the very title of their monarch, abolished all titular distinctions as well as the privileges of the nobility, suppressed the parliaments, divided the kingdom into departments, and dissolved all religious establishments, converting the estates and revenues of the

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

clergy into national property, allowing the ministers of religion only a scanty and temporary salary, and imposing on them an oath contrary to the principles of the catholic church.

The nation was divided into three parties. The zealous royalists, who were desirous to restore the antient monarchy, were few in number, and had been gradually weakened by the emigration of those who deserted their country in the hour of danger. The constitutionalists or second party were the advocates for a limited monarchy, similar to that of England; they had been the prime movers of the revolution, and still maintained the principal sway in the assembly. But the most active and violent were the republicans, who first enlisting under the banners of the constitutionalists, instigated those very measures which had most humbled and weakened the royal authority. Yet neither of these two latter parties would perhaps have acquired sufficient strength to overthrow the monarchy, had they not been assisted with the wealth and influence of the duke of Orleans, who though the first prince of the blood, unnaturally joined the popular outcry against his sovereign and relative; and who led by the hope of power or inflamed by personal resentment, first united with the constitutionalists, and afterwards gave his decisive weight to the incendiary efforts of the democrats.

Supported by this weak, misguided, and profligate prince, the republicans acted with redoubled spirit; they separated themselves from the banners of the constitutionalists, laid the foundation of a new political sect, and rapidly acquired an uncontrolled influence over the public mind by means of affiliated societies. Among these the most considerable was that celebrated by the name of the jacobin club. During the session of the assembly at Versailles, this society owed its origin to a select meeting of the deputies from Britanny. On the removal of the assembly to Paris, its meetings were held in a hall belonging to the suppressed order of Jacobins; and it was augmented not only by all the parties in opposition to the court, but by adventurers and theorists who flocked from all quarters of the world, to distinguish their talents, and develope their systems on this

this new political theatre. Such a heterogeneous mass soon overpowered the voices of the constitutionalists, the original institutors. It became the focus of intrigue and faction; the members openly promulgated not merely republican principles, but doctrines hostile to every form of government, and every kind of religion; they spread their baneful influence throughout the kingdom by means of subordinate societies established in every town and every district; by the previous discussion of every important question they inflamed the populace of Paris, and succeeded in awing and controlling the proceedings of the legislative assembly. The largesses of the duke of Orleans, the contributions of individuals, and the plunder of the wealthy, enabled their chiefs to further their infamous purposes: by declamations and writings they branded with contempt and infamy the very names of monarchy and religion, spread insubordination in the army and navy, excited the spirit of rebellion among the people, and by means of an extensive correspondence endeavoured to diffuse their principles and to hasten the downfal of the throne and the altar in every quarter of the world.

The constitutionalists, who had employed similar means to acquire power, and who had distinguished themselves as the first patrons of the society, beheld with horror and dismay the rise of this gigantic faction, which threatened alike their own safety, and the safety of the monarchy. Some erased their names and endeavoured to form counter societies, but were again led by the desire of popularity to rejoin the jacobins; others entered into connections with the court, and laboured to preserve the monarchy as the last bulwark of order and happiness. But their efforts were too weak to resist the swelling tide. A more numerous class of democrats, considering even the proceedings of the jacobins as too moderate, instituted a separate society, denominated from the convent in which they met, the club of the Cordeliers. Here demagogues of the lowest class and of every description were welcomed; encouraged in reviling all who were distinguished for rank, talents, or popularity; and applauded in proportion to the audacity with which they vented

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

ed the grossest language, most revolting obscenities, and most blasphemous allusions.

The unfortunate king with his characteristic meekness and resignation beheld the progress of anarchy and licentiousness, the alienation of the people, and the gradual seduction of the army; and though confined within the precincts of the Thuilleries, and subject to the daily insults of the populace, he seemed to forget his own miseries in those of his family and subjects. At length the exhortations of the insulted queen, the danger of his family, and the increasing tide of evils which hourly swelled with accumulated force, roused even his patient and forbearing spirit, and impelled him to devise some means for averting the dangers with which he was surrounded, and for checking the torrent of calamities and crimes which threatened to overwhelm his country. Several plans for escaping from the capital, for placing himself at the head of the army, dissolving the assembly with the assistance of foreign powers, acquiring popularity, and rallying round the ruins of the throne the remnant of those who were yet friends to government and order, were proposed; but were all marred by the reluctance of the ill fated monarch, who was determined not to engage in a civil war, nor to desert his country, two errors to which he attributed the ruin of our Charles the First and James the Second. He at length, however, acquiesced in a scheme which was proposed by Mirabeau whom he had gained, and who was preparing to make a last effort in support of the crown. The king was to quit Paris, to escape to Montmedi, one of the frontier towns, and place himself at the head of the few regiments which still continued faithful, and which had been drawn to that quarter by the marquis de Bouillé, commandant of the district. Mirabeau was to awe the jacobins, to increase his party by bribes and promises, to obtain from the people a petition for the convocation of a new national assembly; and it was hoped that this plan would rally and strengthen the friends of order, and enable them to crush the faction which was rising on the ruins of every institution.

The

The sudden and fatal death of Mirabeau prevented the execution of this design; the king without a single person of efficient character and influence in whom he could confide, fluctuated in still greater uncertainty than ever. From an apprehension for the safety of the non-juring clergy, and from aversion to receive the sacrament at the hands of a constitutional priest, he was induced, by the persuasion of La Fayette, once the popular idol and the chief of the constitutionalists, to pass the season of Easter at the palace of St. Cloud. But this journey, which was expected to flatter the nation by the pretext of proving to all Europe that the king was at full liberty, was opposed by the populace; and notwithstanding the interference of La Fayette, Louis was drawn back to the Thuilleries, amidst the menaces, reproaches, and insults of the mob. Overwhelmed with confusion and despair, the degraded monarch threw himself into the power of the constitutionalists, and by their advice published the celebrated letter addressed to the foreign ministers in which he declared himself at full liberty, and notified his approbation of the Revolution.

Louis, as well as the party to whom he had committed himself, were grievously disappointed in the hopes which they had conceived from this act of degradation. The constitutionalists, deprived of the talents and popularity of Mirabeau, were too weak to save the remnant of the monarchy. The letter indeed excited a momentary applause in the national assembly; but the very next day was stigmatised as a proof of deceit and hypocrisy; and while it humbled the king in the eyes of Europe and of his turbulent subjects, it disgusted those who were warmly attached to his cause and devoted to the principles of the antient government*.

Such was the state of France and the distress of the royal family, when the instances of the German princes, and the machinations of the factious, forced Leopold into a contest with the government and nation.

* Bouille's Memoirs—Bertrand de Moleville's Annals and Memoirs—Mercure François—Moniteur—Adolphus's History of France and Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution.

In

Chapter 55. 1790--1792.

In the abolition of all ecclesiastical and territorial rights within the limits of France, the national assembly had also comprehended those of the German states * in Alsace, Franche Comté, and Lorraine, and the other provinces ceded to Louis the Fourteenth; although those rights had been solemnly confirmed by the peace of Westphalia and by subsequent treaties, and were respected amidst all the wars which for above a century agitated Europe. The princes and states remonstrated against this infraction at an early period of the revolution, and laid their grievances before the government; yet their application, though supported by the influence of the king, drew from the assembly only a vague and inadequate offer of indemnification in national property, for the rights abrogated in Alsace, while the claims relating to the other provinces were passed over with contemptuous silence. The states accordingly renewed their appeal to the German diet, and obtained the introduction of a clause in the capitulation of the new emperor, which bound him to interpose for the preservation of their rights.

Dec. 14. 1792.

In compliance with this engagement, Leopold himself addressed a letter to the king, containing strong professions of amity, and requiring as a proof of reciprocal friendship, the re-establishment of the rights secured to the German princes. By the impulse of the ruling party the king in his answer adopted a style of presumption scarcely surpassed by that of Louis the Fourteenth. He expressed surprise that the proprietors of fiefs in the French territories should apply to the emperor in an affair which did not regard the empire, but solely related to themselves as French feudatories; he at the same time urged the emperor to withold his support, and induce the claimants to accept the equitable compensation proposed by France. As a proof of a decided resolution to support this refusal, the assembly voted a large augmentation of the military force.

* The princes chiefly aggrieved were the electors of Mentz, Treves and Cologne; the Teutonic order, the bishops of Strasburgh, Spire and Basle, the dukes of Deux Ponts, and Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the margrave of Baden, and the princes of Nassau Leiningen and Lowenstein.

This

Thus treated with contempt and injustice the princes again laid their complaints before the diet, and called on their chief for a more effectual interference: the pacific representations of the emperor were drowned in the clamour for redress, and a decree was passed for the renewal of their demands, in their own name and in that of the empire. While this discussion was pending, the forcible occupation of Avignon*, which notwithstanding its transfer to the Roman See had still maintained a nominal connection with the empire, inflamed the general indignation, and convinced the German states that the demagogues of France were animated with the same ambitious spirit as Richelieu and Mazarin, and were meditating a more dangerous system of hostility and encroachment, than that which in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth had threatened the independence of the empire and of Europe. Chapter 55. 1790—1792. July, 1791.

Such being the internal state of France, such the aggressions and the system pursued by the assembly, and such the melancholy situation of the Royal Family, it raised the wonder of all Europe that Leopold still continued to maintain an apparent indifference to the

* The countries of Carpentras and Venaissin, of which Avignon was the capital, originally formed part of Provence, in the midst of which they were situated, and were sold in the fourteenth century to the popes, by Joanna queen of Naples and countess of Provence. Avignon was the residence of several popes, and formed an integral part of the papal dominions. This little district, however, being originally comprised in the kingdom of Arles, was still considered as a fief of the German empire: the emperors as liege lords ratified the cession made by Joanna, and interposed their protection when it was seized by Louis the Fourteenth and his successor, in their disputes with the papal see. At the instance of the emperor, Louis the Fifteenth suppressed a work written by M. de Montclair, asserting the right of the kings of France to Avignon and its territory.

The situation of this district rendering its acquisition an object of importance to France, the people were instigated by jacobin agents to rise and overturn the antient government. The country accordingly became a scene of pillage and massacre, the principal inhabitants were either assassinated or expelled, and the consent of the lowest ranks obtained to petition the national assembly for a reunion with France. The assembly formally rejected this request; but took possession of the country, under pretence of preventing the evils to which their own decrees and the intrigues of their chiefs had given birth.

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

sufferings of his sister and brother-in-law, as well as to his own insulted dignity. But he was influenced perhaps too much by prudential though commendable motives. He well knew the benevolent weakness of the king, who rejected with horror any decisive measure, from a dread of involving his country in a civil war, and scrupulously refused all foreign interference. He was also aware of the charges levelled against his sister as the patroness of an Austrian committee in the palace for effecting a counter revolution; he was sensible that he should expose her, who was considered by the violent party as a public hostage for his pacific conduct, to the vengeance of an enraged nation; and he was not ignorant of the attempts to revive the national antipathy against the House of Austria. He was no less influenced by the dread of again involving himself in the horrors of war, from which he had so recently delivered his country; and still jealous of the views of Prussia, he was unwilling to engage in a foreign contest while he considered Frederic William as a secret enemy, or at least as an uncertain friend. From these motives he resisted all the solicitations of the emigrant princes, and the remonstrances of those powers who compassionated the fate of the king, and were alarmed at the doctrines promulgated by the revolutionists. He therefore had no sooner recovered the Netherlands, than from a desire to remove every pretext for hostilities, he withdrew his troops from the French frontier, reduced his army, and laboured to allay the ferment excited in the German diet by the injustice of the national assembly.

Yet during this momentous interval he was far from beholding with real indifference the state of his royal relatives, and was fully awake to the danger which threatened every crowned head from the violence and diffusion of the jacobin principles. He sounded the disposition of the different powers who were most interested in the affairs of France, and endeavoured to form a combination, which by its magnitude might awe the republican party and restore the authority of the crown. He was disappointed in his expectations from England, to whom he first and earnestly applied; for the British cabinet

cabinet persisted in maintaining a neutrality; but he obtained the concurrence of the kings of Spain and Sardinia, and the Swiss Cantons, and finally gained the co-operation of the king of Prussia. He anxiously watched the progress of events, and at an early period seems to have approved a plan suggested by Montmorin for the relief of his unfortunate brother-in-law. Its object was to combine the principal powers of Europe in a feigned attack against France, as a pretext for enabling the king to assume the command of an army, to recover his former authority, and to regain the love and confidence of the people by appearing as the restorer of peace and tranquillity.

But this frivolous scheme being abandoned in consequence of the king's formal approbation of the constitution, another was arranged at Mantua, in concurrence with the count d'Artois and count Alphonso d'Urfort, a confidential agent sent by the king, who met Leopold during his journey in Italy. Thirty-five thousand Austrians were to march towards the frontier of Flanders and Hainault; 15,000 troops of the circles towards Alsace; 15,000 Swiss were to threaten the Lyonnois and Franche Comté; 15,000 Sardinians to assemble on the frontier of Dauphiné, and 20,000 Spaniards in Catalonia. To these were to be joined the regiments still remaining loyal, the volunteers whose fidelity was unquestionable, and all the royalists and constitutionalists of the provinces. A declaration was to be published under the signatures of the kings of Spain and Naples, the infant of Parma, and all the princes of the blood who were at liberty, as members of the House of Bourbon, which was to be enforced by a manifesto from the coalesced powers. It was hoped that this vast combination would awe the democrats, and enable the royalists to regain the ascendancy. For the more ready re-establishment of the antient forms, the parliaments were to be restored, and a correspondence maintained with the principal members of the supreme courts, that they might be assembled at the moment when the plan was carried into execution. The emperor engaged to conduct the negotiation with the king of Prussia, and announced

May 1791.

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

the accession of the king of England as elector of Hanover. Aware however of the extreme desire of the king and queen to relieve themselves from the indignities to which they were hourly exposed, Leopold exhorted them not to attempt their escape, but to use their endeavours in acquiring popularity, that the people, alarmed at the approach of foreign armies, might find their safety only in the king's mediation and in submission to his authority. "This" it was added "is the emperor's opinion. He depends solely on this plan of conduct for the success of his measures, and he shudders with horror at the apprehension of the fatal consequences, should the king and queen be arrested in their flight. Their surest dependence is on the movements of the armies, preceded by threatening manifestoes." In delivering this plan to the count d'Urfort, he added "Tell my brother and sister that I will assist them, not by words but by deeds*.

This plan, which was scarcely less chimerical than the former, was rejected by the king and queen; and notwithstanding the instances of the emperor they attempted to escape from Paris†. Being arrested at Varennes, the whole scheme was deranged, all hopes of escape were totally cut off, the royal family were carried back in barbarous triumph, the king was threatened with a public trial and deposition, and the axe was laid to the root of the declining monarchy.

* Some persons have questioned the authenticity of this plan as too chimerical; but Bertrand de Moleville, from whom we give it, has fully proved its authenticity by declaring that the original is still in existence with marginal corrections in the hand of the emperor; and that the copy which he published in his annals was attested by persons who saw the original. The subsequent declaration, proposed by Leopold to the other powers of Europe, is a counter-part of this very plan. Before such positive evidence, all conjecture however specious must give way. See Bertrand's Annals, v. 6. pref. p. 24. English translation.

† It has been asserted by persons of great authority, that the emperor even arranged the plan of this escape; and some documents in my possession corroborate the opinion. But there is other evidence equally strong for the account given in the text. The only means of reconciling these discordant assertions is by recurring to the cautious character of Leopold, and supposing that he often acted from the impulse of the moment, and therefore frequently wavered between opposite extremes. Doubtless we cannot have better authorities for the account of this memorable flight than those of Bouillé and Bertrand.

The

The imminent danger of the royal family, induced the emperor to abandon his temporizing conduct, and on the 6th of July he published at Padua a solemn appeal to the other powers of Europe. He called on them to join in a common declaration, demanding of France the immediate liberation of the king and royal family, and requiring for them the inviolability and respect, due by the laws of nature and of nations from subjects to their sovereigns. He urged them to declare that they would unite in avenging every future attempt committed against the liberty, honour, and safety of the king and royal family, that they would acknowledge as constitutional laws legally established in France, those alone which should have the voluntary acquiescence of the king being at liberty, and if these demands were not complied with, that they would concur in employing all the means in their possession to put a stop to the scandalous usurpation of power, which bore the appearance of open rebellion, and of which the example threatened the safety of other governments. July 6, 1791.

Conscious, that without the co-operation of England, the Netherlands could not be preserved, and that all hostile efforts against France would be fruitless, he sent the draught of this declaration to the king, accompanied with a private letter, which indisputably proves his views and sentiments at this important crisis. "I am persuaded" he said "that your majesty is not unacquainted with the unheard of outrage committed by the arrest of the king of France, the queen my sister, and the royal family, with the same surprise and indignation as myself; and that your sentiments accord with mine on an event, which threatening more atrocious consequences, and fixing the seal of illegality on the preceding excesses, concerns the honour and safety of all governments. Resolved to fulfil what I owe to these considerations, and to my duty as chief of the German empire and sovereign of the Austrian dominions, I propose to your majesty in the same manner as I have proposed to the kings of Spain, Prussia and Naples, as well as to the empress of Russia, to unite with them in a concert of measures for obtaining the liberty of the king and his family, and setting bounds to the dangerous excesses of the French Revolution.

Chapter 55. 1790—1792.

Revolution. The most obvious plan seems to be that we should unite in sending a declaration, either jointly or separately, by our ministers in France, which may restrain the chiefs of the violent party, and prevent desperate resolves, still leaving open the means of an honourable amendment and pacific establishment of such a state of things, as may preserve the dignity of the crown and maintain the essential points of general tranquillity. I submit therefore to your majesty the draught annexed, which appears to me most likely to fulfil these views; but as the success of such a declaration is uncertain, and must depend on the support of efficient measures, my embassador shall receive immediate instructions for entering with your ministers into such a concert as circumstances require; and I will not fail to communicate to your majesty the answers which I may receive from other powers. The favourable disposition which they all manifest for the re-establishment of peace, tranquillity, and concord, bids fair to remove all obstacles to an union of views and sentiments, in a situation of affairs which so nearly interests the good of all Europe."

New and repeated proofs of hostility displayed by the ruling faction with the sanguine declarations and urgent instances of the emigrants, confirmed the resolutions of Leopold. His determination was still further strengthened by the king of Prussia, who was equally interested to oppose the progress of that fanatic enthusiasm which threatened the overthrow of every throne. After some hesitation, naturally derived from the magnitude and delicacy of the enterprise, and the jealousy which a century of political rivalry had infused into the two courts, they concurred in an union against a danger which threatened the dignity and safety of both. An intimate correspondence took place, and the preliminary arrangements of a defensive alliance were made on the 25th of July; it was agreed that the two courts would jointly consult and endeavour to form a concert in regard to the affairs of France, to which the emperor was to invite the other states of Europe. With a view to settle a specific plan of conduct, a confidential

fidential interview was arranged between Leopold and Frederic William at Pilnitz, a palace belonging to the elector of Saxony in the neighbourhood of Dresden.

But in the short period which elapsed before the meeting, the sentiments of Leopold underwent a considerable change. Notwithstanding he received favourable answers from the different powers to whom he had appealed, his hopes were frustrated by a decisive and unequivocal refusal on the part of England*, to depart from a strict neutrality. His dis-inclination to engage in measures which might lead to hostilities was increased by the representation of his principal ministers particularly of Lacy, who united in decrying a war, urging that it would occasion the immediate loss of the Netherlands,

* It is no wonder that in the heat of party contest, persons of candour and judgment were borne away and induced to believe the bare-faced fabrications and confident assertions of the French demagogues, that England as well as the other powers, had at this moment entered into a concert for a partition of France. I am satisfied that a dispassionate review of the public papers and an impartial examination of the conduct held by the different parties, would now be sufficient to undeceive any person who is not infatuated with these absurd conjectures. Every public official communication proves the determined resolution of England not to depart from a strict neutrality; and the authentic private papers in my possession, demonstrate that England, instead of being engaged in schemes of partition, invariably refused, till forced into a war, to interfere in the slightest degree in the affairs of France. Leopold himself made repeated though fruitless complaints against what he termed the cold caution of England; and this caution evidently influenced his conduct and prevented the adoption of those vigorous measures which he seemed once inclined to pursue.

I do not advance these assertions from a wish to apologise for the conduct of the English ministry; for I thought then and still think, that the great mind of Mr. Pitt did not, at a period sufficiently early, appreciate the danger likely to be derived from the revival of that mighty power which a century before had so nearly overthrown the safety and independence of Europe, and which now received a new and more fatal impulse from the revolutionary spirit. Whoever examines the account of the wars in the preceding century, particularly that of the Spanish succession, must be convinced that no consideration ought to have deterred England from preventing the occupation of the Netherlands by France. Though from principles of good faith she had witheld her guaranty, yet from the great and superior consideration of national security she ought to have considered the first attempts of France to invade those countries as a declaration of war.

which

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

which were left defenceless by the demolition of the barrier fortresses, and of which the majority of the natives only waited for foreign support to throw off the Austrian government. The exhortations of the king his brother-in-law decided the resolution of Leopold, if he yet retained any inclination to engage in a war with France.

Aug. 27. 1791.

The meeting however took place, and Bouillé was summoned by the king of Prussia to arrange a plan of attack. While the two sovereigns were employed in private discussions, they were interrupted by the sudden arrival of the count d'Artois, accompained by Calonne, who came with the hope of persuading them to engage in immediate hostilities. The king of Prussia was easily inflamed by their representations; but no arguments could overcome the caution of Leopold, or draw him into specific engagements; and he was with difficulty induced by the importunities of the French princes, to sign the celebrated declaration. "The emperor and king of Prussia having heard the representations of Monsieur the king's brother and the count d'Artois, declare, that the present situation of the king of France concerns the interest of every sovereign in Europe. That interest they hope will be acknowledged by the powers whose assistance is required, and consequently those powers will not refuse to unite with their majesties in employing the most efficacious means to place the king of France in a situation to establish in perfect liberty the foundations of a monarchical government, equally agreeable to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of French the nation. Then, and in that case, the emperor and the king of Prussia are determined to act promptly and by mutual concert, with the forces and vigour necessary to obtain the desired end. In the mean time they will give orders for their troops to be ready for actual service *."

* Reports were industriously circulated that a regular treaty for the partition of France was arranged at this meeting. But the whole conduct of Leopold, and particularly his subsequent measures, prove, that he had formed no offensive designs. The secret articles which have been produced bear the strongest marks of forgery, and even were they authentic, make no allusion to offensive operations, and scarcely even to

It

It is no wonder that so unspecific a declaration, intended merely to satisfy the importunities of the French princes, the fulfilment of which depended on a contingency never likely to happen in the common course of events, should not be followed by any important consequence. Leopold, who yet hoped by temperate measures to disarm the rage or baffle the designs of the jacobins, was resolved not to engage in hostilities. He therefore seized the first favourable opportunity to annul his engagements, and on the acceptance of the constitution by Louis, and his temporary restoration to liberty, he received the French embassador who had been forbidden to appear at court, revoked his circular letter from Padua, and was the first sovereign in Europe, who admitted the tri-coloured flag into his ports. He rejected all plans of hostile aggression, received with coolness the expostulations of the empress Catherine; and scarcely deigned to listen to the chivalrous projects of the king of Sweden, who even offered to lead an army of Swedes and Russians to the gates of Paris, while the Austrians and Prussians invaded France on the side of the Netherlands.

Leopold did not abandon these hopes of preserving tranquillity till he was driven from his pacific system by the continual provocations of the jacobins.

On the return of the king from Varennes, the leaders of the jacobins endeavoured to raise against him the popular indignation, and exerted themselves to bring him to a public trial. But their views were thwarted by the royalists, the constitutionalists, and the moderate of every description who were encouraged by the concert of powers, and who felt that their own safety was connected with that of the monarch. After a desperate struggle, Louis was restored to the exercise of his authority, and accepted the constitu- Sep. 14.

the affairs of France. This was evidently one among the many artifices employed by the jacobin faction to deceive weak minds, and to irritate their countrymen against the emperor. See the collection of State Papers for 1791. Marten's Recueil, t. 5. p. 36.

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

tion, an event which was followed by the voluntary dissolution of the national assembly, whose functions had expired.

The king hoped that the establishment of the constitution would remove the principal causes of discontent, and that the new representatives would be animated with sentiments less hostile to the regal authority. But these frail hopes were disappointed. The constituent assembly having by a disinterested though absurd decree, debarred themselves from being re-elected in the legislative body, they by this vote excluded those who were animated by moderate sentiments, and who as framers of the constitution were interested in its preservation, and enabled the jacobins to obtain the preponderance. The new members therefore were principally drawn from the middling and lower classes of society, visionary projectors, men of ruined fortunes, the most furious declaimers in the political clubs, all animated by the boldest spirit of enterprise, and breathing the fury of revolutionary principles. They were headed and directed by a few chiefs, who for the scourge of Europe united superior talents, with a courage exalted to fanaticism. The faction, which thus gained the ascendancy received the appellation of Girondists, from the department for which the leaders were principally chosen; and Brissotines from the name of their chief.

The object of these demagogues was to establish a republic on the ruins of the throne. They laboured to realise the plans of a Richelieu and a Louvois, by extending the limits of France to what they termed her natural boundaries, the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Ocean. From this center, they traced in imagination the limits of an empire as stupendous as that of antient Rome; from a territory in which the bounty of nature or the ingenuity of man had comprised every requisite for defence and every advantage for attack, they purposed to extend their power and to diffuse the contagion of their principles over the whole habitable world.

In the pursuit of this vast object, they laboured to excite a spirit of republican enthusiam among their countrymen, and to inspire them with antipathy

antipathy against every government and every religion, that they might employ as the engine of their stupendous designs, not armies alone but the whole force of a mighty nation. They endeavoured to spread the same contagion throughout Europe, deluded the people with visions of liberty; and stigmatised every crowned head as a tyrant, that they might in all countries secure partisans, and deprive every sovereign of the affection and support of his subjects. Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

Their active and sagacious spirit equally employed the most frivolous artifices, and the most specious motives, to revive the hostile spirit of their nation against Austria, a power whose territories were the first object of their cupidity, and who from proximity, strength, the ties of blood and alliance, was the most able as well as the most interested to check the diffusion of their principles, and to oppose the execution of their designs. They maligned the conduct of the queen, exaggerated her levities into crimes, found no calumny too black, no charge too atrocious to render her the object of popular odium. Their papers and journals were filled with declamations on the evils entailed on their country by the alliance with Austria. Not only the clubs, the streets, and the squares resounded with invectives against the emperor; but the members of the national assembly themselves in their public sittings gave vent to the most virulent accusations against his conduct, character, and principles. They feigned a committee of Austrian adherents, as sitting in the very capital, under the auspices of the queen, deceiving the king, forging fetters for the people, and arranging, in conjunction with the court of Vienna, a plan to deliver up the nation to that House, which they depicted as invariably a fatal friend or inveterate enemy.

By their ascendancy in the national assembly they appropriated the direction of affairs. They rendered the king the dishonoured instrument of their designs, by filling with their partisans the committees to whom the revision of the different departments of state was intrusted, and by driving successively from the helm the ministers

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

who continued faithful to the principles of justice, and attached to the person and office of the king; and finally they overpowered the constitutionalists in the same manner as the constitutionalists had before triumphed over the royalists.

Such a series of insults and provocations, such a systematic plan of hostility would have justified immediate aggression on the part of Leopold. But he dreaded to aggravate the misfortunes of a beloved sister, or to expose the life of his brother-in-law; he was apprehensive of again plunging his country into a war, from which he had recently delivered it with so much difficulty, he was unwilling to draw on himself alone the whole power of France, and he vainly hoped to awe or conciliate the reigning faction. Hence he had no sooner recovered the Netherlands, than he recalled the greater part of his troops to the hereditary countries, reduced his army, and refused to march an Austrian corps towards the French frontier, even as a means of affording a pretext for Bouillé to form a camp at Montmedy, in order to favour the escape of the king.* Hence he revoked the vigorous measures which had been dictated by necessity, as soon as they had begun to produce their effect; yet in the midst of changes which indicated want of decision, he still held forth equivocal threats or distant insinuations, which at once discouraged the royalists, and inflamed instead of awing the jacobin faction.

This conduct, therefore, only hastened the danger which Leopold was so anxious to avert. Besides the dispute relative to the feudal rights of the German princes, new subjects for invective were soon discovered by the sagacity of the Brissotines, and new pretences devised for precipitating the nation into that conflict to which they looked forward, as the means of establishing their darling republic and extending the empire of their baneful principles.

During the revolution the humanity of the different sovereigns had granted to the emigrants an asylum in the countries bordering on the French frontier. On the acceptance of the constitution by the king, Leopold himself forbade those who had found a shelter in the Ne-

* Bouillé's Memoirs.

therlands

therlands from assembling in arms, or acting in a hostile manner against their native country. But his example did not influence the minor princes of Germany, and in particular the electors of Treves and Mentz allowed the exiles to establish themselves at Coblentz and Worms, to form military bodies, and to make warlike preparations. These armaments, though from their weakness a subject of ridicule even at Paris, gave force to the invectives of the hostile party, who incessantly dwelling on the supposed concert of foreign powers, alluded to in the declarations of Leopold, adduced the protection granted to the emigrants as a proof of a systematic plan to dismember their country and impose a despotic constitution on the free people of France. By their orders the diplomatic committee compelled the king to enforce by prompt and efficacious measures the dispersion of the emigrants, and they threatened to carry not only fire and sword, but what was still more fatal to every established government, to diffuse their licentious principles throughout Germany.

Leopold, as emperor implicated in these threats of aggression, anxiously laboured to remove all causes of complaint. He repeated his instances with the elector of Treves and the other princes on the frontier, to check the military armaments and disperse the emigrants. But from the menacing aspect of France, the warlike preparations, and hostile language of the ruling party, he began to be apprehensive of an attack. He therefore concluded the preliminaries of a defensive treaty with Prussia for the maintenance and guaranty of the empire; and to unite the princes of Germany in a common cause, he ratified the conclusum of the diet relative to the contested feudal rights. He announced these measures to the king of France, and in dignified language declared his decided resolution to give all the aid required by his imperial dignity in support of these just claims. His example was followed by the king of Prussia.

The machinations and violence of the Brissotines overbore all the pacific measures of Leopold. They impelled the king to order preparations

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

tions for assembling an army of 150,000 men; and forced him to adopt their own language and indecorous menaces for the immediate dispersion of the emigrants. Brissot roused the assembly and nation by a violent harangue, in which he proved that France had no danger to

Dec 10. dread, and every advantage to hope from a war. After adverting to the situation of the European powers, he turned the force of his invective against Leopold. "What have we," he said, "to fear from the emperor of Germany? augmentation of debt, diminution of taxes, frequent insurrections in Hungary, inveterate hatred among the people of the Netherlands, all presage the most imminent danger to the House of Austria. Throughout the Austrian territories the people are harrassed with that passion for aggrandisement from which nothing but misfortunes can be expected. Every where the soldier whom princes endeavour to render the enemy of the people, refuses to separate his interest

Dec. 29. from that of the people among whom are his friends and his parents. The resolutions of the emperor are feeble; he desires, he seeks what is just; but he wants energy to resist the machinations and perfidious counsels of those ambitious men by whom he is surrounded. The ties of blood, no less than prudence, may have induced him to affect in his letters amicable expressions; he can gain nothing by attacking us, on the contrary has every thing to fear. The political variations of the cabinet of Vienna ought not to inspire you with alarm. As a prince the emperor desires peace, though as chief of the Germanic empire he appears to desire war. But away with the politics of the court of Vienna! What have we to do with the politics of courts, we who will to be free, we who only wish to defend our liberty, we who possess the means of doing it. France desires peace yet fears not war; she seeks no new allies, she has twenty-five millions of souls devoted to the support of her cause."

He was followed by the principal members of his party who all enforced and exaggerated his declarations; and the result of their efforts was the celebrated manifesto, which amidst the cant of affected moderation, was conceived in similar language, displayed the same sentiments, and denounced vengeance against all who should support the

the emigrants or presume to interfere in the internal concerns of the nation*.

The situation of Leopold hourly assumed a more serious aspect. As the king himself, in conformity with the demand of the assembly, peremptorily fixed a term for the dispersion of the emigrants, and announced a resolution to enforce compliance; he found it necessary to secure so important a territory as the electorate of Treves, which opened a way into Germany and cut off the communication between the Upper Rhine and the Netherlands. While he therefore redoubled his instances for hastening the dispersion of the emigrants, he ordered his commander in the Netherlands, to take measures for succouring the elector of Treves if invaded or threatened with invasion. An official communication of these precautions was made to the French embassador at Vienna in terms which were calculated to remove the impression of any hostile design. Prince Kaunitz, after stating the compliance of the elector with the request of the imperial court, for the dispersion of the emigrants, added, that he had claimed the assistance of the emperor should his territory be threatened with attacks which he had reason to apprehend, and that the emperor had in consequence ordered general Bender, his commander in the Netherlands, to furnish prompt and effectual succour, should the electorate be invaded or threatened with invasion. He professed a firm conviction of the king's moderate sentiments, justified his order by alluding to the want of subordination in the distant departments of France, and concluded with deprecating a war "*from the infallible consequences which it would produce, as well to himself and to the German empire, as to the other sovereigns who had united in concert, for the maintenance of public tranquillity and the safety and honour of crowns*".

Dec. 21.

This communication furnished new fuel to the flame. These vague and mysterious expressions were artfully seized by the demagogues, and the *concert of powers* instantly became the war-whoop of the party. Gensonné presented the report on this paper with a speech calculated to give full effect to the spirit of hostility which

* Moniteur.

had

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

had been raised against Austria. He argued that the emperor had broken the treaty of Versailles, for which France had lavished her blood and treasures; that his whole conduct had been hostile to the liberties of the French nation; that under the show of force and a concert of powers his real object was to procure the adoption of a congress, and insidiously to subvert the constitution. He appealed to the assembly, and in that ardent language which was now become popular, called on the members to apprise the nation of its danger, and urged them to vindicate their liberty by anticipating the alarming projects of the imperial court. The ardour of the assembly was still more inflamed by Guadet the vice-president, who darting to the tribune poured forth a torrent of glowing invective; the whole body rising at one and the same moment by the impulse of enthusiasm, amidst tumultuous shouts and cries of "the Constitution or Death," sanctified by oath a declaration stigmatising as a traitor to the country any Frenchman who should take part in a congress to modify the constitution, who should mediate with rebel emigrants, or enter into composition with the German princes relative to the feudal rights in Alsace. Some of the ministers who were present, were borne away by the general ardour, and the unfortunate monarch himself was necessitated to sanction a decree which precluded all hopes of amicable accommodation.

Jan. 14.

The hostile faction did not allow this burst of enthusiasm to subside. Even at the moment when the minister apprised the assembly of the total dispersion of the emigrants, they renewed their invectives against the emperor. On the second report of the diplomatic committee relative to the communications with the imperial court, Brissot himself rose to address the assembly. "The mask," he exclaimed "is fallen; your real enemy is known; the order given to general Bender tells you his name. It is the emperor! The electors were but his puppets, the emigrants but his instruments! Despise the emigrants: the national court of justice will punish the rebellion of those mendicant princes. Nor are the electors more

* Official Paper quoted in all the periodical publications.

worthy

worthy of your anger; fear has prostrated them at your feet, and a free people does not crush its humbled enemies. The emperor! I repeat, the emperor is your true enemy. It is him you must combat; him you must either conquer or force to renounce the confederacy he has formed against you. He intended either to alarm or attack you. If you are to be attacked, it behoves you to anticipate him; if he means to force you to an unworthy capitulation, you must realise what you have an hundred times sworn, The Constitution or Death."

He then expatiated on the imposing aspect of the national force, and the prosperous state of the finances; he declared that millions of men were ready to form a body of reserve and an inexhaustible source of recruits, and contemptuously demanded. "What, on the contrary, is the position of our enemies? I speak not of the electoral troops destined for parade; but those of the emperor, the only formidable force, are widely dispersed and scarcely sufficient to keep in subjection such extensive territories; 40,000 armed peasants in the mountains of Styria claim a more equal representation in the national diet, Galicia bears an alarming appearance; the native of Brabant disdainfully champs the curb; even the soldiery begin to feel the yoke. All things are against the emperor. Take counsel from your principles and your strength; your strength will avenge, your principles absolve you. Your constitution is an eternal anathema to despotic thrones, and must therefore be hated by all kings. It arraigns them, pronounces sentence, and seems to say, to-morrow thou shalt be no more, or shalt reign by the voice of the people. This truth has reached the heart of Leopold, and he strives to retard the fatal moment. You must therefore say to the emperor, our constitution strikes you with horror, it is that which you wish to destroy. Either renounce your designs or prepare for war."*

We spare the reader a further detail of these insults and invectives so offensive to humanity, so degrading to the nation, so hostile to good faith and justice. In spite of frequent communications from

* Moniteur.

Chapter 55. 1790—1792.

the ministers, proving the pacific disposition of Leopold, the ferment was increased in subsequent sittings by a similar strain of calumny and rancorous declamation, till the assembly was urged to trench on the prerogatives reserved to the king, by a decree which can be considered in no other light than as a declaration of war. After enumerating the different measures taken by Leopold, and even adducing his official communications as breaches of his alliance with France; after accusing him of forming a combination with foreign powers against the sovereignty and safety of the nation, the king was required to demand, whether as head of the House of Austria he would live in peace with France, and renounce all treaties and conventions directed against the sovereignty and safety of the nation. The refusal of full satisfaction before the first of March, was to be considered as a declaration of war; and orders were given for putting the troops in a condition to take the field on the first signal. The king in this as in former instances was swept away by the torrent, and the fatal and peremptory demand was transmitted to the French embassador at Vienna.

Jan. 25, 1792.

The emperor now perceived that all his attempts to maintain peace were vain. He therefore signed the alliance with the king of Prussia by which the two monarchs mutually guarantied their respective territories, and agreed to act in concert for the preservation of peace. In case of an attack they were respectively to furnish 15,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, and if necessary to augment this succour according to the exigency of the case. They engaged to maintain the Germanic constitution, as established by existing laws and former treaties, and reserved to themselves the power of inviting Russia, England, Holland and the elector of Saxony to unite in similiar defensive engagements.

Leopold also by his minister prince Kaunitz, gave a becoming answer to the arrogant demands of France, and assumed that language which became his dignity and feelings. He justified the orders given to marshal Bender, by his duty as chief of the Germanic body, to succour a co-estate when menaced with unjust attacks, and he proved on facts admitted and acknowledged by the French themselves, that the promised succour to the elector of Treves, depended

pended on a previous compliance with the demand for the dispersion of the emigrants. Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

He entered into a more enlarged view of the question relative to the concert of powers. He justly considered such a concert as warranted by the situation of his brother-in-law, and ally, before the acceptance of the constitution, "forced by atrocious violence to fly, protesting solemnly against an acquiescence to which he had been compelled, and with his family, arrested and imprisoned by his own subjects." In such a situation it became the emperor to invite the other powers of Europe to join in a declaration to France, that they viewed the cause of the king as their own; to demand his liberty, to require for him and his family the inviolability and respect to which they are intitled by the laws of nature and of nations, that they would unite to avenge all attempts against their liberty, honour, and safety; and would not acknowledge as constitutional any laws, but those which should receive his voluntary assent in perfect freedom. Feb. 7.

The acceptance of the constitution by the king obviating the necessity of such interference, Leopold declared that he had himself invited the powers to suspend their concert, which was not to resume its activity till the same dangers should revive; but he enforced the necessity of maintaining such a provisional alliance by dwelling on the disordered state of France, developing the intrigues of the jacobins for the propagation of their principles, and instancing in particular, a recent conspiracy to foment a revolt in the Low Countries. Finally to separate the cause of the king and nation from that of the Jacobins, he drew a striking picture of that terrible faction which threw its gigantic shade over France, and threatened the tranquillity and happiness of the world.

"The true cause of this ferment and of all its consequences is but too manifest to the eyes of France and of all Europe; it is the influence and the violence of the republican party, condemned by the principles of the constitution and proscribed by the constituent assembly; a party whose ascendancy in the present legislature, has been viewed

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

with sorrow and alarm by all who have the good of France at heart. The fury of this faction produced those scenes of horror which disgraced the first reformation of the French constitution called for and secured by the king himself, the consummation of which Europe would have seen with tranquillity, had not attempts forbidden by all laws human and divine, forced the foreign powers to unite for the public tranquillity and for the safety and honour of crowns.

"The agitators of this party, since the new constitution has declared the inviolability of the monarchy, incessantly seek to sap or overthrow its foundations, sometimes by motions and direc attacks, sometimes by a settled plan to annihilate it in effect, by leading the legislative assembly to seize the functions of the Executive Power, or by raising commotions to force the king into an acquiescence with their wishes. As they well know that the majority of the nation scornfully reject their republican system, and as they despair of introducing it, should tranquillity be established within and peace with the surrounding powers, they direct all their efforts to foster internal troubles and provoke foreign war. Aware likewise that their existence and the success of their schemes depend on the enthusiasm which they excite in the nation, they have provoked the present crisis between France and foreign powers. They have induced the government to lavish the public revenue in maintaining a war establishment of 150,000 men, under the pretext of making head against 4,000 emigrants in Germany, but in reality with the evident intent, that these armaments, accompanied with menacing language, should provoke counter armaments, and finally lead to an open rupture with the emperor and empire.

"Finally, to the fatal influence of this party, and to the design of precipitating a war with his imperial majesty, the extraordinary decree of the 25th of January may be attributed. By this decree, encroaching on the right reserved to the king, the emperor is reproached with having violated the treaty of union and alliance of 1756, because he wished to succour the king of France when a prisoner, and the French monarchy, when nearly destroyed; and because he afterwards used all his influence to bring other sovereigns to an unison

unison with the determination and the hopes of his most Christian majesty. By this decree the king is even invited to demand an explanation in the name of France, who is arming for war, of the hostile designs of the emperor who has not armed at all, but who has checked the armaments of others, and whom France now compels to arm in his own defence. By this decree adding insult to injustice, a right is arrogated of prescribing, on the foundation of reproaches without proof, to a respectable sovereign, the ally of France, a peremtory time of satisfaction, as if all the rules and respect consecrated by the law of nations were to be subjected to the arbitration of a French legislature.

"To develope the circumstances and true motives of his conduct towards France, without reserve and without disguise, is the only weapon which the emperor employs to baffle the artifices of a cabal, which establishing a state within a state, and founding its ascendancy on troubles and confusion, has no other means of supporting itself in the inextricable embarrassments into which it has precipitated the nation, than to precipitate it into still greater embarrassments and calamities, in the midst of which it may consummate its plan of overthrowing the monarchical government.

"With this amicable and salutary intention, the emperor, at the same time that he sought not only in words but by actions, to dissipate the uneasiness caused in France by the emigrants, thought it his duty to remind her of the concert of powers, and to declare his resolution of assisting the states of the empire in case of attack, for the purpose of making those who should provoke hostilities responsible to the king and nation.

With the same view that the emperor opposes truth to falsehood, being persuaded that his most Christian majesty and the sound and major part of the nation will plainly see the professions and actions of a sincere friendship, and will be grateful to him for dissipating freely and without reserve, the illusions to which it is intended they should fall victims."

This

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

This declaration was followed by a note from the Prussian minister at Paris, declaring the perfect agreement of the court of Berlin with the sentiments and views of the court of Vienna.

The dignified language of the imperial declaration, the truths which it contained, and the clearness with which it developed the plots and designs of the dominant party, inflamed their fury and gave new scope to their machinations. The minister, by whom it was read was frequently interrupted with bursts of laughter and indignation. The name of the emperor was treated with every mark of insult, contempt, and indignity, the exclamation of "War! War!" resounded on every side. The cry of war was re-echoed from house to house and from street to street, and a head of some recent victim to popular rage, designated as that of the emperor, was carried in barbarous procession, and held up to the windows of the queen's apartment in the palace of the Thuilleries. The emotions raised by these artifices were not suffered to subside; the demagogues obtained the expulsion of the ministers attached to the king, on whose moderation rested the last hope of peace, and with peace the last barrier of the monarchy.

Feb. 1792.

Within a few days Brissot again harangued the assembly. He threw a veil over the outrages and aggressions of which the court of Vienna so justly complained, and artfully reduced the dispute to the simple question of foreign interference. He grossly accused the unfortunate Louis of premeditated falsehood, and closed an harangue replete with uncommon acrimony against Leopold, by denouncing de Lessart the minister for foreign affairs. This denunciation was enforced with all the virulence of the jacobin journals, and the declamations of popular clubs; and the ill fated minister, without the privilege of being heard in his own defence, was sent for certain condemnation to the criminal tribunal at Orleans*. Such a dreadful example terrified all the friends of peace; the other ministers either resigned or were dismissed; and the jacobins gained a fatal and uncontrolled ascendancy in the cabinet and the nation.

* He was among the victims massacred on the 10th of September.

While

While this tempest was gathering in France, Leopold himself was no more. He was seized on the 27th of February with a malignant dysentery, and in three days was hurried to an untimely grave, in the forty-fifth year of his age, leaving his dominions in a state of more serious danger than even when he assumed the reins of empire. From the suddenness of his decease, the critical state of affairs, the recent assassination of the king of Sweden, and the savage principles professed by the jacobin faction, his death, though without any apparent foundation, was attributed to poison.

We have little to add to the sketch we have already traced of the character of this monarch. Leopold is known rather as great duke of Tuscany, which country he ruled twenty-five years, than as sovereign of the Austrian dominions and emperor of Germany, because he did not move long enough in this elevated sphere to fix the public opinion. But if we may judge from effects, we cannot withold the greatest praise from a sovereign, who within the short space of a single year, relieved his country from foreign war and internal commotion, who baffled a great combination which threatened the independence of his house, and established a throne which at his accession was tottering to its very foundations. March 9.

Maria Louisa, daughter of Charles the Third of Spain, was born in 1747, and espoused Leopold when great duke of Tuscany in 1765. The decease of a beloved husband, who expired in her arms, made so deep an impression on her feeling mind, that she did not recover from the shock, but followed him to the grave in the ensuing May. She was a fruitful mother, and bore sixteen children, of whom all except two survived her.

Francis the eldest was born in 1768, succeeded his father in all the hereditary dominions in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and obtained the imperial crown in the July subsequent to his father's death. The checkered events and wonderful revolutions of his reign, are too near the present times to be traced with accuracy or impartiality; but must be left to the pen of future Historians, and will form a period not the least interesting in the annals of Austria and of Europe.

The

Chapter 55. 1790–1792.

The second son, Ferdinand Joseph, received the great duchy of Tuscany as an independent sovereignty; but first deprived of his territory by the arms of France, he obtained as a compensation, the electorate of Saltzburgh and afterwards that of Wurtzburgh, which is now a mere nominal sovereignty.

The third son, Charles, is too highly distinguished as a warrior and as the great supporter of his family, to need any other notice than a bare mention of his name.

The fourth, Leopold Alexander, was chosen Palatine of Hungary, and being accidentally burnt to death, was succeeded in that dignity by the fifth son Maximilian Joseph.

The other sons were Joseph Anthony, John Regnier, Louis and Rhodolph.

The daughters, Maria Theresa, Mary Anne, Maria Clementina and Maria Amelia.

For their births and marriages we refer the reader to the Genealogical Table.

* It is needless to refer the reader to every particular source from which we have drawn our narrative of the French affairs. —For the account of the general course of events we are principally indebted to the Moniteur, that authentic register of the follies, crimes and exertions of the French revolutionists; the Mercure Francois; Bouillé's Memoires; Bertrand de Moleville's Annals and Memoirs; Adolphus's History of France and Biographical Memoirs; Memoirs de Dumouriez; with numerous pamphlets and private memoirs published in the course of this memorable struggle. The views which we have attributed to the Revolutionists are justified by the explicit avowal of Brissot and other chiefs less eminent, in their writings and speeches, particularly in the extraordinary appeal of Brissot to his constituents. For the account of circumstances relating to Leopold, besides the printed authorities so frequently enumerated, we have derived ample information from Sir R. Keith's Papers and other important and secret documents.

A General Statistical Account *of the* Austrian Territories, *towards the close of the Reign of* Leopold *the* Second, *in* 1792.

TERRITORIES AND POPULATION.

CIRCLE OF AUSTRIA.

Archduchy of Austria - - - - - - - - 1,550,000

Divisions.

Below the Ems, sometimes called Lower Austria.

Above the Ems, including the District of Burghausen, sometimes called Upper Austria.

Interior Austria - - - - - - - - - - 1,600,000

Divisions.

Duchy of Styria
Carinthia
Carniola

County of Goritz, or Austrian Friuli
Goritz
Gradiska

Littorale, or Government of Triest.

County of Tyrol - - - - - - - - - - 560,000

Exterior Austria - - - - - - - - - - 370,000

Suabian Territories.

The Brisgau
Margraviate of Burgau
Landgraviate of Nellenburgh
Baillages of Altdorf and Regensburgh
County of Hohenberg
Five Danube Towns, Munderkingen, Waldsee, Sulgau, Rietlingen, Mengen.

Other scattered Lordships, with the Town of Constance.

Four Forest Towns. Rheinfelden, Seckingen, Lauffenburgh, Waldshut.

Lordships of the Voralberg.

County of Bregentz
Montfort
Pludentz
Somneberg

Lordship of Hoheneck

County of Falkenstein, on the Upper Rhine.

Kingdom of Bohemia - - - - - - - - - 2,700,000

Marquisate of Moravia - - - - - - - 1,100,000

Austrian Silesia - - - - - - - - - - 200,000

In Lower Silesia part of the principality of Neiss.

In Upper Silesia part of the principalities of Troppau and Jaegerndorf, the principalities of Teschen and Bielitz, and the Lordships of Oderberg, Frudenthal, Olberndorf, Fridech, Roy, Deutsch-leuten, Freystadt, Reichau, Waldau.

Kingdom of Gallicia and Lodomeria - 3,000,000

Province of Bucovina - - - - - - - - 120,000

Austrian Netherlands - - - - - - - - - 2,000,000

Duchy of Brabant, including the district of Antwerp.
Luxemburg
Limburgh
Guelderland

County of Flanders
Hainault
Namur

Province of Mechlin

Lordship of Tournay

HUNGARIAN DOMINIONS.

Kingdom of Hungary - - - - - - - - 6,000,000

Lower Hungary, subdivided into Hither Danubian, or Hungary on this side the Danube; and Further Danubian, or Hungary beyond the Danube.

Upper Hungary, subdivided into Hither Teiss, or Hungary on this side the Teiss; and Further Teiss, or Hungary beyond the Teiss.

Banat of Temeswar, formerly separated from Hungary, but now re-annexed - 700,000

Arch-principality of Transylvania - - 1,250,000

Hungarian Illyria.

Kingdom of Sclavonia - - - - - - - - 250,000
Kingdom of Croatia - - - - - - - - - 400,000

Military District on the Turkish Frontier 550,000

Italian Dominions or Austrian Lombardy 1,200,000

Territory of Milan.

County of Como
Territory of Cremona
Lodi

Part of the Territory of Pavia
County of Anghiera

Duchy of Mantua.

Principality of Castiglione

Total 23,888,000.

The Population of any country is continually varying, which accounts for the difference in the statements of Population given by different authors. The above Statement of the Austrian Population is drawn from numerous statistical accounts, both foreign and domestic, authenticated during my residence at Vienna. In those countries where the Military Conscription was established, the Population may be ascertained with a tolerable degree of accuracy, by the different returns; and even in Hungary, where it was not established, we have a return made by order of Joseph in 1787. It then amounted, including the people of the Banat, to 7,116,769 souls, according to Novotny, who has given the Table in his second volume.

REVENUES AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

REVENUES.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact amount of the revenue and expenditure of any country. With regard to the Austrian territories this difficulty is increased, because Hungary and the annexed provinces furnish considerable contributions in grain and forage for the maintenance of the army, of which no estimate can be given in a statement of the taxes. The reader is therefore desired to consider the following statement as a mere approximation.

The principal sources of the Austrian Revenue are, Territorial impost for the maintenance of the army, called Contribution.—Stamps.—Tax on Houses.—Lotteries.—Monopoly of Salt, Tobacco and Snuff.—Royal Demesnes.—Mines.—Customs and Tolls on Roads and Rivers.—Postage of Letters.—Ports.—Tax on Places and Pensions.—With some others.

RECEIPTS.

	Net Revenue. *Florins.*
Archduchy of Austria	18,000,000
Styria	3,000,000
Carinthia	2,000,000
Carniola, including the Friuli	3,500,000
Tyrol	3,500,000
Exterior Austria	2,500,000
Netherlands	7,000,000
Bohemia	14,000,000
Moravia and Silesia	6,000,000
Gallicia, Lodomiria, and Bucovina	4,000,000
Hungary,* including Sclavonia, Croatia, and the Bannat of Temeswar	18,000,000
Transylvania	3,000,000
Austrian Lombardy	3,000,000
TOTAL	89,500,000
Or, in round numbers,	‡90,000,000

EXPENDITURE.

Army	27,000,000
Court and Civil Establishment	30,000,000
Interest of Debt	20,000,000
Incidental and extraordinary expences	8,000,000
TOTAL	85,000,000
Leaving in time of peace a surplus of about	5,000,000

* In 1794 I obtained at Vienna the following Account of the clear produce derived from the Hungarian revenues.

	Florins.
Royal Domains	4,233,002
Mines	3,300,118
Customs and duties mortgaged to the bank of Vienna	2,890,731
Judiciary Taxes, Fees, &c.	58,892
Contribution	5,473,679
Total	18,976,423

‡ An Austrian florin being 1/11 of a pound sterling, the amount of the revenues scarcely exceeded £8 000,000 sterling.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

No distinct statement can be given of the Austrian army before the time of Leopold the First. From his reign, which may be considered as the æra of its permanent establishment, it has been progressively increasing.

WAR ESTABLISHMENT.

In 1673	60,000
1690	97,000
1705	132,244
1735	150,000
1745	272,000
1788	364,000

PEACE ESTABLISHMENT in 1777.

Infantry	168,769
Artillery, Pontooneers, &c.	6,765
Cavalry	47,169
Total	222,703

The formidable army maintained by the House of Austria principally owes its excellent regulations to Joseph the Second, to whom Maria Theresa consigned the superintendance of military affairs, and who with the assistance of Marshal Lacy, reformed, augmented, disciplined, and brought it to its present perfection.

Under the reign of Leopold the Second, it consisted of,

INFANTRY.

39 German Regiments.
9 Hungarian.
2 Transylvanian.
5 Walloon.
2 Italian.
3 Artillery.
2 Garrison.
17 Frontier Regiments.

79 forming a total of 220,000.

CAVALRY.

11 Heavy Cavalry.
16 Dragoons and Hussars.
1 Uhlans.

38 forming a total of 50,000 men.

Infantry 220,000
Total 270,000

The recruiting of this immense army was supplied by the Military Conscription, which was introduced under the auspices of Joseph the Second into all the Austrian Dominions, except the Tyrol, the Netherlands and the Hungarian territories, on the plan of the Prussian system. Each province was divided into a certain number of circles, each circle into four districts, every house in each district was numbered, and every family inscribed. Each regiment was supplied by its peculiar circle; each of the four companies of the regiment by its proper district, where it was usually quartered in time of peace. No exemptions were granted, except to the nobles, to those who were below the standard, to families where there was only a single male, and to those places where manufactures were established. Considerable numbers of the soldiers were allowed during ten months in the year a furlough to their families; and were recalled into service during the annual reviews and encampments. Those who enjoyed this privilege received only an annual gratuity of ten florins, by which means the expences of maintaining such a numerous force were considerably lessened.

In Hungary and its dependencies the regiments were raised on the principles of the feudal system; and in times of necessity a general levy in mass, or as it was termed, an army of insurrection, could be called into action.

In the Netherlands the states supplied an annual sum for the levy and maintenance of about 28,000 men.

The frontier regiments were formed by a peculiar and military constitution. They were established in a narrow district 600 miles in length, stretching along the Turkish frontier from the Adriatic towards the Dniester. The inhabitants of this district were of the Greek religion, descended from the Uscocks*, and augmented by a considerable number of emigrants from the Turkish dominions, who were encouraged and protected by the government. Their whole population amounted to near 1,000,000 souls, and furnished about 60,000 capable of bearing arms. They held their lands on the feudal tenure, paying only a small quit rent; but charged themselves with guarding the frontier in time of peace, and acting against the enemy in time of war. Under Maria Theresa they first obtained a peculiar constitution, entirely military. The country was divided into four governments, dependent on the supreme council of war; each government was subdivided into a certain number of districts, and each district supplied its regiment. These troops were principally light infantry, and known under the names of Croats, Pandours, and Warasdiners.

* See Vol. I. p. ii. p. 680.

INDEX.

INDEX.

ABAFFY, Michael; chosen prince of Transylvania, i. 988. Supports the Hungarian malcontents against Leopold, i. 1070. 1073.—Renounces his connection with the Porte, and submits to Austria, 1085.

Abaffy, Michael II.; Established in his government by the Austrians, i. 1086. Surrenders Transylvania to Leopold I. 1091.

Adolphus, emperor, porehases Misnia and Thuringia, i. 89. Alienates the states of the empire by this contract, ibid.

Adolphus Frederic; soeceeds to the crown of Sweden, ii. 397. Disappointed in his attempts to emancipate himself from the controol of the senate, ibid. Compelled to declare in favour of Maria Theresa, ibid.

Adrian of Utrecht, the preceptor of Charles V. i. 448. Regent of Castile, 452. Suecceds Leo X. in the papacy, 470. His conduct in regard to the reformation, ibid.

Æneas Sylvius; conclodes the compacts with the Calixtines of Bohemia, i. 180. His account of the pilgrimage of Frederic III. to the Holy Land, 242. Description of the State of Germany, 243. Concludes an accommodation between Frederic and Pope Eugenius IV. 253. Persuades Nicholas V. to acquiesce in the Journey of Frederic into Italy, 264; see *Pius* II.

Agnes daughter of the emperor Albert I.; account of; i. 93. Her severity towards the assassins of her father, 97. Joins with her mother in founding the convent of Konigsfelden, 98.

Agnes countess of Gerardsheim; espouses Gerard elector of Cologne, i. 664. Driven from England by queen Elizabeth, from a jealousy of her connexions with Essex, 666. note.

Aiguillon, duc de; procures the disgrace of Choiseul, ii. 515. Invested with the administration of affairs, ibid. Attempts to revive the ancient system of French policy against the House of Austria, ibid. Proposes an union with England, 516. Dismissed, 517.

Aix la Chapelle; attempts of the emperor Rhodolph II. to suppress the protestant religion there, i. 662. 673. Termination of the contest on this subject, 736.

—— treaty of, between Louis XIV. and Spain; i. 1024.

—— congress of; ii. 350. Signature of the preliminaries between England, France, and Holland, 351.

Alain lord of Albret; courts the hand of Anne of Britany, i. 301. Assists Charles VIII. in the acquisition of that duchy, by surrendering Nantes, 303.

Albemarle, duke of; defeated by the French near Dennin, ii. 18.

Alberoni, cardinal; his ambitious projects, ii. 35. 38. and disgrace, 40, 41.

Albert the third, of the Hapsburgh family; first landgrave of Alsace, i. 2. note.

Albert IV. count of Hapsburgh; father of the emperor Rhodolph, i. 6.

Albert son of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, receives the investitore of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, i. 51. Suecceds to the hereditary dominions of his father, 72. Suppresses the commotions in his territories, ibid. Endeavours in vain to obtain the election of his son Rhodolph as king of the Romans, 81. Contest with John de Avesnes, for the succession to Holland, Zealand, and East Friesland, 81. His election opposed by Pope Boniface, and the electors of the Rhine, 82. Attempts to revoke his grants to the electors, ibid. Summoned to Rome by the Pope, 83. Invades the Palatinate and the electorate of Mentz, ibid. Reconciled with the Pope, 84. His disputes with Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, 85. Appealed to by the Pope, to support the pretensions of Carobert, prince of Naples to the crown of Hungary, against Wenceslaus, prince of Bohemia, 86. Invades Bohemia, ibid. Reconciled to Wenceslaus after the death of his father, 87. His pretensions to the crown of Bohemia, 87. Procures the election of his son Rhodolph, ibid. On the death of Rhodolph offers his son Frederic, 88. Invades Bohemia, ibid. Supports the pretensions of Carobert, prince of Naples to Hungary, 89. Opposed by the states of Germany, 90. Prepares to subjugate the Swiss, ibid. Assassinated by his nephew John, 92. His character and issue, 94, 95.

Albert son of Albert I.; associated with his brother Frederic in the administration of the Austrian territories, i. 119. Succeeds to the joint administration with Otho, 121. Person and character, 120. Accommodation with the emperor Louis, 122. Makes peace with the king of Bohemia, 125. Obtains Corinthia, 126. War with Bavaria, ibid. Supports the emperor Louis against the king of Bohemia, 128. Reconciles the houses of Bavaria and Luxemburgh, ibid. State of his territories and authority in Switzerland, 128. Engages in a war against the Swiss for the recovery of Zurich, 131. 134. Concludes an accommodation, 135. Death, 136. Anecdote of his benevolence, 137. His marriage and issue, ibid.

Albert of Munich, offends the emperor Frederic III. by clandestinely espousing his daughter Cunegunda, and seizing Ratisbon, i. 309. Compelled by the emperor and the Suabian league to make reparation, 310.

Albert of Brandenburgh, grand master of the Teu-

tonic Order; espouses the Lutheran doctrines, and secularises Prussia, i. 475. Detached from the protestants by Charles V. 505. Defeated and made prisoner by the elector of Saxony, 507. Liberated, 511. Refuses to agree to the peace of Passau, and carries on war against the catholic princes, 5.5. Defeated and expelled from his dominions, ibid. Death, ibid, note.

Albert son of Maximilian II.; espouses Isabella daughter of Philip II. and receives the sovereignty of the Netherlands, i. 630. His endeavours to establish his sovereignty, 632. Concludes a truce with the United Provinces, 633. Enters into the secret compact with Matthias, against his brother Rhodolph, 684. Refuses the imperial crown on the death of Rhodolph, 720.

Albert of Saxony, espouses the archduchess Maria Christina, daughter of Maria Theresa, and receives the principality of Teschen, ii. 514. Joint governor of the Netherlands, 564. Suspends the innovations of Joseph II. 635. Recalled, 636. His temporary return, 641.

Aldringer, general, deserts Waldstein, when disgraced, i. 895.

Alphonso institutes the kingdom of Portugal, i. 320.

Alphonso king of Castile, candidate for the imperial crown, in opposition to Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 92.

Alphonso the Magnificent, obtains the throne of Naples, i. 337. His situation on the accession of the emperor Frederic III. 259. Confers the kingdom of Naples on his natural son Ferdinand, 327.

Alphonso son of Ferdinand king of Naples; resigns his crown to his son Ferdinand on the invasion of Charles VIII. i. 347.

Alexander VI. pope; his character, i. 336. His connections with Louis XII. 360. His plans for the aggrandisement of his family, 372. His death, 383.

Alsace, account of the landgraviate of, i. 2. note.

—— yielded by the Swedes to France, 906. Ceded by Louis XIII. to Bernard duke of Weymar, 911. Subdued by Bernard, 923. Partially ceded to France by the peace of Westphalia, 953. Appropriated by Louis XIV. 1038. Its final cession to France, 1042. Disputes between Leopold II. and the French government, relative to the feudal rights in, ii. 703.

Altheim, count; ascendancy over Charles VI. ii. 49. Fruitless endeavours to remove prince Eugene, 50. His death, 56.

D'Alton, general; entrusted by Joseph II. with the command in the Netherlands, ii. 639. His presumption, 643. Discouraged by the success of the insurgents, 646. Concludes an armistice, 647. Quits the Netherlands, ibid.

Alva, duke of; his cruel administration in the Netherlands, i. 621. Defeats Louis prince of Orange, 622. Recalled, 624.

Amadeus, duke of Savoy; elected Pope, i. 190. His character, ibid. Endeavours to gain the support of the emperor Frederic III. 252. Abdicates 253.

Amboise, cardinal; minister of Louis XII. Concludes with Margaret of Austria the league of Cambray, i. 393.

Amelot; one of the ministers of Louis XV. His character, ii. 289.

America; discovered, i. 344.

American war, commencement of; ii. 343. Declaration of independence, 347. Peace with England, 601.

Amurath I. sultan; his conquests and death, i. 192.

Amurath II.; resumes the Turkish empire after the death of Bajazet, i. 195. Prepares to invade Hungary, 196.

Amurath ; renews the truce with Maximilian, i. 646. Attacks the Austrian territories, in consequence of the war with the Uscocks, 681.

Anabaptisti sect, origin of, in Germany, i. 476. Reduced, 496.

D'Ancre, marshal; assassinated, i. 767.

Andrew king of Hungary; celebrated decree of, i. 989. Abrogated, 1083.

Anhalt, prince of; lays the grievances of the German protestants before the emperor Rhodolph II. i. 703. Commands the army of the Elector Palatine in Bohemia.

Anjou, house of; see *Naples*.

Anne daughter of Louis XI., and wife of Peter of Beaujeu, intrusted with the government of France during the youth of her brother Charles VIII. i. 290. Her contests with the duke of Orleans, 292. Opposes the invasion of the archduke Maximilian, and humbles the duke of Britanny, 293. Her designs to obtain possession of Britanny, 302.

Anne, heiress of Britanny; succeeds her father Francis II. i. 300. Her hand courted by different suitors, ibid. Affianced to Maximilian, 301. Espouses Charles VIII. 304.

Anne wife of the emperor Ferdinand I.; her character, i. 601. Singular incident of her coronation as queen of Bohemia, ibid.

Anne daughter of Maximilian II.; i. 649.

Anne of Austria, regent of France during the minority of her son Louis XIV. i. 932. Commits the conduct of affairs to Mazarin, 933.

Anne; succeeds to the British throne, i. 1120. Commits the conduct of affairs to Marlborough and Godolphin, ibid. Rejects the insidious offers of Louis XIV. 1121. Character, ii. 13. Her views to secure the throne for her brother the Pretender, 13. Deserts the House of Austria, 13. Concludes the peace of Utrecht, 16.

Anne empress of Russia; engages to support the Pragmatic sanction of Charles VI. ii. 103. Promotes the election of Augustus III. to the throne of Poland, 121. Attempts to recover the cessions of Peter the Great in the peace of Pruth, 164. War with the Turks, ibid. Accedes to a peace negotiated by the emperor, 197.

Appenzel, people of; their war with Cuno abbot of St. Gallen and Frederic of Tyrol, i. 217. Defeat Frederic, 218. Compelled to conclude peace, 220.

Architecture, revival of; i. 343.

Argenson, one of the ministers of Louis XV.; character of, ii. 289.

Arnheim, general; favourite of John George elector of Saxony, concludes an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, i. 849. Overruns Bohemia, 857.

Arragon and Castile, union of, i. 318.

Arras, treaty of; between Louis XI. and the states of the Netherlands, i. 280.

Artois, count; obtains from Leopold II. and Frederic William II. the declaration of Pilnitz, ii. 712.

Asenes, John de; defeats the emperor Albert I. in the contest for the succession to Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, i. 81.

Auckland, lord; employed in the negotiation for the restoration of the Netherlands to Leopold II. ii. 663.

Augsburgh, dict of, i. 486. Confession, 487. Diet for the arrangement of religious affairs, 526. Recess of, 527.

Augustus, succeeds his brother Maurice in the electorate of Saxony, i. 525. Publishes the Book of Concord, to exclude the Calvinists from the benefits of the religious peace, 660.

Augustus II.; elected king of Poland. Forms a confederacy against Charles XII. i. 1171. ii. 60. Compelled to abdicate, i. 1171. ii. 60. Recovers his crown, 61. Opposes the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. 106. His views to render the crown of Poland hereditary in his family thwarted by Charles VI. 107. His death, 108.

Augustus III.; elected king of Poland, ii. 120. Offers his assistance to support the Pragmatic Sanction, 229. Joins the confederacy against Maria Theresa, 261. Concludes an accommodation, 314. Surrender of his troops at Pirna to the king of Prussia, 394.

Aulic council; instituted by the emperor Maximilian I. i. 369. 423. The electors oppose the extension of its jurisdiction to affairs of the empire, ibid. Changes in the constitution of, 599. Protestants admitted into it by the peace of Westphalia, i. 956.

Austria; rendered an independent and inalienable fief, i. 35. Acquired by Ottocar king of Bohemia, ibid. Conferred on Albert son of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, 51. Assumption of the title of Archduke Palatine by Rhodolph IV. 140. Privileges of the antient dukes, 142, note. Distressed situation during the contests between Leopold and Ernest, 168, and during the minority of Ladislaus Posthumus, 204. Raised into an archduchy by Frederic III. 263. Division of the country after the death of Ladislaus, 266. Contests between Frederic and Albert, 269. Attempts of the emperor Maximilian to raise it to an electorate, 369. Beneficial regulations in the government introduced by Maximilian, 423. Progress of the Reformation, 475. 597. Ceded by Charles V. to Ferdinand, 546. State of, at that period, ibid. Invaded by Solyman the Magnificent, 556. Consequences of the Reformation, 606. Concessions granted by Maximilian II. to his protestant subjects, 654. Change in the law of succession, 654. Plans of Rhodolph II. for the suppression of the Protestant religion, 657. 672. The states unite with Matthias against Rhodolph II. 696. The country ceded to Matthias, 701. Disputes of the States with Matthias, 701. Confirmation of the privileges granted by Maximilian II. 704. State of at the accession of Matthias, i. 731. The natives unite with the Bohemians against Ferdinand of Styra, 762. Compelled to do homage, 778. Abolition of the Protestant worship there, 815. State after the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, 1007.

Austria, House of; of the Bamberg line, i. 34. Commencement of the Hapsburgh line, 51. Change in its political situation, in consequence of the invention of gunpowder, 341. Commencement of its contests with France, 316. Loss of its ascendancy by the peace of Westphalia, 963. Its situation on the death of Joseph I. ii. 1. Arrangement of the order of succession, 2. 7. State of its dominions on the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, 43—46. Causes of its separation from England and alliance with France, 368. 384. Acquisitions during the reign of Maria Theresa, 565. State of its dominions on the accession of Joseph II. 571. Innovations of Joseph, 573. Statistical account of, on the death of Leopold II. 729.

Bacon, Roger; acquainted with the composition of gunpowder, i. 340.

Baden, terms of the treaty of, ii. 20. Remark on, 24.

Bajazet I. sultan; his conquests, i. 192. Defeats the emperor Sigismond, 193. Defeated and made prisoner by Tamerlane, 194.

Bajazet II.; his character and conduct, i. 326.

Bamberg line of the dukes of Austria, i. 35.

Banner, general; restores the ascendancy of the Swedes in Germany after the defeat of Nordlingen, i. 913. His contests with the Imperialists, 921. Invades Bohemia, 924. Forced to retreat. His irruption to Ratisbon, 929. Again repelled, 930. His death, ibid.

Barbara, wife of the emperor Sigismond; endeavours to prevent the transfer of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia to her son-in-law Albert of Austria, i. 184.

Barbara, queen of Ferdinand VI. of Spain; exerts her influence over her husband in favour of the House of Austria, ii. 334.

Barcelona; taken by the French, i. 1062. Taken by the Archduke Charles, i. 1186. ii. 4. Memorable siege and relief of, ibid.

Barricades, pass of, in the valley of Susa; forced by the French, ii. 309.

Barrier Treaty, account of; the negotiations for, ii. 22. Its defects, 28. 44. 208. Disputes relative to, 208. Renewed in the peace of Aix la Chapelle, 355. 371. Subsequent disputes, 384. Abrogation of, by Joseph II. 585. Demolition of the principal fortresses, and expulsion of the Dutch garrisons, 587.

Bartenstein, referendary of the conference; his character and rise, ii. 161. His conduct in regard to the cession of Belgrade to the Turks, and the conclusion of a peace, 195. 199. Prevents Charles VI. from uniting with England, 208. Gains the confidence of Maria Theresa, 236. Deceived by the French ministry, 238. Induces Maria Theresa to accede to the demands of the king of Prussia, 268. Introduces count Uhlefeld into the conference, 362. His conduct towards Kaunitz, 367. Dismissed, ibid.

Bartholinus; remark on his poem on the War for the succession of Bavaria Landshut, i. 375. note.

Bartholomew, St. massacre of, i. 616.

Bartzay; chosen prince of Transylvania by the influence of the Turks, i. 987. Assassinated, ibid.

Barwalde, treaty of; between Louis XIII. and Gustavus Adolphus, i. 835.

Basle, bishop of; instigates the citizens to massacre several nobles of the family of Hapsburgh, i. 17. Attacked by Rhodolph, 18. Concludes an accommodation, 20.

Basle, council of; its disputes with the pope, i. 188. Deposes the three popes, and elects Martin V. 189. Contests with Eugenius IV. 189. Dissolved, 255.

Basta, general of Rhodolph II. secures Transylvania, i. 685. Drives the natives to insurrection by his severities, 684. Expelled, 686.

Bathori, Sigismond; succeeds to the principality of

Transylvania, i. 682. Throws off his dependence on the Turks, and concludes an alliance with Rhodolph II. 682. His military successes, ibid. Cedes Transylvania to Rhodolph, ibid. Again contests the possession with the House of Austria, 683 Finally yields it, and retires into Bohemia, 684.

Bathori, Stephen; elected wayvode of Transylvania, i. 639. Chosen king of Poland, in opposition to Maximilian II. 644. Secures the crown, ibid.

Bathori, Gabriel; supported in the government of Transylvania by the Turks, i. 732. Assassinated, ibid. note.

Batre, Claude de; his tournament with Maximilian I. i. 439.

Battles; of Belgrade, ii. 30. Blenheim, i. 1147. Breitenfeld, i. 850. 921. Breslau, ii. 415. Campo Santo, ii. 296. Clutouitz, ii. 274. Crotzka, ii. 134. Cunersdorf, ii. 436. Dettingen, ii. 292. Fontenoy, ii. 307. Fotazo, ii. 622. St. Gothard, i. 924. Guinegatte, i. 411. Hochkirchen, ii. 424. Hohen Friedberg, ii. 321. Kolin, ii. 406. Kussnacht, i. 132. St. Lazaro, ii. 334. Lignitz, ii. 450. Lowositz, ii. 394. Lutzen, i. 878. Malplaquet, i. 1225. Marignano, i. 415. Minden, ii. 442. Mohatz, i. 500. Mulwitz, ii. 236. Morgarten, i. 106. Muhlberg, i. 509. Nacfels, i. 161. Nordlingen, i. 904. Oudenard, i. 1205. Parma, ii. 126. Prague, i. 781. ii. 402. Raenas, ii. 333. Ramillies, i. 1175. Rannal, ii. 622. Rosbach, ii. 412. Sohr, ii. 327. Tatwyl, i. 133. Torgau, ii. 435. Turin, i. 1184. Villa Viciosa, i. 1243. White Mountain, i. 781. Zenta, i. 1087. Zorndorf, ii. 425.

Bavaria, electoral vote of; contest for between Rhodolph and Louis sons of Louis the Severe, i. 103.

Bavaria, Lower; conferred by the emperor Sigismond on Albert VII of Austria, i. 854. Restored to the collateral branch, ibid. Division of the House of, ibid. note. Acquisitions by the peace of Westphalia, 951. State of, after the peace of the Pyrenees, 1010. Reduced by the imperialists after the victory of Blenheim, 1149. Insurrection of the peasantry, 1168. Restored to the elector, ii. 19. Attempts of Joseph II. to secure the succession, ii. 223. 595.

Bavaria Landshut; war for the succession of, i. 372.

Bayard, chevalier; defends the citadel of Novarra against Ludovico Sforza, i. 362. Made prisoner at the battle of Guinegatte, 411.

Belgioioso; introduces the innovations of Joseph into the Netherlands, ii. 633. Recalled, 636.

Belgrade; memorable siege of, by Mahomet II. i. 210. Siege of, 187. Ceded to the Turks, 192. peace of, 197. Reduced by Loudon, 623.

Belleisle, marshal; sent to form a plan of operations with the king of Prussia against Maria Theresa, ii. 243. Instigates Fleury to enter into the war against Austria, 260. Joins the elector of Bavaria, 261. Alienates the German princes, 266. Besieged in Prague by the Austrians, 276. His masterly retreat, 285. Returns to France, 287. Compels the Austrian general Brown to retreat from Provence, 339. Relieves Genoa, 340.

Belleisle, chevalier; killed in attempting to force the pass of Exilles, ii. 311.

Bender, general; preserves Luxemburgh during the revolution in the Netherlands, ii. 643. Subdues the revolted provinces, 603.

Bergen-op-Zoom, capture of, ii. 345.

Berlin; taken by the Austrians and Russians, ii. 453.

Bern; joins the Helvetic confederacy, i. 134.

Bernard, duke of Saxe Weymar; joins Gustavus Adulphus, i. 857. Entrusted with the command of the Swedish forces after the death of Gustavus, 888. His disagreements with Horn, 903. Defeated at Nordlingen, 904. Receives from Louis XIII. the cession of Alsace, 911. Reduces Alsace, 923. His death, ibid.

Bernard de Goth, elected pope, i. 84. Transfers the see to Avignon, 85. Appeals to the emperor Albert to support the claims of Carobert prince of Naples on the crown of Hungary, 86.

Bernard de Montpulciano, a capuchin friar, suspected of having poisoned the emperor Henry IV. i. 103. note.

Bernit, abbe; assists in negotiating the alliance between the House of Austria and France, ii. 384. Made secretary of state, 396. Dismissed, 434.

Bertenay, joins with Paquisky in the Hungarian rebellion, i. 1141. Defeated at Zudock, 1250.

Berwick, marshal; his ill success in Spain, i. 1188. Restores the affairs of Philip, 1198. Defeats the allies at Almanza, 1199. Prevents the loss of the frontier fortresses of France after the defeat of Oudenard, 1207. Secures Dauphiné and Provence, 1228. 1236. His campaign of 1734 in Germany, ii. 132. Death, ibid.

Bethlehem Gabor; assisted by the Turks in obtaining Transylvania, i. 732. Enters into a league with the insurgents of Bohemia, 760. Joins Thurn in the blockade of Vienna, 771. Chosen king of Hungary, 775. Concludes a truce with Ferdinand II. 777. Renews hostilities, 793. New accommodation with Ferdinand, ibid. Joins Mansfeld in his irruption into Hungary, 805. New truce, 806.

Bevern, prince of, defeated by the Austrians at Breslau, ii. 413. Taken prisoner, ibid.

Bianca Maria, second wife of Maximilian I.; her character, i. 444.

Bible, scarcity of, before the reformation; i. 426.

Bielfield; his account of the life of Frederic the Second, when prince of Prussia, ii. 207. note.

Blois, treaty of, between Maximilian I. Louis XII. and the archduke Philip, i. 378. Causes of its rupture, ibid.

Boats, bridge of; used by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh during his war with Basle, i. 19. note. And in the Bohemian war, 41. note.

Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania; enters into a treaty with Gustavus Adulphus, i. 853. His death, 920.

Bohemia; controversy relative to the exercise of the electoral vote at the election of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 24. note. State of the country after the death of Ottocar, 49. Different pretenders to the crown on the death of Wenceslaus, 81, and on the death of Rhodolph son of the emperor Albert I. 85. Election of Henry of Carinthia, ibid. State of the country under Charles IV. 172. Under Wenceslaus, ibid. Hussite wars, ibid. Death of Wenceslaus, and distracted state of the country, 176. Division of the Hussites into Calixtines and Taborites, 179. Reconciliation of the Calixtines with the Roman see, 180. Defeat of the Taborites, ibid. Election of the archduke Albert, 187. Contest for the crown on the death of Albert, 202. Ascendancy of the Calixtines, 203. Attempts of the States to obtain their young king Ladislaus from

from his guardian the archduke Frederic, 204. Contests for the crown on the death of Ladislaus, 266. Election of George Podiebrad, 267. State of the country during the reign of the emperor Maximilian I. 325. 416. note. Progress of the Reformation, 475. State of the country on the election of Ferdinand I. 567. Progress of the protestant doctrines, 569. Connections of the Bohemians with the German protestants, 569. The States refuse to act against the elector of Saxony, 571. Assemble a diet and raise an army, 574. Make offers of submission, 577. Changes in the constitution by Ferdinand, 583. Concessions of Maximilian II. to the protestants, 634. Plans of Rhodolph II. for their suppression, 672. Adhere to Rhodolph when attacked by Matthias, 699. New contests with Rhodolph, 705. Unite in a confederacy for the security of their privileges, 707. Obtain the royal edict, ibid. Invasion of Leopold bishop of Passau, at the instigation of Rodolph, 718. The States appeal to Matthias, 719. Compel Rhodolph to abdicate, 720. Endeavour to procure from Matthias the revival of the elective monarchy, and other privileges, 721. State of, after the accession of Matthias, 731. Election of Ferdinand of Styria, 741. Persecution of the protestants, 744. Protestant confederacy, 747. Commencement of the civil war, 750. Deposition of Ferdinand and election of Frederic V. elector Palatine, 768. Defeat of the elector Palatine, 781. Submission of the natives, 785. Abolition of the protestant religion, 815. Invasion of the elector of Saxony, 848. Expulsion of the Saxons by Wallstein, 872. Account of its connection with the empire, 1056. note. Attempts of Leopold I. to revive its electoral privileges, ibid.

Bologna, account of; 410. note.

Boniface, pope; refuses to approve the election of Albert I. i. 82. Haughty reception of the imperial embassadors, ibid. Letter to the ecclesiastical electors, 83. Reconciled to Albert, 84.

Borgia, Cæsar, son of pope Alexander VI.; appropriates the greater part of Romagna, i. 383. Compelled to relinquish his acquisitions by Julius II. 386. See Alexander VI.

Bosnia, subjugated by Solyman the Magnificent, i. 549.

Botskai, *Stephen*; elevated by the conduct of the ministers of Rhodolph II. i. 686. Rouses the Hungarians to insurrection, ibid. Elected prince of Transylvania, 687. Supported by the Turks, ibid. Declines the offer of the crown of Hungary, ibid.

Botta, marquis; his conduct in a pretended conspiracy against the empress Elizabeth of Russia, ii. 312. His treatment of the Genoese after their surrender to the Austrians, 333. Driven from the city by the natives, ibid.

Bouflers, marshal; his negotiations with the earl of Portland to hasten the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, i. 1061. His spirited defence of Lisle, 1207. Assumes the command after the defeat of the French at Malplaquet, 1277.

Bourbon, duke of; dismisses the Spanish infanta, and marries Louis XV. to Maria daughter of Stanislaus king of Poland, ii. 81. Disgraced, 91.

Brabant, constitution of; ii. 632. Dissolved by Joseph II. 642.

Braganza, John; raised to the throne of Portugal, i. 926. His death, 999.

Brandenburgh; division of the electoral vote of, i. 103. House of, account of its rise and aggrandisement, ii. 73.

Bremen, city of; ceded to Sweden, i. 954. Attempts of the Swedes to deprive it of its privileges, i. 963.

Breslau, preliminaries of peace between Maria Theresa and the king of Prussia, ii. 274. The town taken by Prince Charles of Lorraine, 414. Retaken by the Prussians, 416. Invested by Loudon, 447. Relieved by prince Henry of Prussia, 449.

Brihuega; capture of the British forces at, i. 1249.

Brisgau; transferred to the House of Austria in exchange for Modena, &c. ii. 563. note.

Brissot; his remark on the reforms of Joseph II. ii. 577. note. Ascendancy acquired by his party in the French government, 714. His attempts to rouse the nation against Austria, 715.

Britanny, state of; on the death of the duke Francis II. i. 300. Annexed to France, 301.

Brisach, taken by Bernard, duke of Weymar, i. 923. Reduced by the duke of Burgundy, i. 1230.

Broglio, driven by prince Charles of Loraine into Prague, ii. 275. His success against prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, 435. His operations in Hesse Cassel, 457.

Broglio, count; intrusted with the management of the secret correspondence of the French court, for the furtherance of its designs against Austria, ii. 514.

Brown, count; passes the Var, and besieges Antibes, ii. 335. His retreat, 339. Defeated by the king of Prussia at Lowositz, 504.

Bruges, the citizens of; imprison the archduke Maximilian, i. 293.

Brunan; dispute relative to the erection of protestant churches there gives rise to the civil wars of Bohemia, i. 747.

Bruno, *Rodolph*; acquires the supreme authority in Zurich, i. 130. Attacks the Austrian town of Rapperschwyl, 131. Obtains the protection of the Swiss, 130. Is gained by Albert of Austria, 136.

Brunswic, dukes of; unite with France against Austria, i. 926. Thwart the attempts of Ferdinand III. to draw the empire into the war against France, 927. Reconciled with the emperor, 934. Their acquisitions by the peace of Westphalia, 954. Situation and character of its princes after the peace of the Pyrenees, 1015.

Bucovina, yielded by the Turks to Austria; ii. 511. 564.

Buquoy, general; defeated by count Thurn and Bethlehem Gabor, i. 771. Unites with Tilly in in attacking the Bohemians, 779. Killed, 793.

Burghausen, circle of; ceded to the House of Austria, by the peace of Teschen, ii. 538. 564.

Burgundy, house of; account of its rise, i. 285. Transfer of its possessions to the Austrian family, 287.

Burgundy, duke of, grandson of Louis XIV.; reduces Utrecht, i. 1130. Commands in the Low Countries, 1204. Defeated at Oudenarde, 1205. Endeavours to hasten a peace, 1221. His death, ii. 16.

Bute, earl of; his political principles, ii. 461. Becomes secretary of state, 469. His unpopularity and resignation, 543.

Cadiz, unsuccessful descent of the English there, i. 1124.

Calmar, union of; i. 321.

Calvinists. See *Hugonots*.

Calvinists, rise of in Germany, i. 594. Their doctrines espoused by Frederic elector of Saxony, 612. Progress, 658. Persecute the Lutherans, 659. Excluded from the benefits of the peace of Prague, 909. Included in the peace of Westphalia, 955.

Cambray, league of; against the Venetians, i. 393. Congress of, ii. 78.

Campegio, Papal legate; endeavours to roose the German diet against Luther, i. 473.

Capistran, John, a Franciscan monk; collects an army of crusaders to defend Belgrade against the Turks, i. 210. His exertions during the siege, 211.

Capitulation of the emperors, first introduced at the accession of Charles V. i. 453. Attempts of France and the German princes to introduce a permanent capitulation, 959, 965. Established at the accession of Charles VI. ii. 8.

Cara Mustapha, Grand Vizir; leads an army to the assistance of Tekeli, i. 1075. Besieges Vienna, 1076. Defeated, 1078.

Carinthia; account of its acquisition by Ottocar king of Bohemia, i. 35. Error in regard to the investiture granted to the Austrian princes by Louis of Bavaria, 124. note. Contests for the possession of, 125. Occupied by the Austrian princes, ibid. Devised by Ferdinand I. to his third son Charles, 601.

Carlos, Don; the unfortunate son of Philip II. account of, i. 538.

Carlos, Don, afterwards Charles III.; assumes the title of Grand Prince of Tuscany, i. 102; and the government of Parma and Placentia, ibid. Proclaimed king of Naples, 131. Concludes a neutrality in the war for the Austrian succession, 279. Joins Spain, 307. Becomes king of Spain, 462. His favourable disposition towards the House of Austria, 463.

Carlowitz, peace of; i. 1089.

Carlstadt, a partisan of Luther; his disputes with Eckius, 456. note. His innovations in the established religion, 568.

Carniola; account of its acquisition by Ottocar of Bohemia, i. 35. Transferred to the House of Austria, 51. Devised by Ferdinand I. to his son Charles, 601.

Carobert, prince of Naples; invested with the kingdom of Hungary by the Pope, i. 86. Opposed by Wenceslaus prince of Bohemia, ibid. Elected king, 89. note.

Caroline, queen of George II.; her character, ii. 115.

Carrara, Francis of, his contests with the Venetians, i. 130. Obtains the Trevigiano from Leopold of Austria, 132.

Carteret, Lord; succeeds to the management of affairs after the resignation of Sir R. Walpole, ii. 277. Supports the cause of the House of Austria, 282. His unpopularity, 301.

Casimir, prince of Poland, elected by the Hussites king of Bohemia, on the death of the emperor Sigismond, i. 187.

Castaldo, the Austrian general in Hungary; procures the assassination of Cardinal Martinuzzi, i. 566.

Castile and Arragon, union of; i. 318. Contests for the regency between Ferdinand and the archduke Philip, after the death of Isabella, i. 379.

Catalonia, natives of revolt against Philip IV. and place themselves under the protection of France, i. 932. Declare in favour of the Archduke Charles, 1187.

Catechism of Heidelberg, the creed of calvinism; i. 615.

Catherine de' Medici, queen regent of France, her conduct during the religious troubles, i. 615.

Catherine I. empress of Russia; accedes to the alliance between Charles VI. and Philip V. ii. 84.

Catherine II. empress of Russia, deposes Peter III. ii. 475. Conduct towards the king of Prussia, 475 480. Procures the election of Stanislaus Augustus to the throne of Poland, 494. War with the Turks, 497. Agrees to the partition of Poland, 501. Her conduct on the revolution in Sweden, 504. Her acquisitions on the dismemberment of Poland, 507. Treaty of Kagnardi with the Turks, 509. Opposes the encroachments of Austria and Prussia in Poland, 510. Thwarts the designs of the court of Vienna, on the Bavarian succession, 535. Conciliated by Maria Theresa, ibid. Her character and principles, 550. Designs against the Turkish empire, 551. Influence of Potemkin, ibid. Influenced by France and Prussia, 553. Alienated from England, ibid. Gained by the address of Joseph II. 555. Conduct towards the prince of Prussia, 558. Supports the nomination of the archduke Maximilian to the electorate of Cologne, 559. Connections with Joseph II. 593. Obtains the Crimea, ibid. Favours the attempt of Joseph to obtain Bavaria, 597. Cedes Holstein Gottorp to Denmark, i. 983. note. Her views on the Turkish empire, ii. 609. Progress through the Crimea, 610. Concurs with Joseph II. in invading the Turkish dominions, 614. Attacked by Sweden, 615. Success of her arms against the Turks, 624. Checked by Russia and the Maritime Powers, 624.

Catholics, their first union against the Lutherans, i. 674. Disputes with the Lutherans at the diet of Spire, 678. Conclude a convention with the protestants, 494. State of their party compared with the protestants, 498. Alarmed by the growing power of Charles V. 517. Their attempts to divide the protestants defeated by the emperor Maximilian II. 613. Adopt the plans of Rhodolph II. for the extermination of the protestant doctrines, 662. Procure the deposition of Gerard, elector of Cologne, for embracing calvinism, 664. Endeavour to exclude the protestant canons of Strasburgh, from the chapter 667. Suppress the protestant religion in Aix la Chapelle, 672. Oppose the protestants in the contest relative to the succession of Juliers, 735. Origin of their league, 713. Support Ferdinand II. against the elector palatine and the protestants, 774. Assist in dissipating the combination formed by the protestants, 807. Become jealous of the emperor, ibid. Oppose his plans for humbling the protestants, 818. Compel the emperor to reduce his troops, and dismiss Wallstein, 825. Support him against Gustavus Adolphus, 833, 844. Effects of the peace of Westphalia on their body, 961. Favour the introduction of a clause in the treaty of Ryswick, for reducing the protestants, 1065.

Catinat, marshal; defeats the duke of Savoy at Staffarda, i. 1054. Driven into the Milanese, by Eugene, 1115.

Celestinus, remark on the pretended speeches of the Pope Charles V. and his chancellor Gattinara at Bologna, i. 485. note.

Chamber, imperial; instituted by the emperor Maximilian

sullan I. i. 350. Causes of its decline, 498. Changes in its constitution by Charles V. 541. Admission of protestants, 958.

Chambers of Reunion; tribunals erected by Louis XVI. to colour his encroachments on the empire and Spain, i. 1038.

Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy; endeavours to extend his dominions on the side of Helvetia, i. 234. Thwarted by Louis XI. 235. Concludes a treaty with Louis, ibid. Invades the Swiss territories, ibid. Killed at Nancy, 236.

Charles Martel; influenced to the daughter of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 55.

Charles, succeeds his father in the crown of Bohemia, i. 127. Defeated by the emperor Louis, 128. Chosen emperor, ibid. Acquiesces in the divorce of his brother from Margaret heiress of the Tyrol, 128. note. Joins Albert of Austria against the Swiss, 134. Confirms the transfer of the Tyrol to the Austrian family, 141. Compels Rhodolph V. of Austria, to relinquish the title of archduke, 142.

Charles, of Durazzo; obtains a temporary possession of the crown of Hungary, i. 171.

Charles VII. of France; attacks the Swiss at the instigation of the emperor Frederic III. i. 218. Defeat of his troops, 248.

Charles VIII. of France; betrothed to Margaret daughter of Maximilian I. i. 290. Ascends the throne, ibid. Concludes a peace with Maximilian, 297. Plans for obtaining Britanny, 302. Espouses the duchess, 303. Concludes, with Maximilian, the treaty of Senlis, 305. Pretensions to the crown of Naples, 316. Invades Naples, 346. Supposed assumption of the imperial dignity, 347. note. Compelled to quit Italy, 352. Disputes with Maximilian and his son Philip, relative to the Burgundian territories, 354. His death, ibid.

Charles son of Adolphus duke of Guelderland, attempts to obtain his paternal inheritance, i. 346. Expelled by Albert of Saxony, general of the emperor Maximilian, i. 346. Obtains the greater part of Guelderland, 356. Termination of the contest, 393.

Charles V. emperor; acknowledged joint sovereign of Castile, with his mother, i. 382. 450. Succeeds to the rights of his father on the movable fiefs dependent on France, 393. Treaty with Francis I. 414. Becomes heir to the whole Spanish monarchy, 418. Deserts his grandfather Maximilian, and concludes the treaty of Noyon with Francis, 420. His early life and education, 445. Assumes the government in Spain and the Netherlands, 449. Dismisses Cardinal Ximenes, ibid. Opposed by Francis I. in the contest for the imperial crown, ibid. Elected, 451. Discontents in Spain, 451. Quits Spain, 452. Lands in England, 455. Assumes the government of the empire, ibid. His captivation, ibid. Quells the internal troubles, 454. His power and influence, 456. Cedes the Austrian territories to his brother Ferdinand, 457. His conduct towards Luther, 463. Declares his attachment to the catholic religion, 464. Issues a decree of proscription against Luther, 465. Causes which prevented him from checking the progress of the reformation, 469. Signs a peace with Francis I. 477. Wars in Italy, 478. His manifesto against the pope, ibid. Summons a diet at Spire, 481. Arrests the deputies who present the protest of the Lutherans, 484. Remark on his supposed conferences with the Pope, 485. note. Opens the diet of Augsburgh, 486. Attempts to re-unite the protestants to the Church, 489. Procures the election of his brother Ferdinand, as king of the Romans, 492. Obtains the assistance of the protestants against the Turks, 493. Leads an army against the Turks, 557. His further designs against the protestants, 494. 496. 499. Endeavours to obtain their acquiescence in the decrees of the council of Trent, 500. Gains Maurice of Saxony, 501. Concludes a league with the Pope, 502. His skill and firmness when attacked by the league of Smalkalde, 503. Assisted by Maurice of Saxony, 505. Compels the elector of Cologne to abdicate, 507. Dissipates the league, ibid. Defeats and captures the elector of Saxony, 509. Compels him to resign the electoral dignity, and his possessions, 511. Visits the tomb of Luther, ibid. Grants the Saxon electorate and territories to Maurice, 512. Receives the submission of the landgrave of Hesse, ibid. Thwarted in his designs against the protestants by the Pope, ibid. Disputes with the Pope relative to the succession of Parma and Placentia, 514. note. Endeavours to establish the peace of Germany, by the regulation called the Interim, 514. Fails in his attempts to introduce the inquisition into the Low Countries, 516. 519. His conduct towards the natives, 519. Establishes his family in the Milanese, 516. Gains Pope Julius III. ibid. Foiled in his endeavours to obtain the reversion of the imperial crown for his son Philip, 517. 584. Compels the diet of Germany to acknowledge the council of Trent, 517. Attacked by Maurice of Saxony, and France, 520, 521. His distress, 522. Compelled to agree to the peace of Passau, 523. Fails in his invasion of France, 525. Causes of his abdication, 530. Relinquishes the government of the Low Countries and of Spain, 532, 553. Repairs to Spain, ibid. Resigns the crown of the empire, 587. His conduct in retirement, 554. His death and character, 538. His issue, ibid. His regulations in Germany, 541.

Charles, third son of the emperor Ferdinand I.; receives Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, i. 601. Account of, 604. Sent by his brother the emperor Maximilian to intercede with Philip II. in behalf of the people of the Netherlands, 623. His issue, and extinction of his line, 605.

Charles II. duke of Lorraine; endeavours to liberate himself from dependence on France, i. 835. note. Collects an army to join the imperialists, ibid. Defeated by Gustavus Adolphus, 854. Reduced to surrender his territories, 865. Escapes to the imperialists, ibid. His character and death, ibid.

Charles III. duke of Lorraine; attempts to recover his dominions, i. 907. 936. Obtains his duchy by the peace of the Pyrenees, 985. Again expelled by Louis XIV. 1025.

Charles IV. duke of Lorraine; commands the imperialists in the war of Holland, i. 1029. Refuses to accept his dominions on the terms of the treaty of Nimeguen, and takes up his residence at Vienna, 1037. Espouses Eleonora Josepha, daughter of Ferdinand III. 972. Re-established in his dominions, 1064 Opposes the Turks in their invasion of Austria, 1076. Unites with John Sobieski, 1078. Assists in the defeat of the Turks, ibid.

Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy; assists the elector Palatine

Palatine and the German protestants against Ferdinand II. i. 7.38.
Charles Louis, son of Frederic elector Palatine; nominally restored by Oxenstiern, i. 887. Fruitless attempt to recover his possessions, 922. Obtains by the peace of Westphalia the Lower Palatinate, and the eighth electorate, 954. State of his dominions after the peace of Pyrenees, 1011.
Charles I. of England, deposed and executed, i. 1005.
Charles II. restored to the British throne; i. 1004. Compelled by his subjects to oppose the attempts of Louis XIV. to dismember the Spanish Netherlands, 1023. Favours the encroachments of Louis, 1024. Unites with him in the war against the United Provinces, 1026. His subsequent subservience to Louis, 1041.
Charles II. king of Spain; succeeds an infant, i. 1020. His character, 1023. His antipathy to France, and attempts to entail his succession on the House of Austria, 1093. Favours the claims of the electoral prince of Bavaria. 1095. Promises to nominate the archduke Charles, 1096. His indignation at the partition treaties, 1099. 1104. His perplexity in appointing a successor, 1105. Decline of his health, 1108. Nominates Philip duke of Anjou, 1108. His death, 1109.
Charles III. of Spain. See *Carlos, Don.*
Charles, archduke of Austria, afterwards Charles VI.; declared king of Spain, i. 1130. Repairs to Portugal, 1135. Failure of his first attempt to invade Spain, 1166. Takes Barcelona, 1187, ii. 3. Assisted by the Catalonians, 1187. His success and reverses, 1188, ii. 6. Defeat of his troops at Almanza, i. 1199. Defeats Philip at Saragossa, 1230. Advances to Madrid, 1240. Reverses of his arms, 1242-1244. Succeeds to the Austrian dominions, ii. 2. His election to the imperial dignity, 7. Terms of his capitulation, 8. Receives the crown of Hungary, 9. His conciliating conduct towards the Hungarians, ibid. Change in the system of Europe occasioned by his accession to the Austriar dominions, 14. Endeavours to thwart the negotiations between England and France, ibid. Sends Eugene to London, 15, and Sinzendorf to the congress of Utrecht, 16. Prepares to prosecute hostilities, 17. Refuses to accede to the treaty of Utrecht, 19. Peace with France at Baden, 20. Dissatisfied with the terms of the Barrier treaty, 24. War with the Turks, 29. Peace of Passarovitz, 34. Seeks the alliance of England in opposition to Spain, 35. His displeasure at the connection of England with France, 36. Claims on the succession of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, 37. Renounces his pretensions to Spain, and unites with England and France, 40. Contest with Spain, ibid. Conclusion of peace, 41. Promulgates the Pragmatic Sanction, 41. His political situation at the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, 43. Disordered state of his revenues, 46. His character, talents, and policy, 47. Ascendancy of his favourite count Aitherin, 48. Spanish council, 50. Conduct towards Eugene, 53. Towards the orphans of count Altheim, 56. Account of his favourite Realp, 57. His habits of life, 59. War of the south, 61. His aversion to George I. 68. His conduct during the troubles of Mecklenburgh, 72. His repugnance to the Quadruple Alliance, 77. Establishes an East India Company at Ostend, ibid. Makes a private alliance with Philip V. 90. Treaty relative to the marriage of his daughters the archduchesses with the infants of Spain, and to the recovery of Gibraltar, 84, 85. Gains the king of Prussia, 87. Disappointed in his views, 88. Concludes a treaty with England, 90. His sanguine hopes on the death of George I. 92. Congress of Soissons, 93. Endeavours to procure the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, 94. Deserted by Spain, 95. His indignation at the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, 96. Separates the Maritime Powers from France, 98. Treaty of Vienna with England, 100. Attempts to create a naval force in the Mediterranean, 101. Procures the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction from all the German states, except the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, 106. Thwarts the endeavours of Augustus II. to render the crown of Poland hereditary in his family, 107. Negotiations with the king of Sardinia, 113. Supports the pretensions of Augustus III. to the crown of Poland, 120. Obtains the support of the German diet, 124. Disappointed in his hopes of assistance from the Maritime Powers, 139. Endeavours to procure the dismission of Sir Robert Walpole, 145. Forecots the disputes between the kings of Spain and Portugal with the hope of drawing the Maritime Powers into the war, 150. Concludes a peace with France, 155. Rise and influence of Bartenstein, 161. War with the Turks, 165. Causes of the failure of his military operations, 172. Discontents in his army, 179. 181. Consternation at Vienna, occasioned by the progress of the Turks, 188. Hasty signature of the preliminaries, 190. Concern on that occasion, 194. Letter to the empress of Russia, ibid. Definitive treaty, 197. His disastrous situation, 201. Endeavours to form an union with England and Holland, 207. Disputes relative to the Barrier treaty, 208. Death and character, 220.
Charles Gustavus, prince of Deux Ponts; besieges Prague, i. 946. Succeeds to the crown of Sweden, on the abdication of Christina, 969. Attacks Poland, and compels the elector of Brandeburgh to join in the war, ibid. Opposes the elevation of Leopold to the imperial dignity, 974. Threatened by the confederacy of the emperor, the king of Denmark, the elector of Brandenburgh and Holland, 977. Attacks Denmark, ibid. Penetrates into Jutland, crosses the Great and Little Belts, and appears before Copenhagen, 979. Forces Denmark to conclude the peace of Roskild, ibid. Renewal of the war, 980. Besieges the king of Decmark in his capital, ibid. Defeat of his troops at Nyborg, 982. Death, ibid.
Charles XI. of Sweden; his accession, i. 1005. Unites with England and Holland to prevent the dismemberment of the Netherlands, by Louis XIV. 1023. Declares in favour of Louis in the war of Holland, 1029. Included in the peace of Nimeguen, 1036. Unites with the emperor in resisting the encroachments of Louis, 1047. State of Sweden at his death, 1169.
Charles XII. of Sweden; his character, i. 1169. Attacked by Peter of Russia, Christian king of Denmark, and Augustus king of Poland, 1170. Reduces Denmark to submission, 1171. Defeats the Muscovites, 1172. Dethrones Augustus, ibid. Procures the election of Stanislaus Letzinski, ibid. Conduct towards the emperor and the allies, ibid.

Prevents the emperor from co-operating in the reduction of Toulon, 1194. Coincidated by the allies, 1201. Quits Germany, 1202.

Charles elector of Bavaria, afterwards emperor; his contests with the elector Palatine for precedency in the electoral college, ii. 71. Opposes the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, 106. Protests against the accession of Maria Theresa, 227. His claims on the Austrian succession, ibid. Commences hostilities, 232. Supported by a French army, 261. Inaugurated archduke of Austria, ibid. Crowned king of Bohemia, 271. Elected emperor, ibid. His electorate overrun by the Austrians, 271. Concludes a treaty of neutrality with Maria Theresa, 291. Overtures to George the Second, 295. Death and Character, 310.

Charles Emanuel king of Sardinia; his character, i. 1001, ii. 112. Negotiations with Charles VI. 113. Unites with France and Spain, 123. Overruns Austrian Lombardy, ibid. Overtures to the emperor and the king of England, 148. Claims on the Austrian succession, 204. Joins Maria Theresa, 278. Disputes with Maria Theresa relative to the cessions promised him in Italy, 297. Defeated by the French and Spaniards, 320. Disputes with Maria Theresa, relative to the capture of Genoa, and to the execution of the treaty of Worms, 349. Acquisitions at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, 358.

Charles Theodore elector Palatine; his claims on the succession of Bavaria, ii. 252. Obtains the greater part of the succession by the peace of Teschen. 537. Consents to exchange Bavaria for the Netherlands, 596.

Charles prince of Lorraine; attacks the king of Prussia at Chotusitz, ii. 274. Besieges the French in Prague, 276. Regains possession of Bavaria, 291. Espouses the archduchess Maria Anne, 299. Invades Alsace, 302. Recalled to oppose the king of Prussia, 305. Defeated at Hohenfriedberg, 321. Attacks the Prussians at Sohr, 327. Defeated at Prague by the king of Prussia, 401. Defeats the prince of Deveux, 413. Takes Schwedidtz and Breslau, 413, 414. Defeated by the king of Prussia at Lignitz, 414. Resigns his command, 422.

Chanmont, the French governor of the Milanese; secures that country against the invasion of the Swiss, and attacks pope Julius II. i. 401.

Charmuis; effects of his celebrated work on the prerogatives of the emperor, i. 927.

Chetardie, marquis de la; French embassador in Russia, assists Elizabeth in the revolution of 1741, ii. 247. Endeavours to excite her enmity against Maria Theresa, 312.

Chernichef, Russian general; makes an irruption into Brandenburgh, and takes Berlin, ii. 453.

Chevert; his spirited defence of the citadel of Prague after the retreat of Belleisle, ii. 286.

Choiseul, duke of. See *Stanville*.

Chotzim, siege of, ii. 618.

Christian of Oldenburgh; elected king of Denmark, i. 922.

Christian I. king of Denmark; obtains Holstein and Slesswick, i. 799. note.

Christian IV. king of Denmark; his resentment against Ferdinand II. i. 799. Chosen head of the protestant league, 800. Commences hostilities, 801. Defeated, 804. Fruitless overtures for peace, 808. Accommodation with Gustavus Adolphus, 810. Concludes peace with Ferdinand, 811. Enters into an alliance with Ferdinand, 936. Attacked by the Swedes, 935. Concludes peace, 939.

Christian VI. king of Denmark; his character and situation at the death of Augustus II. ii. 108.

Christian VII. king of Denmark; his imbecile character, ii. 565. Revolution in the government, 566.

Christian elector of Saxony, favours Calvinism, i. 659. His claims on the succession of Cleves and Juliers, 710. Refuses to take part with the protestants, 715. Receives the investiture from the emperor Rhodolph. ii. 715.

Christian administrator of Brunswick; espouses the cause of Frederick elector palatine, titular king of Bohemia, i. 790. Joins Mansfeld, 791. Penetrates into the United Provinces, 792. Defeated by Tilly, 793. Joins Christian IV. of Denmark, 804. His death, 807.

Christian William administrator of Magdeburgh; induces Magdeburgh to declare in favour of Gustavus Adolphus, i. 839.

Christina queen of Sweden; favours the election of the archduke Ferdinand, son of Ferdinand III. as king of the Romans, i. 965. Her abdication, 969.

Church, patrimony of; account of, i. 97. note. Confirmed to the popes by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, 54. Schism of, 173. Great schism and election of three popes, 189. Schism of the Greek and Latin churches, 189. note. Pretended union of by Eugenius IV. 190.

Cilli, count of, an Hungarian magnate; supports the interests of the House of Austria in the contests for the crown after the death of Albert, i. 201. Becomes guardian of Ladislaus Posthumus, 205. Dismissed and recalled, 206, 207. His enmity against the family of Hunniades, 208 212. Killed by Ladislaus son of Hunniades, 213.

Circus of the Empire; origin of, i. 422. When formed, 542.

Claudia Felicitas second wife of Leopold I., i. 1108.

Clement XI. pope; his conduct during the war of the Austrian succession, ii. 1265. 6. 65. Humbled by Joseph and Charles VI. i. 1236. ii. 65.

Cleves and Juliers; contest for the succession of, i. 710. Occupied by the prince Palatine of Neuburgh and Ernest of Brandenburgh, 711. Progress of the dispute, 730. Occupied by the Dutch and Spaniards, 737. Final accommodation, ibid. 966.

Cloatergrahen; dispute relative to the election of a protestant church there, i. 747.

Closter Seven, convention of, ii. 409. Broken, 417.

Colenti, count Philip; negotiates the peace of Teschen. ii. 511. Nominated by Kaunitz his coadjutor in office, ibid. Sent to pacify the insurgents of the Netherlands. 649.

Coburgh, prince of; reduces Chotzim, ii. 618. Joined by Suwarof, 622. Defeats the Turks at Fotzani and Rimnik, ibid. Takes Gravow, 670.

Colonge of Germany; how regulated by Ferdinand I. i. 699.

Colbert minister of Louis XIV.; his institutions for the extension of commerce and the improvement of the finances, i. 1092.

Cologne, Hermann, elector of; embraces the protestant religion, i. 497. Compelled to abdicate by Charles V. 507. Dispute relative to the see of, i. 1087.

——— Elector of: proscribed by Joseph I. i. 1242.

——— Joins the confederacy against Maria Theresa, ii. 261.

Colowrat, count, his spirited defence of Prague against the Swedes, i. 948.

Colloredo, count; his character, ii. 258.

Colloredo, count Joseph; his character, ii. 363.

Commendon cardinal; sent to procure the acquiescence of the protestants in the decrees of the council of Trent, i. 490. Urges the catholics to avail themselves of the schism among the protestants, 503. Sent by Pius V. to suspend the religious innovations of Maximilian II. 655. Fails in his attempts to persuade him to break the truce with the Turks, 670. Remark on the divisions of the German protestants, 661.

Commission under both kinds; claimed by the Bohemites, i. 174. Attempts of the emperor Ferdinand I. to obtain its administration to his protestant subjects in general, 592.

Compactata; terms on which the Calixtines of Bohemia were reconciled to the Roman Church, i. 100. Attempts of Pius II. to revoke them, 279. Annulled by Maximilian II. 655.

Concord, Book of; the Lutheran formulary of faith, i. 669.

Concordates of the German nation; regulations for reforming the church by the council of Basle, i. 190. Concordates of Aschaffenburgh, 255.

Condé, prince of; defeats the Spaniards at Rocroy, i. 834. Defeats the Pavonians at Nordlingen, 878.

Conference, council; state of at the accession of Maria Theresa, ii. 256. Dissolved, 512.

Conscription, military; introduced into the Austrian dominions, ii. 407. Regulations of, 731.

Constance, council of; i. 223. Excommunicates Frederic of Tyrol, 224.

——— annexed to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, i. 516.

Constantine; succeeds to the throne of Constantinople, i. 209. Overthrow of his empire, and death, ibid.

Constantine Great duke of Russia; designs of Catherine II. to place him at the head of a new empire of the East, ii. 551.

Constantinople, besieged by the Turks, i. 193, 194, 195. Captured by Mahomet II. 209.

Contades; receives the command of a French army on the Rhine, ii. 420. Invades the territories of Hesse Cassel, 421. Opposed by prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, ibid.

Conti, imperial general; resists the progress of Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania, i. 854.

Conti, an engineer; assists in the defence of Prague against the Swedes, i. 946.

Conti, prince of; his passage of the Alps, ii. 308.

——, prince of; resigns the conduct of the secret correspondence of the French court, for the prosecution of the Anti-Austrian system, ii. 514. Opposes the alliance with Austria, ibid.

Correspondence, secret; of the French court in different courts of Europe, for the prosecution of its system against Austria, ii. 514.

Corvinus, John, surnamed Hunniades; account of, i. 180. note. Exposes the cause of Ladislaus in the contest for the crown after the death of Albert V. 200. Nominated regent, 204. His critical escape during the war with the Turks 204. Disputes with count Cilli the favourite of Ladislaus, 208. Memorable defence of Belgrade, and defeat of the Turks, 210. Death, 212.

Corvinus, Ladislaus, kills count Cilli, i. 213. Beheaded, 214.

Corvinus, Matthias; imprisoned by Ladislaus Posthumus, i. 214. Raised to the throne of Hungary, 268. Obtains his liberty and defends his crown against the emperor Frederic III. 269. Invades the Austrian dominions, 285. Agrees to a treaty for their restauration, 298. Death, 299. Supposed epigram on the fortunate marriages of the Austrian family, 447.

Cosmo de' Medici, assumes the title of duke of Florence, i. 631. Created Great Duke by the pope, ibid.

Coster, Laurence; inventor of printing, i. 342. note.

Coucy, Enguerrand de; espouses Catherine daughter of Leopold of Austria, i. 119.

——— invades the dominions of Leopold of Austria, i. 146. Accommodation with Leopold, 147.

Courland; conquered by the Teutonic knights, i. 629. Appropriated as an hereditary sovereignty by Gothard Kettler, 630.

Crimea, independence of, acknowledged by the treaty of Kaynardji, ii. 509. Appropriated by Catherine II. 593.

Croatia, ceded by Rhodolph II. to Charles of Styria, i. 679. Establishment of the militia called Creats, ibid.

Cromwell, Oliver; his administration and views, i. 1003. Obtains Jamaica and Dunkirk from Spain, ibid.

Cron, William de; lord of Chevres, governor of Charles V. i. 448.

Cumberland, duke of; joins the British army at Aschaffenburgh, ii. 292. Anecdote of his humanity to a French officer after the battle of Dettingen, ibid. Battle of Fontenoy, 317. Defeats the rebels at Culloden, 333. Assumes the command in the Netherlands, 342. Defeated at Lauffeld, 344. Signs the convention of Closter Seven, 409.

Cunegunda daughter of Frederic III., espouses Albert of Munich, i. 309.

Cuno abbot of St. Gallen; his war with the natives of Appenzel, i. 217.

Cymburga wife of Ernest of Styria; account of, i. 241.

Cyprus, kingdom of; transferred to the Venetians, i. 238 note. Assumption of the title by the House of Savoy, ibid.

Dampierre, general; leads an army against the Bohemian insurgents, i. 756. Saves Ferdinand II. when blockaded in Vienna, 765. Killed, 793.

Danube; attempts of Joseph II. to obtain the free navigation of, ii. 581.

Daun, count; defends Turin against the French, i. 1181.

1151. Reduces Naples, 1195. Baffled in his attempts to invade Dauphiné, 1229. 1236.

Daun, general; covers the retreat of the Austrians at the battle of Soor, ii. 398. His life and character, 404. Defeats the Prussians at Kolin, 406. Compels them to quit Bohemia, 408. Appointed to the chief command, 422. Raises the siege of Olmutz, ibid. Surprises the Prussians at Hochkirchen, 424. Defeats the Prussian general Fink at Maxen, 442. Battle of Lignitz, 450. Induces the Russians to make an irruption to Berlin, 453. Defeated at Torgau, 454.

Delphin, cardinal; sent by the pope to procure the acquiescence of the protestants in the decrees of the council of Trent, i. 593.

Denmark state of; at the accession of the emperor Maximilian I. i 322. Accession of the House of Oldenburgh, ibid. Establishment of the Reformation, 480. Change in the government by Frederic III. 1004. State of, on the death of Augustus II. of Poland, ii. 103. Revolution in the government under Christian VI. 503.

Deux Ponts, duke of; appeals to Prussia and France to prevent the alienation of the Bavarian succession by the House of Austria, ii. 525. Again appeals to prevent the exchange of Bavaria for the Netherlands, 597.

Diets of Hungary; account of, i. 989.

—— of Deputation; introduced into Germany, i. 599.

—— of Germany rendered permanent; i. 1008.

Diffidation; right of, or private warfare, mischiefs of, i. 506. Absurd instances of its exercise, ibid. Attempts made for its abolition, 507. Abolished by the emperor Maximilian I. 558.

Dissidents; a term used to distinguish the protestants in Poland, i. 643. note. Countenanced by Russia and Prussia, during their intrigues for effecting the partition, ii. 495.

Dismembering; deprived of its civil and religious rights and appropriated by the House of Bavaria, i. 674. 676. Stipulations relative to it in the peace of Westphalia, 958.

Doria, Andrew, admiral of Charles V.; captures Corona on the Dardanelles and threatens Constantinople, i. 558.

Dort, meeting of, to consolidate the union of the insurgent provinces in the Netherlands, i. 624.

Douay, reduced by the allies, i. 1254.

Dresden, peace of, ii. 331.

Dunkirk; ceded to England. i. 985. 1003. Sold by Charles II. to France, 997.

Ecclesiastical Reservation; an article in the recess of the diet of Augsburgh, i. 508. Attempts of the protestants to abrogate or evade it, 642. Termination of the contest on this subject, 957.

Eckius; his disputations with Luther, i. 458. note. Carries the papal bull against Luther into Germany, 460.

Edict, royal; the concessions granted to the protestants in Bohemia, i. 699. Disputes relative to, 746.

Edict of Restitution; published by Ferdinand II. to extort from the protestants the ecclesiastical property appropriated after the peace of religion, i. 817.

Egmont, count; his character, i. 620. note. Beheaded by order of Philip II. 622.

Egypt, conquered by the Turks, i. 548.

Eleanor, princess of Portugal, wife of the emperor Frederic III. i. 513.

Electoral union; against Frederic III. and Eugenius IV. i. 253. Of Gelnhausen, 568.

Electoral college, empowered to create a king of the Romans without the consent of the emperor, i. 751.

Elizabeth, widow of Albert the Fifth of Austria; her conduct towards the States of Hungary and Austria, i. 199. Compelled to offer her hand to Ladislaus of Poland, 200. Places her infant son Ladislaus under the care of Frederic of Austria, 201. Obtains for him the crown of Bohemia, 202.

Elizabeth, daughter of Maximilian II. wife of Charles IX. of France; her character, i. 649.

Elizabeth, queen; establishes the protestant religion in England, i. 591. Assists the protestants of France, 647. Supports the United Provinces, but refuses to accept the sovereignty, 651. Endeavours to prevent the disunion of the German protestants, 664.

Elizabeth, widow of the Landgrave of Hesse; left regent of his territories, i. 921. Unites with the French against the emperor, 925.

Elizabeth, Charlotte, duchess of Orleans; her claims on the palatine succession, i. 1046. Supported by Louis XIV. ibid. Renounces her claims, 1064.

Elizabeth Christina, wife of the emperor Charles VI.; her character, ii. 225.

Elizabeth Farnese, second wife of Philip V.; her character and views, ii. 35. Attempts to acquire Parma Placentia and Tuscany, 37. Induces Philip to break off his connection with Charles VI. 95.

Elizabeth, empress of Russia; deposes the infant Ivan, ii. 277. Joins with the empress queen against the king of Prussia, 392. State of her court, 464. Changes occasioned by her death, 472.

Elizabeth Maria, wife of Joseph II. ii. 661.

Elizabeth, wife of the archduke Francis; her death, ii. 636.

Emperors, their oath of submission to the pope, i. 261. Emperor Elect; title assumed by Maximilian I. 309. Exemption from their dependence on the see of Rome, 367. Restriction of their prerogatives by the peace of Westphalia, i. 938.

Enghien See *Condé*.

England; state of at the accession of the emperor Maximilian I. i. 317. Interferes in the war between Frederick of Denmark and Charles Gustavus of Sweden, 977. Administration of Cromwell, 1003. Alarm of the nation at the encroachments of Louis XIV. 1045. Revolution of, 1048. Its effects, 1049. 1051. State of the country, at the commencement of the contest for the Spanish succession, 1113. Change in the national sentiment, occasioned by the victory of Blenheim, 1152. State of parties at the close of the war for the Spanish succession, ii. 13. Change of ministry, and negotiations for peace, 13. Discussions relative to the barrier treaty, 22. Unites with France, 36 Situation in regard to the House of Austria, 68. Separation from France, and renewal of the connexion with Austria, 93. State of, on the death of Augustus II. 114 At the conclusion of the peace of Belgrade, 205. Conduct towards

Maria Theresa at the commencement of the war for the Austrian succession, 241. Enthusiasm of the people in her cause, 243. Becomes a principal in the war, 300. State of the cabinet, ibid. 313. Separation from the House of Austria, 309. Discussions relative to the barrier treaty, 370. Disputes with France relative to the limits of the American territories, 378. State of at the commencement of the seven years' war, 391. Union with Prussia, 419. State of parties and changes of administration from the resignation of sir Robert Walpole to the death of George the Second, 459. Her pension of the subsidy to Prussia, 469. War with Spain, ibid. Situation and transactions of England under the peace of Paris, 543. War with the American colonies, ibid. Ascendancy of England in Europe, 605. Abandons the connection with Austria, and unites with Prussia, 606. Restores the authority of the prince of Orange in the United Provinces, ibid. Thwarts the ambitious designs of Austria and Russia against Turkey, 615. Forms an alliance with Prussia and Holland in opposition to that of Austria with Russia and France, 624. Procures a peace with the Turks, 672. Refuses to interfere in the affairs of France, 711.

Perrin theatre, account of, i. 1052.

Ernest; compelled his brother Leopold to share with him the administration of the Austrian territories, i. 168.

Ernest brother of Frederic of Tyrol; checks the spoliations of the emperor Sigismund in his brother's territories, i. 220. Account of, 239. Anecdote relative to his marriage with his second wife Cymburga, 241.

Ernest son of Maximilian II. offered as a candidate for the crown of Poland, i. 615. Account of, 649.

Ernest prince of Brandenburgh, takes possession of part of the territory of Cleves and Juliers, i. 711.

Ernest duke of Hanover; receives the ninth electorate from Leopold I. i. 1054.

Este, Rinaldo, duke of Ferrara; his character and conduct during the war for the Spanish succession, i. 68.

Estrées, marshal; commands one of the French armies sent to the assistance of the empress queen in the seven years' war, ii. 409. Compels the duke of Cumberland to sign the convention of Closter Seven, 409.

Eugene, prince; defeats the Turks at Zenta, i. 1067. Commands in Italy at the commencement of the war for the Spanish succession, 1115. Drives the French into the Milanese, 1116. 1118. Maintains himself in Italy, 1123. Negotiates with the Hungarian rebels, 1141. Concerts with Marlborough a plan for marching the British forces into Bavaria, against the French and Bavarians, 1142. Joins Marlborough, 1145. Assists in gaining the victory at Blenheim, 1146. Relieves the duke of Savoy, 1182. Defeats the French at Turin, 1184. Reduces the Milanese and Mantuan, 1186. Thwarts the expedition against Toulon, 1194. Unites with Marlborough in baffling the attempts of Louis to divide the allies, 1210. Assists in the reduction of Tournay, 1263. Contributes to the defeat of the French at Malplaquet, 1225. Assists in reducing Douay, Aire, and St. Venant, 1234. Account of his measures to secure the election of Charles VI. to the imperial throne, ii. 7. Sent to London to prevent the conclusion of a peace with France, 13. Malicious charges circulated against him, ibid. Assumes the command of the combined forces, 17. Signs the preliminaries of peace at Rastadt, with Villars, 20. Disapproves the barrier treaty, 25. Commands the army against the Turks, 29. Gains the battle of Belgrade, 50. Attempts of count Althan to supplant him, 50. Life and character, ibid. Situation under Charles VI. 55. Aversion to the alliance with Philip V. 94. 98. Assumes the command in the campaign of 1734, 122. His irksome situation, 133. Letters to George II. ibid. Death, 160.

Eugenius IV., pope; contests with the council of Basle, i. 189. Opens the council of Ferrara, 189. Negotiates a pretended union with the Greek church, 189. Deposed by the council of basle, ibid. Gains the emperor Frederick III. and offends the German electors, by deposing the electors of Treves and Cologne, 253. Effects an accommodation with the electors, 254. Death, ibid.

Europa, state of; at the accession of Maximilian I. i. 315. Changes occasioned by the invention of gunpowder and of printing, 330. State of after the peace of the Pyrenees, 897. At the death of Augustus II. of Poland, ii. 108.

Eutzinger, Ulric; obtains the hereditary of Ladislaus Posthumus from the guardianship of the emperor Frederick III. i. 295. Compels Ladislaus to dismiss his favourite count Cilli, 297.

Falkenberg, Swedish general, assists in the defence of Magdeburgh against Tilly, i. 839.

Falkenstein, Berchtold, abbot of St. Gallen; prepares to make war against Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, to extort his homage for the Hapsburgh territories, i. 17. Concludes a peace with Rhodolph, and assists him against Basle, 18.

Falkenstein, county of, acquired by the House of Austria, ii. 565.

Family compact between Joseph I. and his brother Charles, for regulating the order of succession to the Austrian dominions, ii. 2.

Farnese family; obtain Parma and Placentia, i. 514. note.

Farnese, Octavio; excluded by his grandfather pope Paul III. from the succession to Parma and Placentia, i. 514. note. Obtains Parma from Julius III. ibid. Throws himself under the protection of France, 520. note. Receives Parma and Placentia from Philip III. of Spain, ibid. 541.

Farnese, Alexander; duke of Parma, heads the Spanish forces against the United Provinces, i. 651.

Faust, one of the inventors of metal types for printing, i. 302. note.

Felix, pope. See Amadeus of Savoy.

Ferdinand I. his early life, i. 546. Espouses the princess Anne of Bohemia, 417. 547. Obtains the Austrian territories from Charles V. 457. 547. State of those territories, 546. His conduct in the government of the empire, 470. Enters into the catholic union, 474. Progress of the reformation in his territories, 475. Allays the disputes between the catholics and protestants, 478. Elected king of the Romans, 492. Invades the electorate of Saxony, 506. Reduces and appropriates Countance, 516. Negotiates a peace between Charles V. and Maurice of Saxony, 523.

Arranges

Arranges the succession of the Saxon dominions, after the death of Maurice, 525. Holds the diet of Augsburgh, for the settlement of religious affairs, 536. Elected king of Bohemia, 551. Contests for the crown of Hungary, with John of Zapoli, 552. Opposed by the Turks, 553. Attacks John of Zapoli, ibid. 554. Assailed by the Turks, 555. Succoured by his brother and the Bohemian princes, 557. Concludes the treaty of Great Waradin, 559. Opposed by the widow of Zapoli, and Martinuzzi, 560. Fruitless overtures to the Turks, 561. Besieges the queen, ibid. Attacked by the Turks, 562. Concludes a truce, ibid. Gains Martinuzzi, and induces the widow of Zapoli to restore the crown of St. Stephen, and renounce the throne, 563. Causes Martinuzzi to be assassinated, 564. Loses Transylvania, and part of Hungary, 565. New treaty with the Turks, ibid. Conduct towards the Bohemians, 567. Abolishes the elective monarchy, 579. Baffles the designs of his brother Charles to secure the imperial crown for his son Phillip, 586. Becomes emperor, ibid. His capitulation, 587. Attempts to procure the approbation of the pope, 583. Declares the confirmation of the pope unnecessary, 589. Conduct in regard to religious affairs, 590. His efforts to procure the acquiescence of the protestants in the decrees of the council of Trent, 593. Attempts to re-unite the protestants to the church, ibid. Endeavours to procure the convocation of a council, 595. Demands of the council, ibid. Consents to its dissolution, ibid. Endeavours to obtain concessions from the pope, 596. Conduct towards his protestant subjects, ibid. Regulations in Germany during his reign, 599. Coronation of his son Maximilian as king of Hungary and Bohemia, 600. Partition of his dominions, ibid. Death and character, 601.

Ferdinand, second son of Ferdinand I. receives the Tyrol and Exterior Provinces, i. 600. 604. His issue and extinction of his line, ibid.

Ferdinand II. duke of Styria, appointed successor to the Austrian possessions, i. 738. Elected king of Bohemia and Hungary, 741. 743. His character and zeal for the catholic faith, 741. Persecutes his protestant subjects, 742. Hostility against the protestants of Bohemia, 744. 753. Arrests Klesel the minister of Matthias, 755. Leads troops against the Bohemians, 756. State of his dominions at his accession, 761, and of his interest in the empire, 762. Fruitless attempts to pacify the Bohemians, 763. His cruel situation, 764. Blockaded by the insurgents in Vienna, ibid. His singular escape, 765. Obtains the imperial crown, 766. Deposed by the Bohemians, 768. Relief of his capital, 772. Overtures to the protestant union rejected, 773. Secures the support of the elector of Bavaria and the catholic body, 774. Detaches the elector of Saxony, and other Lutherans, 775. Prevents the interference of France, 776. Assisted by Philip III. of Spain, ibid. Truce with Bethlehem Gabor, 777. Reduces the states of Lower Austria, 778. Defeats the insurgent Bohemians, and their titular king, the elector palatine, 778. 783. Punishes the insurgents, 786. Prosecutes hostilities against the elector palatine, 787, 788. Reduces the German protestants, 788. Procures the submission of the elector palatine, 794, 792. Peace with Bethlehem Gabor, and recovery of Hungary, 794. Alienates the palatine territories, 793. 808. Persecutes his protestant subjects, 796. Rise of a new combination against him, 799. Endeavours to emancipate himself from the Catholic body, 801. Accepts the services of Wallstein, 803. Success of his arms against the king of Denmark and the protestants, 807. Pacifies the Catholics, 808. Appropriates various ecclesiastical benefices wrested from the protestants, 809. Prosecutes hostilities against Denmark and Sweden, 810. Transfers Mecklenburgh to Wallstein, ibid. Peace with Denmark, 811. Design to subjugate Germany, 813. Endeavours to extirpate the protestant doctrines, 814. 816. Publishes the edict of restitution, 816. Checked by the catholics, 819. Interferes in the contest for the succession of Mantua, 820, 821. Endeavours to obtain the election of his son as king of the Romans, 821. Deceived by France and the catholics, 825. Reduces his troops, and dismisses Wallstein, 825. Attacked by Gustavus Adolphus, 823. His embarrassed situation, 837. Conciliates the catholics, 838. Accommodation with Ragotsky, prince of Transylvania, 839. 930. note. Terminates the contest relative to Mantua, 844. Resumes his design of reducing the protestants, 844. Endeavours to divide France and Sweden, 859. Defeat of his troops at Breitenfeld, 864. Again applies to Wallstein, 867. 871. Conduct on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, 883. Jealousy of Wallstein, 890. Endeavours to weaken his authority, 893. Proscribes him, 894. Dangerous state of his affairs on Wallstein's assassination, 901. Success of his arms, 902. Victory of Nordlingen, 907. Reconciles himself with the elector of Saxony, 908. Dissolves the protestant confederacy, 909. Attempts to invade France, 911. Contests with the Swedes, 914. Revival of his influence in Germany, ibid. Election of his son Ferdinand, as king of the Romans, 914. Death and character, ibid. Benefactions to the church, 916. Family, 917. Establishes the right of primogeniture in the hereditary territories, 919.

Ferdinand, king of Hungary, afterwards III. emperor, interested with the command of the army i. 902. Reduces Ratisbon, 903. Defeats the Swedes at Nordlingen, 904. Elected king of the Romans, 914. Accession, 920. State of his territories and Germany, ibid. Gains the elector of Brandenburgh, 921. Increase of his influence, ibid. Reverses of his arms, 923. 926. Convokes a general diet at Ratisbon, 927. Attempts to unite the whole empire against France and Sweden, ibid. In danger of being captured by the Swedes, 929. Defeat of his troops at Breitenfeld, 933. Gains Christian of Denmark, 934. Sends forces to expel the Swedes from Jutland, 935. Attacked by Ragotsky, 937. Truce with the Turks, ibid. Detaches Ragotsky, 940. Reascendancy of his arms, ibid. Temporary desertion of the elector of Bavaria, 942. Obtains the election of his son Ferdinand to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, 943. Recompenses the citizens of Prague for their defence against the Swedes, 948. Negotiations for peace, 949. Peace of Westphalia, 952. Cessions to France and Sweden, and concessions to the protestants, 953. 955.

Evades various restrictions on his prerogative, 958. Election of his son Ferdinand as king of the Romans, 963. Evades the establishment of a permanent capitulation, ibid. Regulations for the Aulic Council and Imperial Chamber, 965. Death of his son Ferdinand, ibid. Obtains the acknowledgment of Leopold as his successor in the Austrian dominions, ibid. Fails in his attempts to secure for him the succession of the imperial crown, ibid. Prevents the renewal of the dispute relative to Juliers and Berg, ibid. Opposes the designs of Sweden to subjugate the city of Bremen, 968. Supports John Casimir king of Poland against Sweden, 970. Death and issue, ibid.

Ferdinand son of Ferdinand III; chosen king of Hungary and Bohemia, i. 943. Elected king of the Romans, 965. Death, 966.

Ferdinand Joseph infant son of Ferdinand III.; account of, i. 972.

Ferdinand son of Maria Theresa; anecdote of his benevolence, ii. 363.

Ferdinand Maria elector of Bavaria; refuses the proposal of the French to raise him to the imperial crown, i. 974. State of his dominions after the peace of the Pyrenees, 1010.

Ferdinand of Aragon, character of, i. 318. Contests with France, 319. League with the emperor and the Italian States to recover Naples from Charles VIII. 348. Joins with Louis IX. for the partition of Naples, 366. Appropriates the greater part of the Neapolitan territories, 377. Intrusted with the regency of Castile by his queen Isabella, 379. Contests with his son-in-law Philip, 380. Endeavours to exclude the Austrian family from the succession to Aragon, ibid. Espouses Germaine de Foix, 381. Ejected from the regency by Philip, ibid. Regains it on the death of Philip, 384. Enters into the league of Cambray against the Venetians, 392. Deserts the league and obtains from the pope the investiture of Naples, 399. Joins the pope against Louis XII 404. Reconciled with Louis, 412. His death, 418.

Ferdinand king of Naples; his accession and character, i. 337. Alienates his subjects, ibid.

Ferdinand king of Naples; succeeds to the crown on the abdication of his father, i. 347. Expelled by Charles VIII. ibid. Recovers his crown, 353. Death, ibid.

Ferdinand VI. king of Spain; his character, ii. 334.

Ferdinand, duke of Guastalla; contests the succession of Mantua with Charles of Nevers, i. 820. Supported by Spain and the emperor, ibid.

Ferdinand, prince of Brunswic; appointed to the command of the Hanoverians, ii. 417. Breaks the convention of Closter Seven, ibid. Success in the subsequent campaign, 420. Defeats the French at Minden, 443. At Narburgh, 451.

Ferrara, council of, i. 389.

—— account of, i. 394. Becomes a fief of the church and is raised into a duchy, 335. State of, ibid. State of at the accession of Maximilian the First, ibid. Duke of enters into the league of Cambray against the Venetians, 396.

Finck, general; surprised at Maxen, ii. 443.

Fiume; declared a free port by Joseph II., ii. 581.

Flanders, inhabitants of; their contests with Maximilian I. after the death of his wife Mary of Burgundy, i. 292, 293. See Netherlands.

Fleury, cardinal; raised to the helm of state in France, ii. 91. Opposes the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction proposed by Charles VI. at the congress of Soissons, 93. Effects a reconciliation between France and Spain, 99. Endeavours to thwart the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction by the German States, 106. His intrigues to humble the House of Austria, 202. Conduct on the accession of Maria Theresa, ii. 228. Forms a combination of the principal European powers against her, 243. His aversion to enter into a war overcome by marshal Belleisle, 261. Procures the elevation of the elector of Bavaria to the imperial dignity, 271. Despondency on the ill success of the French arms, 280. Death, 288.

Florence, state of; under Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 333. At the accession of Maximilian the First, 334. Liberated from the rule of the Medici by Charles VIII. 347. The Medici restored, 413. Raised to the rank of Great Duchy, 651.

Fontainbleau, peace of; between Joseph II. and the Dutch, ii. 591.

Fouquet, general; defeated at Landshut by Loudon, ii. 447.

Fox, Mr.; resigns his office after the death of lord Rockingham, ii. 603. His temporary return into the cabinet, 605.

France; troubles during the minority of Charles VIII. i. 292. State of at the accession of Maximilian I. 315. Commencement of its rivalry with the House of Austria, 316. Progress of the protestant religion, 519. Religious war, 615. Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 616. Situation at the assassination of Henry IV. 767. At the close of Richelieu's administration, 799. Advantages gained by the peace of Westphalia, 953, 962. By the peace of the Pyrenees, 985. State of under Louis XIV. 996. Splendour and power after the truce of Ratisbon, 1012.—See *Louis* XIII. and XIV.

—— depressed situation at the close of the war for the Spanish succession, ii. 11. State at the death of Louis XIV. 35; and after the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, 69. Separation from England and renewal of the connection with Spain, 98. State of at the death of Augustus the Second, 110. Preponderance in Europe at the conclusion of the peace of Belgrade, 202. Forms a combination against Maria Theresa, 243. State after the death of cardinal Fleury, 289. Enters as a principal into the war against Austria, 301. Endeavours to prevent the elevation of Francis duke of Lorraine to the imperial dignity, 341. Conduct towards the United Provinces, 338. 342. Negotiation for an union with the House of Austria, 374. Disputes with England relative to the American territories, 377. Alliance with Austria, 384. Treaty with the empress queen, 396. Losses by the seven years' war, 473. Rise of an Anti-Austrian party, 514. Consequence of her interference in the American contest, 602. Decline of her influence in Europe, ibid. Commencement of the revolution, 625. Embarrassments of the government, ibid. Administration of Neckar, 625. Convocation of the notables and States General, 625, 626. Ascendancy of the popular party, 627. Their attempts to excite the nation against Austria, 628. Progress of the revolution, 699. Total change of the constitution, 700. Rise of the jacobins, 701. Disputes with Leopold relative to the feudal rights

iii

in Alsace, 703. Incorporation of Avignon, ibid. Flight and arrest of the king, 708. Effects of the machinations of the Jacobins, 713.

Francis II. duke of Britanny; enters into connections with the duke of Orleans and the discontented nobles of France, i. 292. Compelled to become a vassal of the French crown, 293.

Francis duke of Anjou; chosen sovereign of the United Provinces, i. 551. Abandons the government, ibid.

Francis I. of France; his accession and character, i. 413. Gains Henry VIII. and the archduke Charles, afterwards Charles V. 414. Invades the Milanese, ibid. Defeats the Swiss at Marignano, 415. Recovers the Milanese and Genoa, 416. Treaty of Viterbo with the pope, ibid. Baffled in his designs on Naples by the emperor Maximilian I. 418. Treaty with Charles and Maximilian, 420. Views on the imperial crown, ibid. Opposes the election of Charles V. 425. Made prisoner by Charles, 427. Supports the Germao protestants, 480. Conduct at the commencement of the war of Smalkalde, 504. Joins the confederacy against the emperor, 508. Death, 509.

Francis duke of Lorain, afterwards emperor; Espouses the archduchess Maria Theresa, 139. Appointed to command the army against the Turks, 176. Defeated, 178. Unpopularity, 180 Secret endeavours to hasten a peace with the Turks, 199. Want of influence in public affairs, 255, 256. Heads the army to succour Prague against the elector of Bavaria, 270. His overtures to the French disapproved by Maria Theresa, 284. Elected emperor, 329. His dislike of the alliance between Austria and France, 385. Anecdote of his reception of London, 430. Death, 483. Character, 484. Anecdotes of his benevolence, 486.

Frederic the Warlike, last duke of Austria of the Banberg line, i. 35

Frederic titular duke of Austria; beheaded at Naples, i 36.

Frederic III. burgrave of Nuremberg; lays the foundation of the greatness of the Brandenburgh family, ii. 73.

Frederic IV. burgrave of Nuremberg; purchases from the emperor Sigismond the electorate of Brandenburgh, i. 73.

Frederic I. emperor; grants to the early dukes of Austria the archducal title, i. 142.

Frederic duke of Austria, son of Albert I.; disappointed of the crown of Bohemia on the death of his brother Rhodolph, i. 88. Punishes the assassins of his father, 97. His character, 98. Disappointed of the imperial crown by the election of Henry of Luxemburgh, 99. His reply to Henry who claimed Austria, 100. Reconciled with the emperor, 101. War with Bavaria, ibid. Endeavours to obtain the imperial crown on the death of Henry, 103. Elected emperor in opposition to Louis of Bavaria, 105. Espouses Elizabeth of Arragon, 106. War with Louis, 108. Defeated and captured, 109 Resigns the imperial title to the king of France, 114. Makes a disadvantageous peace with Louis and is liberated, ibid. Singular fidelity in fulfilling this treaty, 115. Second treaty with Louis, 116. Shares the imperial authority, 116. Sinks into despondency on the death of his brother Leopald, 117. Contests with his brother Otho, 119. Death, ibid.

Frederic III. emperor, and duke of Styria; takes charge of Ladislaus Posthumus the infant king of Hungary and Bohemia, i. 201. Refuses to accept the regency or deliver his ward, 203. Releases his ward, 205. Struggle with his brother Albert for the guardianship of Sigismond of Tyrol, 234. Disputes with Sigismond, 236. Obtains the transfer of Tyrol to his son Maximilian, 237. Birth, 242. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, ibid. Elected emperor, ibid. Contests with his brother Albert, 244. Endeavours to avail himself of the divisions among the Swiss, ibid. Unites with Zurich, 246. Induces the empire to declare war against the king of France for his devastations in Alsace, 249. His conduct during the schism in the church, 252. Unites with pope Eugenius, 253. Opposed by the electors, ibid. Effects an accommodation, 254. Repairs to Rome, 256. Claims Milan as a vacant fief of the empire, 257. Receives the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, 262. Espouses Eleonora princess of Portugal, ibid. Visits Naples, ibid. Invests Borgo d'Este with Modena and Reggio, ibid. Raises Austria to the rank of an archduchy, 265. Disputes with his former ward Ladislaus, 265. Disappointed of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, on the death of Ladislaus, 266. Division of the Austrian territories between him and his brother Albert, and nephew Sigismond, ibid. Invests George Podiebrad with the kingdom of Bohemia, 267. Contests with Albert for the possession of Austria, 269. Besieged in the citadel of Vienna, and relieved by Podiebrad, 270. Contest with Frederic the Victorious elector palatine, 272. Irruptions of the Turks into the Austrian territories and Germany during his reign, 275. League with the pope and Matthias of Hungary to dethrone Podiebrad, 278. Fails in his attempts to obtain the crown of Bohemia, 281. Supports Ladislaus, 282. Attacked by Matthias Corvinus, 283. Expelled from his dominions, 285. Procures the election of his son Maximilian as king of the Romans, 291. Obtains the liberation of Maximilian when imprisoned by the rebellious citizens of Bruges, 295. Prosecutes the war against the insurgents, 296. Disappointed in his endeavours to procure succours for the relief of his hereditary countries, 298. Accepts the conditions settled by Maximilian with Matthias, 299. Institutes a plan for levying the contributions of the empire, 306. Consolidates the Suabian league for restraining private warfare, 307. Humbles the House of Bavaria, 309. Resigns the administration to Maximilian, 310. Death and character, 311.

Frederic; founder of the line of Tyrol, i. 216. War with the people of Appenzel, 217. Defeated, 219. Peace, 220. Succeeds to the Suabian and Alsatian territories, 221. Alliance with the Helvetic confederacy, 222. Contest with the nobles of Tyrol, ibid. Offends the emperor Sigismond, 225. Unites with pope John XXII. ibid. Favours his escape from Constance, 224. Excommunicated by the council of Constance, ibid. Invasion of his territories, 228. Submits to Sigismond, 226. Escapes from Constance, and rouses the loyalty of the people of Tyrol, 229. Exposed to new attacks, ibid. Rescued by his brother Ernest, 230.

Frederic, king of Sicily; his contests with Matthew Visconti for the possession of Genoa, i. 112.

Frederic the Victorious, elector palatine, succeeds to

the

the electorate, i. 372. His contests with the emperor Frederic III. ibid. His death, 375.
Frederic III. elector palatine, espouses the doctrines of Calvin, i. 462. Publishes the catechism of Heidelberg, 615.
Frederic IV. elector palatine, lays the foundation of the protestant union, i. 669. Increase of that confederacy under his auspices, 670, 671. 677.
Frederic V. elector palatine; contests for the regency of his dominions during his minority, i. 729. Opposes the attempts of the Austrian princes to secure the imperial crown for Ferdinand II. 740. Chosen king of Bohemia by the insurgents, 769. Crowned, 770. Deserted by the protestant union, 775. 777. Attacked by Ferdinand II. and the catholic league, 779. Defeated, 780. Retires to Holland, 783. 790. Loss of his dominions, 789. Supported by Mansfeld and Christian administrator of Brunswick, 789. Deserts his defenders and submits to Ferdinand, 791. Transfer of his electorate to the elector of Bavaria, 796. Vain offers of submission, 807. Joins Gustavus Adolphus, 836. Enters Munich with Gustavus, 865. Death, 881.
Frederic the Wise elector of Saxony; opposes the election of the emperor Charles V. i. 425. Patronises Luther, 427. Refuses the imperial crown, 451. Supports Luther during the interregnum, 456. Opposes his condemnation by the papal bull, 463. Saves him after the decree of proscription, 466. Allows him to introduce a new ritual, and regulate the ecclesiastical revenues, 473. Death, 475.
Frederick, John, elector of Saxony; his disputes with his relative Maurice, 501. Defeats Maurice, and captures Albert of Nassenburgh, 517. Defeated and made prisoner by Charles V. 569. Liberated, 593. Obtains a small portion of his dominions on the death of Maurice, 526. His death, ibid. note.
Frederic; succeeds to the throne of Naples, i. 353. note. Attacked by Louis IX. 367. Betrayed by Ferdinand of Arragon, ibid. Yields himself to the king of France, ibid.
Frederic duke of Holstein, receives the crown of Sweden, ii. 66.
Frederic III. king of Denmark; unites with the emperor Ferdinand III. against Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, i. 970. Attacked by the king of Sweden, 977. Compelled to sign the peace of Roskild, 979. Renews the war, 980. Signs the peace of Copenhagen, 983. Changes the constitution of his kingdom, 1004.
Frederic IV. king of Denmark, his character, ii. 66.
Frederic V. of Denmark, his character and conduct at the commencement of the seven years' war, ii. 389.
Frederic William the Great elector of Brandenburgh, his accession, i. 927. Thwarts the attempts of Ferdinand to draw the empire into the war against France, 927. Acquisitions by the peace of Westphalia, 954. Opposes the designs of the prince palatine of Neuburgh to reduce the protestants in Juliers, 967. Compelled by Charles Gustavus of Sweden, to unite in the war against the Poles, 969. Joins with the emperor against Sweden, 970. 977. Promotes the elevation of Leopold to the imperial dignity, 975. Obtains the liberation of Prussia from its dependence on Poland, 978. note. Drives the Swedes from Jutland, 980. Character and principles, 1012. Unites with Leopold to rescue the United Provinces when overrun by Louis XIV. 1027. Accommodation with France, 1028. Again enters into the war, 1029. Endeavours to prevent the Dutch from accepting the offers of France, 1034. Accepts a peace, 1037.
Frederic I. succeeds his father in the electorate of Brandenburgh, i. 1050. Joins with Louis 14 against France, ibid. Acknowledged by Leopold as king of Prussia, 1159. Assists him in the war for the Spanish succession, 1121. Character, ii. 74.
Frederic William king of Prussia; his character, ii. 74. Deserts the allies of Hanover, 86. Pretensions to the succession of Juliers, ibid. note. Deserts Charles VI in the war for the Polish election, 123. Death, 211.
Frederic II. king of Prussia, his early life and education, ii. 211. Attempts to escape, ibid. Imprisoned, 214. Rescued by the instances of the emperor, 215. Marriage, 216. State of the Prussian dominions at his accession, ibid. Character, 217. Testifies his readiness to support the succession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian dominions, 227. Invades Silesia, 230. Sends Gotter to negotiate at Vienna, 232. Defeats Neuperg at Molwitz, 236. Singular escape and return to his army, 238. Negotiations with lord Hyndford and Mr. Robinson, 244. Joins France, 254. Makes overtures to the queen of Hungary, 267. Renews hostilities, 272. Agrees to an accommodation, 274. Again renews the war, 304. Enters Bohemia, ibid. Jealous of France, 312. Makes overtures to George the Second, 313. Critical situation, 320. Battle of Hohenfriedberg, 321. Convention with George the Second, 326. Battle of Sohr, 327. Peace with the queen of Hungary, 330. Alliance with England, 332. Invades Bohemia, and blockades the Saxon troops at Pirna, 394. Battle of Lowositz, 394. Publishes a justification of his conduct, 395. Defeats prince Charles of Lorraine at Prague, 401. Besieges Prague, 408. Defeated at Colin, ibid. Quits Bohemia, 408. His critical situation, 409. Defeats the French and imperialists at Rosbach, 412. The Austrians at Lignitz, 414. Enters Moravia, and besieges Olmutz, 422. Compelled by Daun to retire into Silesia, ibid. Defeats the Russians at Zorndorf, 423. Surprised at Hochkirchen, 424. Relieves Neiss, 429. Embarrassed situation, 435. Defeated by the united Austrians and Russians at Cunersdorf, 436. Surprise of his troops at Maxen, 442. Sufferings of his army during the winter, 444. Behaviour on receiving the account of Fouquet's defeat at Landshut, 448. Defeats Loudon at Lignitz, 450. Compels Daun to retreat to the mountains of Silesia, 451. His despondency and the dispirited condition of his army, 468. Discontinuance of the British subsidies, 470. Change of his affairs by the death of Elizabeth of Russia, 472. His unjust accusations of the British cabinet, 479. note. Peace of Hubertsburgh with Maria Theresa, 481. Intrigues for the partition of Poland, 497. Interview with the emperor Joseph, 498. Proofs that the partition was originally projected by him, 499. note. Negotiations with the empress of Russia, 501. Convention for the partit on, 502. His conduct during the revolution of Sweden, 504. Obtains Western Prussia, 507. Attempts to augment his acquisitions, 509.

Prevented by Catherine II. 510. Opposes the designs of the Austrian court on the Bavarian succession, 525. Takes the field against the emperor, 527. Correspondence, ibid. Negotiates with the empress-queen, 531. Peace of Teschen, 537. Thwarts the nomination of the archduke Maximilian to the electorate of Cologne, 550. His influence at the court of St. Petersburgh overturned by Joseph II. 556, 557. Baffles the designs of Joseph to obtain Bavaria in exchange for the Netherlands, 597. Forms the Germanic union, 599. Death, 601.

Frederic William II.; sent by his uncle when prince to St. Petersburgh to counteract the intrigues of Joseph II. 551. His accession to the Prussian throne, 602. Connection with England, 606. Restores the ascendancy of the prince of Orange in the United Provinces, 607. Unites with England to check the progress of Austria and Rusia against the Turks, 624. His alliances with England, Holland, Poland, and Turkey, 664. Supports the discontented subjects of Austria, 649. Reply to the overtures of Leopold II. 668. Views of acquiring Dantzig and Thorn, 669. Negotiations with Leopold, ibid. Signs the convention of Reichenbach, 674. Alienated from England, ibid. Concludes an armistice between Leopold and the Porte, ibid. Hastens the peace of Sistova, ibid. Negotiations relative to restoration of the Austrian government in the Netherlands, 690. Indignation at their subjugation by force, 695. Concurs with Leopold to check the progress of anarchy in France, 710. Declaration at Pilnitz, 712.

Frederic Ulric duke of Wolfenbuttel; endeavours to emancipate himself from the authority of Sweden, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, i. 886.

Gaeta, cardinal of; sent by Leo X. to try Luther, i. 434.

Galicia and Lodomeria; acquired by Maria Theresa in the partition of Poland, ii. 564.

Gallas, imperial general; deserts Waldstein, i. 894. Assists in defeating the Swedes at Nordlingen, 902. Conquers Pomerania, 921. Sent to expel the Swedes from Holstein, 935. Defeated at Yutterbuck, 937.

Galway, Lord; defeated at Almanza, i. 1199.

Gaston de Foix; gains the victory of Ravenna over the papal and Spanish forces, i. 407. Killed, ibid.

Gattenburgh, John; invents movable types for printing, i. 342. note.

George of Saxony; endeavours to prevent the establishment of the protestant religion in his territories, i. 492.

George William, elector of Brandenburgh, opposes the design of Gustavus Adolphus to interfere in the affairs of Germany, i. 831. Forced by Gustavus to enter into a treaty of alliance, 841. 846. Unites with Austria against the Swedes, 921.

George I. of England; commands the German army when duke of Hanover, i. 1197. 1229. Acknowledged as elector of Hanover, 1213. Causes of his alienation from the emperor Charles VI. ii 68. Baffles the designs of Charles, on the union between Austria and Spain, 85. Death, 92.

George II.; his accession, ii. 93. Frustrates the plans of Charles VI. 93. Character and principles, 114. Refuses to support Charles in the war for the Polish election, 251. Declines assisting Maria Theresa on the first invasion of Silesia, 235. 242. Compelled to conclude a neutrality for Hanover, 261. Takes an active part in favour of Maria Theresa, 291. Gains the battle at Dettingen, 295. Endeavours to effect an accommodation between Austria and Prussia, 323. Secret convention with the king of Prussia, 327. Causes of his separation from Austria, 369. Disputes with France relative to Nova Scotia, 378. Alliance with Prussia, 383. Endeavours to secure the assistance of Russia, 392. Death, 458.

George III.; his accession and character, ii. 458. Abandons Prussia, 479. War with the American colonies, 543. Restores, in conjunction with Prussia, the ascendancy of the Orange family in the United Provinces, 606. Thwarts the ambitious designs of Austria and Russia against Turkey, 615. Unites with Frederic William of Prussia, 624. 664. Negotiates with Leopold II. 671. Hastens the signature of the convention of Reichenbach, 675. Refuses to support the insurgents of the Netherlands, 689. Negotiations relative to the re-establishment of the Austrian government, 691. Attempts in vain to procure the restoration of the antient constitution, 695. Refuses to interfere in the affairs of France, 709.

Germany; state of on the accession of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 21. Contests for the electoral votes after the death of Henry IV. 103. Influence of the Austrian, Bavarian, and Luxemburgh families, 123. Situation on the accession of Frederic III. 243. Plans for levying the public contributions, 506. Right of private warfare, ibid. State at the accession of Maximilian I. 338. Effects of the art of printing, 343. Unwillingness of the states to unite against Charles VIII. of France, in his invasion of Naples, 349. Establishment of a public peace, and institution of the imperial chamber, ibid. Their reluctance to assist the emperor in checking the preponderance of France in Italy, 365. Conclude a truce with Louis XII. 366. Dispute with the emperor relative to the league of Cambray, 394. Division of the empire into circles by Maximilian 422. Complaints of the states against the corruptions and exactions of the church, 429. Origin and progress of the reformation, 457. 469. Catholic league against the Lutherans, 474. Religious troubles and disorders, 476. Protest of the Lutherans, 482. Confession of Augsburgh, 486. War of Smalkalde, 504. Peace of Passau, 523. Memorable diet of Augsburgh, 526. Changes in the constitution during the reign of Charles V. 541. Of Ferdinand I. 599. Effects of the reformation, 608. Arrangements relative to the levy of foreign troops by Maximilian II. 618. Complaints of the protestants to Rhodolph II. 708. Contest for the succession of Cleves and Juliers, 711. Contests during the interregnum after the death of Rhodolph I. 729. State of at the accession of Matthias, 731. Revival of disputes between the catholics and protestants, 734. The thirty years' war, 788. Introduction of a new principle into the law of, 927. Peace of Westphalia, 953. Remark on its effects, 963. Diet rendered permanent, 1008. State and power of the principal states, 1010. Decline of its wealth, population, &c. 1017. Attachment of the princes to France, 1018. Change in their sentiments occasioned by the aggressions of Louis XIV. 1029. Amelioration of the army by Leopold, 1040.

The diet declares war against Louis XIV. 1050. Revival of the internal disputes, 1054. State of affairs the conclusion of the quadruple alliance, ii. 70. After the peace of Belgrade, 204. Disputes with the French government relative to the feudal rights reserved in Alsace, Loraine, and Franche Comte, 704.

Germanic Union; formed by Frederic II. of Prussia against Joseph II. ii. 599.

Gertrude Anne wife of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh; retires in regard to her name, i. 69.

Gertruydenberg, congress of; i. 1230.

Gibelines See *Guelfs*.

Gibraltar; captured by the English, i. 1187.

Glarus, people of; join the Helvetic Confederacy, i. 132. Reduce the power of the Austrian princes in their district, 161. Defeat the Austrians at Naefels, ibid.

Glots; taken by London, ii. 447.

Godolphin; intrusted with the administration in England, i. 1120. Unites with the Whigs, 1133. Dismissed, ii. 13.

Gonsalvo de Cordova the Spanish general; assists in restoring Ferdinand king of Naples, i. 353. Unites with the French to depose Frederic, 367. Expels the French from Naples, 377.

Goritz and Gradiska; escheat to the emperor Maximilian I. i. 374. note.

Gotter, count; sent by Frederic II. to Vienna, to state his claims on Silesia, ii. 232. His character and the result of his negotiation, ibid.

Grand Alliance; formation of, i. 1051. Dissolution, 1059. Renewed on the contest for the Spanish succession, 1118. Causes of its dissolution, ii. 11.

Greek empire; decline and fall of, i. 209.

Greek language; diffused over Europe, i. 342.

Gregory X. pope; his conduct in regard to Germany, on the accession of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 22. Refuses to acknowledge Alphonso of Castile as emperor, ibid. Approves the election of Rhodolph, 27. Interview with Rhodolph, 28.

Gregorian calendar; introduced into Germany, i. 670. note.

Grisons state of their government; i. 329. Disputes with the Austrian princes, 330. Unite with the Swiss states, ibid. Contests with the government of the Tyrol, 358. Obtain the Valteline, Chiavenna and Bormio, 409. The occupation of the Valteline by the French, 910. Break their connection with France, and unite with Austria, 922.

Grumbach secretary of Maximilian I.; writes a life of him and his father Frederic, i. 441. note.

Grumbach, lord of; account of, 626. Attacks the bishop of Wurtzburgh, ibid. Obtains the protection of the Duke of Saxe Gotha, and endeavours to excite troubles in the empire, 626. Executed, 627.

Guastalla, reversion of; settled on the House of Austria by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, ii. 357.

Guebriant; succeeds the duke of Longueville in the command of the Weymarian army, i. 929. Joins Banner, 929. Reduces the electorate of Cologne, 930. Defeated by the Bavarians, 935. Killed, 936.

Guelfs and Gibelines; their contests in Italy, i. 112. 117.

Guillemenus; his Hapsburgicum, or treatise on the Austrian family, i. 7. note.

Gunpowder, invention of; its effects, i. 340.

Guntram the Rich; an ancestor of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 1.

Guntz; memorable siege of, by Solyman the Magnificent, i. 356.

Gustavus Adolphus; causes of his resentment against Ferdinand II. i. 799. Disappointed in his endeavours to obtain the direction of the protestant league in Germany, 800. Accommodation with Christian IV. of Denmark, when worsted by the imperialists, 811. Reinforces Stralsund, ibid. State of Sweden on his accession, 829. Wrests Ingria and Carelia from the Russians, ibid. Forces Sigismond king of Poland to relinquish his pretensions to Sweden, 830. Encouraged by France to interfere in the affairs of Germany, 831. Appeals in vain to the German princes, ibid. Lands in Germany, 833. Reduces the duke of Pomerania to agree to an alliance, ibid. Expels the imperialists from Pomerania, 834. Checked by the elector of Brandenburgh, 835. Treaty with France, ibid. Causes which favoured his progress, 837. Extends his conquests, 840. Endeavours to relieve Magdeburgh when besieged by Tilly, 841. Reduces the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh to grant a passage through their territories, ibid. Extorts the assent of the elector of Brandenburgh to a treaty of alliance, 846. Enters into a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse, 847. Unites with the elector of Saxony, 849. Defeats Tilly at Breitenfeld, 850. Motives of his subsequent conduct, 853. Increase of his influence in Germany, 854. Advances to the Rhine, ibid. Offers a neutrality to the catholics, 860. Invades Bavaria, 862. Enters Monich, ibid. Saves Nuremberg when threatened by Waldstein, 872. Repulsed in his attempts to force the imperial camp, 874. Killed at Lutzen, 879. Remarks on the circumstances of his death, ibid. note. His character, 880.

Gustavus III. king of Sweden; effects a change in the government of his country, ii. 503. Attacks Russia at the commencement of the Turkish war, 660. Deserted by his troops, 621. Attacked by Denmark, ibid. Signs a peace, 673.

Hanover, house of; raised to the electoral dignity, i. 1035. Increase of its influence by the elevation of George I. to the British throne, ii. 72.

Hanseatic League; its trade, wealth, and power, i. 1018. Decline, ibid.

Hapsburgh castle; built by Werner bishop of Strasburgh, i. 2. Various accounts of its origin, ibid. note. Uncertainty in regard to the limits of the annexed county, 8. note.

Harcourt, minister of Louis XIV.; his successful intrigues to obtain for the Bourbon family the Spanish succession, i. 1027, 1098.

Harrach, Benaventure; sent by Leopold I. to Madrid to secure the Spanish succession, i. 1095. Baffled by the intrigues of the French court, 1097. Quits Madrid, 1098.

Harrach, Louis, count; succeeds his father as embassador at Madrid, i. 1098. His character, ii. 163. Laments the ascendancy of France at the court of Vienna, 206.

Harris, Sir James; supports the endeavours of Joseph II. to overthrow the Prussian interest at the court of Russia, ii. 556.

Hartman of Kyburgh; disinherits his nephew Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 10. Reconciled to him, 11. Death, 12.

Hartman

Hartman second son of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh; his untimely death, i. 52.
Hasfeldt, imperial general; defeats the sons of the deposed elector Palatine, i. 922. Defeated by the Swedes at Yankovitz, 936.
Hawke, admiral; defeats the French fleet off Finisterre, ii. 346.
Hedwige daughter of Sigismond king of Hungary; affianced to William of Austria, i. 153. Compelled by the States to espouse Jaghellon duke of Lithuania, ibid.
Heidelberg, union of; formed by the protestants, i. 671.
Hemsius, pensionary; unites with Marlborough in promoting the prosecution of the war against France, i. 1120.
Helena widow of Ragotsky; espouses Tekeli, i. 1075. Her death, 1090. note.
Helvetic confederacy. See *Switzerland*.
Henry of Luxemburgh; raised to the imperial throne, i. 99. Secures the throne of Bohemia for his son John, ibid. Claims Austria, 100. Reconciled to the Austrian princes, 102. Affianced to their sister Catherine, 102. His death, ibid.
Henry of Carinthia; offers himself as a candidate for the crown of Bohemia on the death of Wenceslaus, i. 87. Chosen king on the death of Rhodolph, 88. Expelled by the natives, 99. Death, and contests for his territories, 104.
Henry of Austria, son of Albert I.; made prisoner at the battle of Mulldorf, i. 110. Leads an Austrian force into Italy, and espouses the cause of the Visconti, 113. Death, 118.
Henry VII. of England; his feeble attempts to prevent Britanny from being annexed to the French crown, i. 302. Sends a contribution to the emperor Maximilian against the Turks, 370.
Henry VIII. of England; joins the holy league against Louis XII. i. 404. Unites with Maximilian, and invades France, 410. Reconciled with Louis, 413. Hostility against the Roman see, 480. Declines assisting the protestants of Germany against Charles V., 504.
Henry II. of France; unites with Maurice of Saxony against Charles V. i. 590. Invades Lorraine, 821. Concludes a peace with Philip of Spain to check the progress of the protestant doctrines, 591.
Henry of Navarre, afterwards IV.; heads the protestants in France, i. 616. Escapes from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, ibid. Endeavours to prevent the schism among the protestants of Germany, and unite them against the emperor, 665. Seconds the formation of the protestant union, 671. Designs against the House of Austria, 713. Assassinated, 716.
Henry, elector of Saxony; succeeds to the territories of his brother George, and introduces the protestant religion, i. 698.
Henry, duke of Anjou; chosen king of Poland, i. 643. Abdicates, ibid.
Henry, prince of Prussia; his operations during the seven years' war, ii. 440, 441. 477.
D'Herbeville; commands the Austrian army against the Hungarian rebels, i. 1246. Restores the Austrian government in Transylvania, 1247.
Hertzberg, count; retires from the Prussian cabinet, ii. 678.
Heister; defeats Ragotsky, i. 1140. Dissipates the rebel confederacy in Hungary, 1249.
Hildburghausen, prince of; his character, ii. 171. Defeated in his attempt to reduce Bosnia, ibid.
Hohen Ems, lordship of; acquired by the House of Austria, ii. 565.
Holland. See *United Provinces*.
Holstein and Slesswick, appropriated by Christian I. of Denmark, i. 799.
Holstein Gottorp, house of; account of, i. 927. note. Commencement of its union with Sweden, 978. note. Liberation from its dependence on Denmark, 983. note. Final cessation of the duchy to Denmark, 983.
Holy League; formed by pope Julius II. against Louis XII., i. 404.
Homonai, imperial general; defeated in Hungary by Bethlehem Gabor, i. 771.
Horn, Swedish general; his disagreement with the duke of Weymar, i. 903. Occasions the defeat at Nordlingen, 903. Captured, 904.
Hubertsburgh, peace of; ii. 481.
Hulzer burgomaster of Vienna; engages in the contests between Frederic and Albert of Austria, i. 270. Beheaded by Albert, 271.
Hungary; various contests for the crown of, i. 63. 86. 171. Loss of the provinces annexed to the kingdom by Louis, 172. Albert V. of Austria elected king, 186. Threatened by the Turks, 196. Contests for the crown on the death of Albert, 200. Election of Ladislaus Posthumus, 201. State of the country on the death of Ladislaus, 268. Election of Matthias Corvinus, ibid. Of Ladislaus king of Bohemia, 299. State of the country in the reign of Maximilian I. 324. 416. note. During the minority of Louis, 548. Invaded by Solyman the Magnificent, 549. Districts occupied by the Turks during the reign of Ferdinand I. 563. Wars in the reign of Rhodolph II. 618. 685. Insurrection of Botskai, 686. The States unite with Matthias against his brother Rhodolph, 696. Ceded by Rhodolph to Matthias, 701. Coronation of Matthias, 702. Protestants throw off their allegiance and join the Bohemians against Ferdinand II. i. 770. Chuse Bethlehem Gabor as their king, 773. Constitution of the country, 989. Disputes of the natives with Leopold I. 990. Vain attempts to effect an accommodation, 990, 991. Rebellion of Tekeli, 1073. Accommodation with the emperor, 1083. Abolition of the elective monarchy, ibid. Rebellion of Ragotsky, 1137. Union of the insurgents with France, ibid. They refuse the offers of Joseph I. 1245. Form a general confederacy, and elect Ragotsky as their leader, 1246. Throw off their allegiance, 1248. Defeated, 1249. Conclusion of the peace of Zalmar, 1250. Ratification of by Charles, ii. 9. Change in the sentiments of the natives towards the House of Austria, 10. Their loyalty to Maria Theresa, 263. Attempts of Joseph II. to improve the trade of the country, 581. Innovations of Joseph, 651. Remonstrances of the natives, ibid. Restoration of their regalia, 652. Their exorbitant demands presented to Leopold II. 680. Coronation of Leopold, 684. Change of the national sentiment, 685.
Hunniades. See *Corvinus*.
Huss, John; attacks the pretensions of the popes and the abuses of the church, i. 173. Propagation of his doctrines, ibid. Burnt at Constance, 174.

Hussites; their wars in Bohemia, i. 172. Claim the communion under both kinds, ibid. Headed by Zoka, 173. Division of their sect into Calixtines and Taborites, 177. Reconciliation of the Calixtines with the Roman see, 180. Defeat of the Taborites, ibid. They oppose the election of Albert V. of Austria, 187. Defeated, ibid.

Hutten, Ulric; his writings against the papal see, i. 425.

D'Huxelles; sent by Louis XIV. to negotiate with the allies at Gertruydenberg, i. 1330.

Hyndford, lord, British minister at Berlin; his negotiations in regard to Silesia, ii. 244. Character, 246. Signs the peace of Breslau, 274.

Illyrians; the first protestant chosen palatine of Hungary, i. 703.

Illyrians; allowed by Leopold II. to form a separate national assembly, ii. 682.

Imperial Towns, decline of; i. 1017.

Innocent XII.; annuls the peace of Westphalia, i. 964. Promotes the views of Louis XIV. on the Spanish succession, 1097. 1105. 1106.

Innocent XIII. pope; his character and political situation, ii. 66.

Indulgencies, origin of; i. 430.

Interim; a temporary regulation in regard to religion introduced by Charles V. i. 515.

Isabella of Spain; character of, i. 318. Obtains the crown of Castile, 380. note. Bequeaths the regency to her husband Ferdinand, 318.

Isabella princess of Poland; espouses John of Zapoli waivode of Transylvania, i. 569. Endeavours to secure the crown of Hungary for her infant son, ibid. Besieged in Buda by Ferdinand, and rescued by the sultan Solyman, 562. Compelled by the Turks to renounce the throne, 563.

Isabella daughter of Philip II. of Spain; espouses the archduke Albert, and receives the joint sovereignty of the Netherlands, i. 650.

Italy, situation of; on the expedition of the emperor Frederic III. to Rome, i. 256. On the accession of Maximilian I. 330. Origin and extent of the feudal superiority of the emperors in that country, 331. State of after the peace of the Pyrenees, 1000. At the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, ii. 64. At the commencement of the war for the Austrian succession, 277.

Ivan Vassilicvitch I.; founds the greatness of the Russian empire, i. 323.

Ivan Vassilicvitch II.; conquers a considerable part of Livonia, i. 630. Enters into an alliance with Maximilian II. 631.

Jacobel of Mies, a Hussite preacher; claims for the laity the participation of the cup in the communion, i. 174.

Jacobins; their rise in France, ii. 701. Their vast plans and hostile designs against Austria, 714.

Jagerndorf, duke of; proscribed by Ferdinand II. for supporting the elector palatine, i. 786.

Jagellon duke of Lithuania; obtains the throne of Poland by espousing Hedwige daughter of Sigismund king of Hungary and Poland, i. 153.

Jamaica; ceded to England, i. 1003.

James I. of England; declines supporting his son-in-law the elector palatine at the commencement of the Bohemian troubles, i. 776. Enters into negotiation with Ferdinand II. and induces the deposed elector to submit, 791. Prepares to support his son-in-law, 798.

James II. of England; his subservience to France, i. 1045. Compelled to abdicate, 1048. Fails in his endeavours to recover his throne, 1053.

Janissaries, establishment of; i. 192.

Jesuits; their influence over the emperor Rhodolph II. i. 655. Plans for the suppression of the protestant religion, 661, 669. Effects of their influence on Ferdinand II. 741. 786. note. Prevent him from conciliating the protestants, 888. Procure the disgrace of Wallstein, 892. Excluded from a share in the education of Joseph I. 1153. 1163. Decline of their ascendancy, 1165.

Jews; privileges granted to them in the Austrian dominions by Joseph II. ii. 577.

Joachim II. elector of Brandenburgh; espouses the protestant doctrines, i. 497. Joins the emperor Charles V. 515. note.

Joan queen of Naples; murders her husband, i. 149. note. Driven from Naples, and restored to the throne, ibid.

Joanna daughter of Henry king of Castile; refuses the hand of Ferdinand of Arragon, i. 380. note.

Joanna wife of the archduke Philip; becomes heiress to the Spanish dominions, i. 379. Proclaimed joint sovereign of Castile with her husband, 380. Rendered insane by his death, 382. Her character, 415. Nominally associated in the government of Spain till her death, 340.

John son of Frederic of Austria; assassinates his uncle Albert I. i. 92. Subsequent life, 94. Sentence of death proclaimed against him by the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, 101.

John son of the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh; raised to the throne of Bohemia, i. 99. Opposes the elevation of Frederic of Austria to the imperial throne, 104. Conduct towards Louis of Bavaria, 123. Endeavours to appropriate the Carinthian territories, 125. Accommodation with the Austrian princes, ibid. Offended by the divorce of Margaret heiress of the Tyrol from his son, and her marriage with Louis of Bavaria son of the emperor, 127. Killed at the battle of Cressi, ibid.

John XXII. pope; endeavours to obtain the imperial crown for Charles IV. of France, i. 111. Joins with the Austrian princes against Louis of Bavaria, 112. Prevails on them to send forces into Italy, 113. Publishes a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Louis, ibid. Deposed by Louis, and regains his authority, 117. Unites with Frederic of Tyrol against the council of Constance, 223. Compelled to abdicate, 228.

John prince of Bohemia; liberates his brother Wenceslaus when imprisoned by his subjects, i. 164.

John Palæologus Greek emperor; negotiates with pope Eugenius IV. a pretended union between the Greek and Latin churches, i. 190. 209.

John I. king of Portugal; his character, i. 320.

John II. king of Portugal; character of, i. 321.

John V. king of Portugal; assists the archduke Charles to obtain the throne of Spain, i. 1188. Refuses to co-operate with the allies, 1241. His attachment to the House of Austria, ii. 70. His disputes with Spain, 149.

John king of Denmark; unites the three northern kingdoms, i. 322.

John Casimir king of Poland; expelled by Charles Gustavus.

Gustavus of Sweden, i. 969. Recovers his throne, 970. Assisted by the emperor Ferdinand III. ibid. His abdication, 1006.
John the Constant elector of Saxony; embraces the doctrines of Luther, i. 475.
John George elector of Saxony; deserts the protestant league, and enters into an accommodation with Ferdinand II. i. 775. Obtains the promise of the revenues of Lusatia from the emperor, 795. Opposes the designs of Gustavus Adolphus, 831, 836. Forced to allow the Swedes a passage through his territories, 841. Attacked by the imperial general Tilly, 848. Treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, 849. Overruns Bohemia, 857. Negotiates with Waldstein, 871. Expulsion of his troops from Silesia, 872. Jealousy of the Swedes, 886. Peace of Prague with Ferdinand II. 908. Obtains Lusatia, ibid. Compelled by the Swedes to desert the emperor, 939.
John George II.; his character and principles, i. 1012. Recovers the influence of his family among the protestants, ibid.
John Sigismond son of John of Zapoli; crowned king of Hungary, i. 560. Recovers Transylvania and part of Hungary by the assistance of the Turks, 865. Rejects the overtures of Ferdinand I. ibid. Attacked by Maximilian II. 636. Concludes a peace, 639. Death, ibid.
John Frederic duke of Saxe Gotha; patronises Grumbach, and endeavours to excite troubles in the empire, i. 626. Deposed, 627.
John Casimir, administrator of the palatinate; persecutes the Lutherans, and re-establishes Calvinism, i. 639.
John Frederic elector of Brandenburgh; joins the protestant confederacy, i. 670.
John Don of Austria, natural son of Charles V.; acknowledged by Philip II. i. 540. Attempts to subjugate the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, i. 651.
John Don of Austria, natural son of Philip III.; endeavours to obtain the regency of Spain after the death of Philip IV. i. 1021. Embarrassments of his administration, 1033. Listens to the overtures of Louis XIV. during the war of Holland, 1053.
Joseph Ferdinand electoral prince of Bavaria; his claims on the Spanish succession, i. 1094. Acknowledged by Charles II. 1095. Appointed king by the first partition treaty, 1099. His death, 1101.
Joseph, father; a capuchin friar, sent by Richelieu to thwart the designs of Ferdinand II. in Germany, i. 882. Procures the reduction of the imperial troops and the dismission of Waldstein, 922.
Joseph I.; chosen king of the Romans, i. 1052. Crowned king of Hungary, 1084. His character, 1163. Conduct at the siege of Landau, 1164. His accession, 1165. Concludes a neutrality for Italy, 1191. Thwarts the enterprise against Toulon, 1192. 1195. Reduces Naples, 1195. Conciliates Charles XII. 1201. Exertions to prosecute the war against France, 1202. Sends troops to Spain, 1212. Proscribes the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, ibid. Grants the fifth electorate to the elector Palatine, 1213. Confiscates Mantua and Mirandula, ibid. Humbles the pope, ibid. Rejects the offers of Louis XIV. 1218. Objections to the preliminaries proposed by the allies, 1221. Prevented from detaching the elector of Bavaria, 1222. Endeavours to conciliate the Hungarians, 1245. 1247. Success of his arms, 1249. Peace of Zatmar signed with the insurgents, 1250. His death and character, 1252.
Joseph II.; remonstrates against the alliance with France, ii. 390. Elected king of the Romans, 465. Succeeds to the imperial crown, 467. Introduces a new system into the Austrian army, 489. Interviews with the king of Prussia at Neiss and Neustadt, 498, 499. Mediates between the Porte and Russia, 499. Attempts to gain the confidence of the French court, ibid. Visits Versailles, 520. Measures to secure the Bavarian succession, 524. Takes the field against the king of Prussia, 527. Opposes the endeavours of his mother to negotiate an accommodation, 533. 637. Acquiesces in the peace of Teschen, 557. Offended by the conduct of France, 542. Declaration in the contest between England and the American colonies, 548. Journey to St. Petersburgh, 554. Gains the confidence of Catherine II. 555. Education, character, and conduct before his accession, 567. Benevolence, 569. Plans of reformation, 517. 573. 576. Resemblance of his reforms to those of the French economists, 576. note. His conduct towards pope Pius VI. 578. Abolishes vassalage, 579. Patronage of letters, 580. Endeavours to promote commerce and manufactures, 581. Attempts to obtain the free navigation of the Danube and Black Sea, 581. His ambitious projects, 582. Second journey to Paris, and renewal of the connection with France, 583. Abrogates the Barrier Treaty, 584. Endeavours to extend the limits of Austrian Flanders, 587. Requires the navigation of the Scheldt to be opened, 588. Opposed by France, 589. Compelled to conclude the peace of Fontainbleau, 591. Designs against the Turks, 592. Assists Catherine II. in the acquisition of the Crimea and Kuban, 593. Thwarted in his designs by France, 594. His project to obtain Bavaria in exchange for the Netherlands, 595. Foiled by Prussia, 598. Alienates England by his conduct in regard to the Barrier Treaty and the American colonies, 606. Renews his connection with France, 607. His conduct on the death of Frederic II. ibid. Hostile designs against the Porte, 608. Accompanies Catherine II. during her progress through the Crimea, 610. Offers his mediation between Russia and the Turks, 613. Endeavours to surprise Belgrade, ibid. Declares war, 614. Ill success of his arms, 615. Entrusts the command in Sclavonia to Loudon, 617. Losses of his army, 618. Decline of his health, 621. Success of his arms, 624. Checked by Prussia and the Maritime Powers, ibid. Deprived of the support of France by the Revolution, 628. Attempts to change the constitution of the Netherlands, 635. His insidious conduct, 638. Dissolves the states of Hainault and Brabant, 641. His overweening confidence, 644. Defeat of his troops, 646. Overthrow of the government, 648. Vain attempts to conciliate the insurgents, 649. Discontents in Hungary, 651. Disputes with his brother Leopold, ibid. Restores the sacred crown and regalia, 652. Illness and death, 654. Remarks on his character and conduct, 658.
Josepha daughter of Maria Theresa; her melancholy death, ii. 504.

Joyous Entry; the great Charter of Brabant, ii. 632.

Juliers and *Berg*; account of the succession of, ii. 86. note.

Julius II. pope; his election, i. 385. Character and principles, 386. Wrests Romagna from Cæsar Borgia, ibid. Plans to exclude foreigners from Italy, 387. Appeals to the emperor Maximilian I. against Louis XII. 387. Grants Maximilian the title of emperor elect, 389. Enters into the league of Cambray against the Venetians, 392. Secret overtures to the Venetians, 394. Concludes an accommodation, 399. Endeavours to expel the French from Italy, ibid. Grants the investiture of Naples to Ferdinand of Arragon, 399. Attempts to drive the French from Genoa and the Milanese, 400. Besieges Mirandola, 401. Disputes the council of Pisa, 405. Induces the Swiss to invade the Milanese, and unites with the king of Arragon Henry VIII. and the Venetians against France, 404. Union with the emperor and the Venetians, 409. Death, 410.

Julius III. pope; restores Parma to Octavio Farnese, i. 514. note. Gained by Charles V. 515. Convokes a council at Trent, ibid. Endeavours to wrest Parma from Octavio Farnese, 514. note.

Jurisuits Nicholas; his memorable defence of Guuta against the sultan Solyman the Magnificent, i. 556.

Kagnardji, treaty of; between Catherine II. and the Turks, ii. 509.

Karoly, an Hungarian magnate; signs the peace of Zatmar with Joseph I. i. 1250.

Kaunitz, count; plenipotentiary at the congress of Aix la Chapelle, ii. 351. Conduct in regard to the stipulations concerning the Barrier Treaty, 385. His early life, 365. Entrusted with the direction of affairs, 367. Design to abrogate the Barrier Treaty, 371. Plan of an union between France and Austria, 373. Attempts to conciliate the French court, 376. Conduct towards England during the dispute with France relative to Nova Scotia, 377. Negotiates the alliance between Austria and France, 385. Obtains the dissolution of the council of Conference, 512. Anxiety to maintain the connection with France, ibid. Opposes the endeavours of the empress-queen to effect an accommodation relative to the Bavarian succession, 533. Negotiates the peace of Teschen, 540. Solicits leave to resign, ibid. Obtains count Cobenzl as his co-adjutor, 541. Offended by the conduct of France in the contest for the Bavarian succession, 542. Offers the mediation of Austria in the dispute between England and France, 549. Remark on the journey of pope Pius VI. to Vienna, 578. note. Declaration in regard to the connection with France, 586. Opposition to the innovations of Joseph II. and his conduct towards the Netherlands, 636. Decline of his influence, 675.

Keith, marshal; killed at Hochkirchen, ii. 426.

Keith, Sir Robert, British minister at Vienna; his account of the singular behaviour of Bartenstein, ii. 162. Audience of the empress-queen on communicating the treaty between England and Russia, 387.

Keller, count; appointed by the king of Prussia to negotiate the restoration of the Austrian government in the Netherlands, ii. 691.

Kepler; patronised by the emperor Rhodolph II. i. 725.

Kettler Gothard, grand master of the Teutonic Order; cedes Livonia to Poland, and appropriates Courland and Semigallia, i. 630.

King of the Romans; the title assumed by the emperors when not crowned at Rome, i. 29.

Kinsky, count; his character, ii. 258.

Kiuprali Achmet grand vizier; restores the authority of the sultan, i. 987. Penetrates into Hungary, and threatens Austria, 992. 993. Defeated at St. Gothard, 994.

Kiesel bishop of Vienna, minister of Matthias; opposes the transfer of the Austrian dominions to Ferdinand of Styria, i. 739. Urges his master to conciliate the insurgent Bohemians, 753. Seized and imprisoned by Ferdinand, 755.

Konigseg; appointed to command the army under Francis duke of Lorraine against the Turks, ii. 176. His character, ibid. Disgrace, 179.

Konigstelden; a convent founded, on the spot where Albert I. was assassinated, by his wife and daughter, i. 98.

Konigsmark, Swedish general; defeats the imperialists at Yutterbuck, i. 937. Forces the elector of Saxony to desert the emperor, 939. Defeats Lamboy, 944. Surprises Prague, 945.

Kuban; acquired by Catherine II. ii. 503.

Kyburgh, diminution of; i. 9. Descend to Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, 12.

La Hogue; defeat of the French fleet, i. 1053.

Lacy, marshal; his character, ii. 473. Makes an irruption into Brandenburgh, 452. Assists Joseph II. in new modelling the army, 489.

Ladislaus Lokotec; expelled from the throne of Poland, i. 85.

Ladislaus Posthumus son of the emperor Albert II.; crowned king of Hungary, i. 201. Placed under the care of his uncle Frederic, ibid. Acknowledged king of Bohemia, 202. Takes possession of his dominions, 205. Entrusted to the care of his maternal uncle count Cilly, ibid. His character and conduct, 206. Compelled to dismiss Cilly, 207. Crowned at Prague, ibid. Alienates the Calixtines, ibid. Recalls Cilly, ibid. Offends the Hungarians by appointing Cilly governor of the kingdom, 212. Executes Ladislaus Corvinus for the murder of Cilly, 214. Disputes with the emperor Frederic III. 265. Death and character, 214.

Ladislaus, king of Poland; revives the claims of his family on the crown of Sweden, i. 884. Attacked by Russia, ibid.

Ladislaus, king of Bohemia; offended by the election of Maximilian I. as king of the Romans, i. 291. Compromises the dispute, ibid. Raised to the throne of Hungary on the death of Matthias Corvinus, 299. Peace with Maximilian, ibid. Conduct and character, 325.

Landau; reduced by the Germans, i. 1122. Recovered by the French, 1130. Reduced by the allies, 1149.

Landgrave; antiquity of the title, i. 2. note.

Leon, marquis of; conquers Sardinia and Sicily, ii. 39.

Leipsic, treaty of; between the queen of Hungary and Augustus III. ii. 315.

Leo X. pope; his character, and situation of the papacy on his election, i. 410. Reconciled with Louis

Louis XII. 412. Endeavours to form a crusade against the Turks, 413. Treaty of Viterbo with Francis I. 416. Unites with Maximilian to form a crusade against the Turks, 424. Grants a sale of indulgences in Germany, 431. His conduct on the first attack of Luther, 432. Issues a monitory against him, 433. Sends the cardinal of Gaeta, to try him in Germany, 434. Bull of condemnation against him, 435. Opposes the elevation of Charles V. to the imperial dignity, 440. Declares the writings of Luther heretical, 460.

Leopold son of Albert I.; punishes the assassins of his father, i. 97. Contrast of his character with that of his brother Frederic, 98. Accommodation with the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, 100. Accompanies him into Italy, 102. Betrothed to his niece, ibid. Mistake concerning his wife, ibid. note. Leads a body of troops against Louis of Bavaria, 105. Espouses Catherine of Savoy, 106. War with the Swiss, ibid. Defeated at Morgarten, 106. Armistice, 108 His efforts to procure the liberation of his brother Frederic, who was captured by Louis, 111. Gains the pope, 111 114. Defeats Louis at Burgau, 114. Refuses to approve the accommodation concluded by Frederic, 115. Death, 116. Wife and offspring, 119.

Leopold I. son of Albert II.; joins with his brother Albert in securing the Tyrol, i. 344. Contrast of his character with that of Albert, 145. Extorts from Albert the administration of all the family domains, except Austria, ibid. Invasion of his dominions by Enguerrand de Couey, 116. Enters into the war between Venice and the house of Carrara, 147. 150. Invades the Trevigiano, ibid. Obtains the Trevigiano, 151. Yields it to Francis of Carrara, 152. Acquires Trieste, ibid. Disappointed in his hopes of obtaining the crown of Poland for his son William, 152. Discontents excited in his territories by the oppressions of his bailiffs, 154. Misunderstanding between him and the Helvetic States, ibid. Defeated and killed at Sempach, 156. Character, 160.

Leopold son of the former; continues the war against the Swiss, i. 160. Attacks Glarus, 161. Defeated at Naefels, ibid. Concludes a peace, 162. Obtains the administration of the Tyrol, 165. Division of his territories, 167. Supports the Anti-Cæsar Robert elector Palatine, i. ibid. Enters Italy, ibid. Taken prisoner, 168. Associates his brother Ernest in the administration, ibid. Death, 169.

Leopold, archduke, bishop of Passau and Strasburgh; sent by the emperor Rhodolph II. to requester the contested succession of Cleves and Juliers, i. 712. Attacked by the protestants, 715. Invades Bohemia, 717. Defeated, 720.

Leopold William son of Ferdinand II.; appointed to the sees of Magdeburgh and Halberstadt, i. 809. Character, 917. Expels the Swedes from Bohemia, 926. 951. Defeated at Breitenfeld, 931. Repairs to the Low Countries, 953 Resumes the command of the imperial army, after the defeat of Yankovitz, 940 Expels the French from Bavaria, ibid. Promotes the elevation of his nephew Leopold to the imperial dignity, 974.

Leopold I. emperor; acknowledged by Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, i. 966. Accession, 973. Obstacles to his design of obtaining the imperial crown, 973. Elected, 975. His capitulation, ibid. Prosecutes the war against Sweden, 977. Prevails on Frederick V. of Denmark to renew hostilities, 980. Assists in driving the Swedes from Jutland, and reducing Pomerania, 980. Hastens the peace of Oliva, between Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, 983. Succours the partisans of Ragotsky in Transylvania, 984. Disputes with his Hungarian subjects, 989. Attacked by the Turks, 992. Appeals to the princes of Christendom, ibid. Victory of St. Gothard, 995. Concludes a truce with the Turks, ibid Concessions to the Hungarians, 996. State of his dominions, 1007. Reduction of his authority in the empire, 1008. Acquiesces in the dismemberment of the Netherlands, by Louis XIV. 1023. Assists the United Provinces against Louis, 1027. Negotiations at Nimeguen, 1030. Deserted by the Dutch and Spaniards, 1032, 1033 Concludes peace, 1036. Remonstrates against the encroachments of Louis on the empire, 1039. Ameliorates the military system of Germany, ibid. Agrees to the truce of Ratisbon, 1043. Endeavours to rouse the empire, 1046. War for the palatine succession, ibid. Unites with William prince of Orange, Sweden, and the German states, 1047. Favours the revolution in England, 1049. Obtains from the empire a declaration of war against Louis, 1050. Concludes the grand alliance, 1051. Grants the ninth electorate to the House of Hanover, and attempts to revive the electoral privileges of Bohemia, 1054. Suspends his grant to conciliate the empire, 1057. Deserted by England and Holland, 1060. Agrees to the peace of Ryswick, 1064. Favours the introduction of a clause for reducing the protestant religion in the Palatinate, 1065. Revival of the disputes with his Hungarian subjects, 1060. 1070. Abolishes the constitution, 1071. Attempts to extirpate the protestant religion, 1072. Commencement of the rebellion of Tekeli, 1074. Attacked by the Turks, ibid. Appeals to the princes of Germany, 1076. Concludes a treaty with John Sobieski king of Poland, ibid. Retires from Vienna, ibid. Assisted by Sobieski, and the German princes, 1078. Re-enters Vienna after the defeat of the Turks, ibid. Interview with Sobieski, 1079. Successes of his arms, 1081. Accommodation with the Hungarians, 1083. Success against the Turks, 1084. Peace of Carlovitz, 1089. His claims on the Spanish succession, 1092. Sends his minister count Harrach to Madrid, 1095. Refuses to accept the partition treaty, 1103. Indignation on the appointment of the duke of Anjou, 1112. Appeals in vain to the empire, and the powers of Europe, ibid. Commences the war against France, 1115. Unexpected success of his arms, 1117. Change of the powers of Germany and Europe, in his favour, 1121. Dangerous situation, 1128. Expedition of the elector of Bavaria into the Tyrol, 1129. Gains Portugal and Savoy, 1132. 1135. Procures the acknowledgment of his son Charles as king of Spain, 1135. Rebellion of Ragotsky, 1137. Endeavours to pacify the rebels, 1141. Rescued by the victory of Blenheim, 1149. Reduces Bavaria, ibid. His letter to Marlborough, 1150. Death and character, 1153. Changes, civil and military, during his reign, 1166.

INDEX.

Leopold II. disputes with his brother Joseph II 652. Accession, 663. State of his dominions, ibid. Character and conduct, 666. Abolishes many of the innovations of Joseph, 667. 679. Overtures to the king of Prussia, 668. Conciliates the British cabinet, 670. Convention of Reichenbach, 672. Refuses to act against Russia, 673. Gains the king of Prussia, 674. Peace of Sistova with the Porte, ibid. Withdraws his confidence from Kaunitz, 675. Chosen emperor, 678. His firm and prudent conduct towards the Hungarians. 680. Conciliates the Illyrians, 682. Parries the discontents in Hungary, 684. His coronation, ibid. Prepares to restore the Austrian government in the Netherlands, 690. Negotiations with Prussia and the Maritime Powers, ibid. His offers to the people of the Netherlands, 694. Subdues the insurgents, 694. Refuses to restore the antient constitution, 695. Evades the guaranty of the allied powers, 696. Subsequent disputes with the States, ibid. Disputes with France, relative to the feudal rights of the German princes, 703. Motives of his conduct towards France, 706. Plans for the relief of the king, 707. Declaration from Padua on the arrest of the king, 709. Fruitless appeal to England, ibid. His temporizing conduct, 711. Declaration at Pilnitz, 712. Death, 726.

Leopold, archduke, son of Leopold II.; chosen palatine of Hungary, ii. 684.

Leopold margrave of Baden; commands the army, furnished to Leopold by the German States, against the Turks, i. 993.

Lichtenstein, prince, governor of Charles VI.; his character, ii 43.

Liechtenstein, prince; gains the victory of St. Lazaro, ii. 331.

Lille, siege of; i. 1207.

Lithuania, duchy of; united with the crown of Poland on the marriage of the duke Jagbellon with Hedwige queen of Poland, i. 153. Its subsequent separation, and state at the accession of Maximilian I. 324. Re-united to Poland, 642. note.

Livonia; conquered by the Teutonic knights, i. 629. Separated from the domains of the orders by Walter of Plettenberg, ibid. Ceded to Poland by Gothard Kettler, 630. erected into a kingdom, ibid. Appropriated by the Czar of Moscovy, ibid.

Lobcowitz, prince; defeated by the French at Suhay, ii. 275. Blockades the French army in Prague, 285. His successes in Italy, 298. 307.

Locarno; ceded to the Swiss, i. 409.

Longueville, duke of; leads a French army into Germany, i. 925.

Loraine, duchy; account of, 854. note.

Lowohn, general; destroys a Prussian convoy at the siege of Olmutz, ii. 422. His life and character, 429. Contributes to the defeat of the Prussians at Cunersdorf, 437. Defeats Fouquet at Landshut, 447. Takes Glatz and invests Breslau, ibid. Defeated by the king of Prussia, at Liguitz, 450. Surprises Schweidnitz, 466. His operations in the war for the Bavarian succession, 530. Commands the army in Schavonia, 617. Takes Novi, ibid. Intrusted with the supreme command, 623. Reduces Belgrade, 623.

Louis the Severe duke of Bavaria; supports the election of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the imperial crown, i. 23. Espouses his daughter Matilda, 70.

Louis of Bavaria; elected emperor in opposition to Frederic of Austria, i. 104, 105. Acknowledged by many of the states and cities, 105. Contests with the Austrian princes, ibid. Drives his brother Rhodolph into exile, 108. Defeats and captures Frederic of Austria, 109. Generous treatment of his prisoner, 110. Supports the Ghibelin party against pope John XXII. 113. Excommunicated, ibid. Defeated by Leopold of Austria at Burgau, 114. Concludes an advantageous accommodation with Frederic, ibid. Concludes a new treaty with the Austrian princes, 116. Stores the imperial authority with Frederic, ibid. Resumes his concessions on the death of Leopold, 117. Repairs to Italy, and deposes the Pope, ibid. Accommodation with Albert and Otho of Austria, 122. Unites with them against John of Bohemia, 124. Dissolves the marriage of Margaret Maultasch with the prince of Bohemia, and unites her with his son Louis, 127. Defeats the king of Bohemia, ibid. His death, ibid.

Louis XI.; thwarts the projects of Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy to appropriate part of the Helvetic States, i. 235. His contests with the Swiss when Dauphin, 249. Occupies part of Alsace, ibid. Accommodation with the empire, ibid.

Louis duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis XII. his contests for the regency during the minority of Charles VIII. of France i. 292. Leagues with Francis, duke of Britanny, 292. Courts the hand of his daughter Anne, 300. Made prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin, 293. Succeeds to the French crown, 335. Accommodation with the archduke Philip, relative to the Burgundian territories, ibid. Invades the Milanese, and expels Ludovico Sforza, 361. Expelled, 362. Leads a new army to Milan, ibid. Captures Ludovico Sforza, 363. Gains Philip, and enters into a treaty with the emperor Maximilian I. 366. Obtains the acquiescence of the Pope in his meditated invasion of Naples, ibid. Leagues with Ferdinand of Arragon for the partition of that country, 367. Assists in expelling the king of Naples, ibid. Treaty of Trent with the emperor Maximilian, ibid. Disputes with the Spaniards for the possession of Naples, 376. Accommodation of these disputes with Philip, 377. Deceived by Ferdinand of Arragon, ibid. Naples driven from Naples, 378. Treaty at Blois with the emperor and the archduke, ibid. Unites with Ferdinand against the archduke, 381. Opposes the passage of Maximilian into Italy, 389. Attacks the Austrian territories, 390. League of Cambray against the Venetians, 392. Defeats the Venetians, 399. Unites with the emperor against the pope, ibid. Loss of his power in Italy, 407 Unites with the Venetians against the pope and the emperor, 409. Attacked by the emperor and Henry VIII. 410. Invades the Milanese, 411. Repulsed by the the Swiss, 412. Reconciles himself with the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, ibid. Death, 413.

Louis XIII. procures the assassination of the marshal d'Ancre, i. 767. Entrusts the conduct of affairs to De Luines, ibid. Refuses to enter into the party formed against Ferdinand II. 776. Induces the German protestants to agree to a treaty with the Catholics, 777. Supports the pretensions of Charles duke of Nevers to the succession of Mantua, 821. Concludes

Concludes a treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, 835. Supports the Swedes and protestants in the empire, 860. Declares war against Spain, 910. Attacked by the Spaniards and imperialists, 911. Cedes Alsace to the duke of Weymar, ibid. Repulses the Spaniards and imperialists, 912. Supports the Swedes in Germany, 913. Recovers Alsace, 925. Invades Germany, ibid. His death, 932.

Louis XIV.; his accession, i. 932. Peace of Westphalia with the emperor, 953. His views on the imperial crown, 974. Concludes the league of the Rhine to prevent Austria from taking part in the war with Spain, 976. Peace of the Pyrenees with Spain, 985. Espouses the infanta, ibid. State of his dominions, 997. Character and principles, ibid. Influence in Germany, 1018. Attempts to dismember the Spanish inheritance, 1021. Invades the Netherlands, and reduces Franche Comté, 1022. Opposed by England, Holland, and Sweden, 1023. Restores Franche Comté, 1024. Invades the United Provinces, 1025. Gains the superiority over the allies, 1029. Negotiations at Nimeguen, 1030. Detaches England and Holland, 1032. Reduces the allies to accept peace, 1036. Encroachments on the empire and Spain, 1038. Gains England, Denmark, and Holland, 1041. Invades the Netherlands, ibid. Truce of Ratisbon, ibid. State of his dominions, 1042. Persecutes his protestant subjects, 1044. Continues his encroachments on the empire, ibid. Supports the pretensions of the duchess of Orleans to the palatine succession, 1046. Devastations of the Palatinate, 1050. Resists the attacks of the grand alliance, 1052. Situation of his kingdom, 1059. Detaches the duke of Savoy, England, and Holland, 1060. Compels Leopold I. to agree to the peace of Ryswick, ibid. Introduces a clause for reducing the protestant religion in the Palatinate, 1065. Advantages gained by this peace, 1066. Fomenta the discontents in Hungary, 1074. Endeavours to check the progress of the imperialists against the Turks, 1086. Views on the Spanish succession, 1093, 1096. Intrigues to exclude the Austrian family, 1096. Gains cardinal Portocarrero and the pope, 1097. Negotiates with the Maritime Powers, 1098. Partition treaties, 1099, 1102. Procures the nomination of Philip second son of the dauphin, 1109. Gains the elector of Bavaria, 1114. Secures the Netherlands, ibid. Obtains the support of the dukes of Savoy and Mantua, ibid. Offends the British nation by acknowledging the pretender, 1119. His success at first, 1121. The elector of Bavaria declares in his favour, 1122. Sends troops into Bavaria, 1128. Plans of attack against the Austrian territories, 1129. Deserted by Savoy, 1130. Reduces Savoy and Piedmont, 1131. Offends the Spaniards, 1132. Fomenta the discontents in Hungary, 1138. Defeat of his army at Blenheim, 1147. His fortitude and activity, 1165. Exertions to humble the duke of Savoy, 1178. Ill success of his army, 1174, 1179. Attempts to divide the allies, 1180. Concludes with Joseph I. a neutrality for Italy, 1191. Renews his negotiations, 1216. Rejects the preliminaries offered by the allies, 1218. Negotiations at Gertruydenberg, 1230. Deplorable state of his dominions, ii. 11. Succeeds in opening a separate negotiation with England, 14. Concludes the peace of Utrecht, 15. 23. Signs the peace of Rastadt with the emperor, 20. His death, 35.

Louis XV.; his accession, ii. 35. Affianced to the infanta Mary Anne of Spain, 69. Married to Maria Letzinski, daughter of Stanislaus king of Poland, 81. Dominates the duke of Bourbon, 91. Character and situation on the death of Augustus II. of Poland, 110. Supports the election of Stanislaus, 120. Conduct on the death of cardinal Fleury, 288. Characters of his ministers, 289. Assumes the command of the army in the Low Countries, 301. Endeavours to prevent the elevation of the duke of Lorraine to the imperial dignity, 311. Alliance with the House of Austria, 396. His secret correspondence to diminish the Austrian influence in different courts of Europe, 514. Death, 515.

Louis XVI.; espouses the archduchess Maria Antonietta, ii. 513. Accession, 516. Resumes the antient system of policy towards the House of Austria, ibid. Intrusts the administration to Vergennes, 517. Prejudice against Joseph II. 518, 520. Conduct in the contest for the Bavarian succession, 525. Supports the endeavours of the empress-queen, to effect an accommodation, 534. Favours the insurrection of the American colonies, 547. Acquiesces in the nomination of the archduke Maximilian as elector of Cologne, 550. Renews the connection with Joseph II. and lessens the abrogation of the Barrier Treaty, 584. Opposes the designs of Joseph, in regard to the navigation of the Scheldt, and the limits of Austrian Flanders, 589. Mediates the peace of Fontainebleau, 591. Opposes the attempts of Joseph to recover the Ultra Danubian provinces, 594; and to exchange Bavaria for the Netherlands, 595. Loss of his ascendancy in the United Provinces, 606. Courts the friendship of Joseph, 607. His character and principles, 623. Distresses of his government, ibid. Convokes the notables and the states-general, 625, 626. Conduct towards Neckar, 626, 627. Decline of his authority, 627. Distressed situation, 702. Endeavours to regain his authority, ibid. Approves the revolution, 703. Plans for his relief, 707. His attempt to escape, and arrest at Varennes, 708. Accepts the constitution, 714. Reduced to dependence on the Jacobins, 715.

Louis I. of Spain; his short reign and death, ii. 78.

Louis margrave of Baden; expels Tekeli from Transylvania, and reinstates Michael Abaffy, i. 1086. Defeats the Turks at Salankamen, 1087. Reduces Landau, 1122. Operations against the French and Bavarians, 1122. 1129. Unites with Marlborough, 1141. Thwarts the design of Marlborough to invade France by the Moselle, 1166.

Louisa de Guzman wife of John of Braganza; her character, i. 999.

Louvois minister of Louis XIV.; his improvements of the French military system, i. 1042.

Lowendahl; captures Bergen-op-Zoom, ii. 345.

Lubeck; treaty of, i. 812.

Lucern; joins the Swiss confederacy, i. 129.

Lunenburg; transferred to the elector of Saxony by Ferdinand II. i. 969.

Luther; his birth, education, and character, i. 326. Patronised by Frederic the Wise elector of Saxony, 327. Writes against the Sale of indulgencies, 331. Appears before the cardinal of Gaeta at Augsburgh, 334. Papal bull against him, 335. Appeals against the bull, 336. Disputes with the catholic doctors, ibid. Inveighs against the corruptions

ruptions of the church, 459. Declared a heretic, 460. Burns the papal bull, 461. His conduct before the diet of Worms, 463, 464. Proscribed, 465. Saved by the interference of the elector of Saxony, 466. Commences a translation of the Bible, ibid. Returns to Wittemberg, 469. Forms a new ritual, 473. Quits the ecclesiastical habit, and marries, 475. Writes against the anabaptist Muncer, 476. Refuses to unite with Zuingle, 491. 504.

Lutherans; their disputes with and persecutions of the Calvinists, i. 659. Publish the book of concord to exclude the Calvinists from the benefits of the religious peace, 660. Oppose the endeavours of Henry IV. of France to effect an union of the two churches, 665. Reject the peace of Prague concluded by their chief the elector of Saxony, 909. Reconcile themselves with Ferdinand II. ibid. Privileges secured to them by the peace of Westphalia, 955.

Luynes, duke of; procures the assassination of the marshal d'Ancre, i. 767. Intrusted with the administration, ibid. His connections with Spain, ibid.

Luxemburgh, marshal; attacked by William prince of Orange, near Mons, i. 1035. Checked in his invasion of the Low Countries, 1053.

Magdalen Theresa third wife of Leopold I. i. 1159.

Magdeburgh, city of; resists Charles V. after the dissolution of the league of Smalkalde, i. 516. Reduced by Maurice of Saxony, 519. Declares in favour of Gustavus Adolphus, 839. Besieged and sacked by the imperialists, 841.

Mahomet II.; captures Constantinople, i. 209. Besieges Belgrade, 210. Increase of the Turkish empire under his reign, 326.

Mahomet IV.; succeeds to the Turkish empire, i. 986. Expels Ragotsky from Transylvania, 987. Invades Hungary, 992. Supports the rebellion of Tekeli, 1074. Deposed, 1085.

Maillebois; compels George II. to conclude a neutrality for Hanover, ii. 261. Marches to the relief of Belleisle, when besieged in Prague, 283.

Majesty, title of; error of Robertson in regard to his assumption by Charles V. i. 451.

Majorca; conquered by a British squadron, i. 1189.

Mansfeld, count; commands the forces sent by the protestant union to the assistance of the Bohemians, i. 758. Checks the progress of the imperialists, ibid. Penetrates into the Palatinate, after the defeat of the elector Palatine, 790. Disavowed by the elector Palatine, 792. Receives assistance from England, 793. Joins Christian IV. of Denmark, and the protestant confederacy, 804. Defeated by Wallstein, 805. Penetrates into Hungary, ibid. Death, 806.

Mantua; state of at the accession of Maximilian I. i. 335. Account of its rise, 820. note. Contests for the succession of, 820. Reduced under the government of Austria, 1186.

Margaret Maultasch daughter of Henry of Carinthia; becomes heiress of her father's territories, i. 125. Espouses John prince of Bohemia, ibid. Obtains the Tyrol, 126. Imprisoned by her husband, ibid. Seeks the protection of the emperor Louis of Bavaria, ibid. Her marriage dissolved, 127. Espouses Louis son of the emperor, ibid. Grants the reversion of Tyrol to the Austrian family, 140.

Margaret daughter of Maximilian; affianced to Charles dauphin of France, i. 220. Dismissed on his marriage with Anne of Britanny, 301. Intrusted with the government of the Netherlands, 389. 441. Concludes the league of Cambray, 392. 444.

Margaret daughter of Charles V.; account of, i. 541.

Margaret daughter of Maximilian II.; account of, i. 619.

Margaret Theresa first wife of Leopold I.; her character, i. 1158.

Maria Leopoldina wife of Ferdinand III.; i. 971.

Maria Eleonora Gonzaga wife of Ferdinand III.; i. 971.

Maria Antonia daughter of Leupold I.; conveys her pretensions to the Spanish succession to the House of Bavaria, i. 1150.

Marianne daughter of Philip III. of Spain; wife of Ferdinand III. i. 971.

Marianne second wife of Charles II. of Spain; favours the pretensions of Austria to the Spanish succession, i. 1095. Her character and unpopularity, ibid. Conciliated by Fraucr, 1097. Again embraces the Austrian interest, 1104. Appointed to the regency by the will of her husband, 1109. Excluded by the French party, 1110.

Maria Theresa queen of Philip IV.; her weak administration, i. 1020.

Maria Theresa daughter and heiress of Charles VI.; her character, ii. 154. Espouses Francis duke of Lorraine, 160. Endeavours to terminate the war with the Turks, 199. Accession, 225. Conduct of the different European powers, 226. Invasion of Silesia by Frederic II. 232. Deserted by her allies, 235. Negotiations with the king of Prussia, 244. Her character and education, 253. Influenced by Bartenstein, 257. Vain reliance on the professions of France, 258. Enthusiasm of the British nation in her cause, 259. Attacked by France, 261. Crowned at Presburgh, 263. Appeals to the Hungarians, 262. 265. Loyalty of the nation, 265. Celebrated speech to the diet, ibid. Concludes an accommodation with Prussia by ceding Lower Silesia, 267. Renewal of hostilities, 272. Cedes both Upper and Lower Silesia to Prussia, ibid. Favourable situation of her affairs, 276. Rejects the proposals made by Fleury, 281. Hopes to recover Loraine, Alsace, and the Italian territories, 282. Disapproves the transactions of her husband with the French, 284. Disappointment at the escape of Belleisle with the remnant of the French army from Prague, 287. Supported by England and Holland, 290. Plans for the dismemberment of France, 294. Rejects the accommodation concluded by George II. with the emperor Charles VII. 296. Disputes with the king of Sardinia, 297. Again attacked by the king of Prussia, 304. Recalls her troops from Alsace, and appeals to the Hungarians, 304. Defeat of the king of Prussia, 310. Negotiations with Charles VII. and afterwards with his son the elector of Bavaria, 314. Situation of her court, 316. Her spirited reply to Mr. Robinson's proposal for an accommodation with Prussia, 322. Refuses to accede to the convention concluded by George II. 326. Election of her husband to the imperial crown, 329. Accommodation with Prussia, 330. Successes in Italy, 333. Disputes with the king of Sardinia, 335. 340. Reverses in Italy, 337. Overtures and negotiations for peace, 337. 347. Disputes with the British cabinet, 348. Her displeasure at the signature of the preliminaries

ries at Aix la Chapelle between England and France, 353. Accedes to the preliminaries, 354. Refuses to renew the stipulations relative to the Barrier Treaty, 355. Her beneficial reforms and establishments, 359. 361. State of her court, and characters of her ministers, 362. Elevates Kaunitz to the supreme direction of affairs, 367. Causes of her separation from England, 368. 373. Alliance with France, 384. Her behaviour on receiving the account of a treaty between England and Prussia, 387. Overrules the opposition of the emperor and her family to the French alliance, 390. Endeavours to form a confederation against the king of Prussia, 392. Gains Russia, ibid. Invasion of Bohemia by the king of Prussia, 394. Receives support from France, the empire, and Sweden, 396. Her message to her troops when besieged in Prague, 403. Her joy on the victory of Kolin, 408. Successes of her allies, 409. Receives from the pope the title of apostolic queen of Hungary, 428. Favourable situation of her affairs, 433. Her exultation at the changes in the British cabinet on the death of George the Second, 462. Her conduct on the overtures for peace, 463. Peace of Hubertsburgh, 481. Death of her husband, 486. Her affection for his memory, 487. Beneficial regulations, ibid. Reform of the monasteries, 489. Suppression of the jesuits, ibid. Improvements in the military system, ibid. Union with the king of Prussia for the partition of Poland, 491. Opposes the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski, 494. Supports the malcontents 497. Her troops enter Poland, 500. Partition of Poland, 502. Her conduct on the revolution in Sweden, 504. Her share in the dismemberment of Poland, 508. Attempts to enlarge her acquisitions, 509. Threatens to assist the Turks against Russia, 510. Her encroachments restrained by Russia, ibid. Obtains the Bocovina, 511. Situation of her territories, 512. Dissolves the council of conference, ibid. Endeavours to regain the confidence of the French court, ibid. Her conduct during the Bavarian succession, 523. 527. Negotiates with the king of Prussia, 526. Opposed by the emperor and prince Kaunitz, 533. Peace of Teschen, 537. Her exultation on that event, 539. Offended by the conduct of France, 543. Her declaration during the contest between England and the American colonies, 548. Courts England and Russia, 549. Conciliates Russia, 559. Illness and death, 560. Territorial acquisitions during her reign, 564. Innovations in the constitution of her dominions, 572. Her remark on the character of Joseph II. 659. note.

Maria Anne sister of Maria Theresa; espouses prince Charles of Loraine, ii. 299. Death, ibid.

Maria Antonietta daughter of Maria Theresa; espouses the dauphin afterwards Louis XVI. ii. 513. Attempts to remove the prejudices of Louis against Joseph II. 520. Her unpopularity in France, 706.

Mario, archduchess, joint governor of the Netherlands with her husband Albert of Saxe Teschen; suspends the regulations of Joseph II. ii. 635. Quits the country during the revolution, 647.

Maria Josepha daughter of Joseph I.; i. 1255.

Maria Amelia daughter of Joseph I.; i. 1255.

Maria Josepha wife of Joseph II.; ii. 661.

Marlborough, earl of; intrusted by queen Anne with the conduct of the war against France, i. 1120. Gains the confidence of the United States, ibid. Captures the principal places on the Meuse, 1122. Marches into Bavaria to the assistance of the emperor, 1142. Unites with the margrave of Baden, 1144. Forces the passage of the Danube at Schellenberg, 1145. Endeavours in vain to detach the elector, ibid. Joined by Eugene, ibid. Defeats the Gallo-Bavarians at Blenheim, 1147. Reduces Landau, Treves, and Trarerbach, 1149. His popularity in England, 1152. Honours and rewards conferred on him, 1153. His plan for invading France by the Moselle disconcerted by the Germans, 1165. Thwarted in the Netherlands by the Dutch, 1167. Defeats the French at Ramillies, 1175. Recovers a considerable part of the Netherlands, 1176. Captures Ostend and Menin, 1177. Visits Charles XII. 1201. Excludes the Tories from power, 1202. Defeats the French at Oudenarde, 1205. Reduces Lille, and recovers Ghent and Bruges, 1208. 1211. His overtures for peace rejected, 1216. Baffles the attempts of Louis XIV. to divide the allies, 1216. Reduces Tournay, 1223. Assists in defeating Villars at Malplaquet, 1225. Reduces Mons, Douay, Aire, and St. Venant, 1229. 1234.

Marlborough, duchess; disgraced, ii. 13. Hastens the disgrace of her husband and the downfal of the Whigs, ibid.

Martin; defeated with the elector of Bavaria at Blenheim, i. 1149. Assaulted with the duke of Orleans in the command in Italy, 1162. Defeated and killed at Turin, 1184.

Martin V. pope; elected by the council of Basle, i. 189.

Martinuzzi bishop of Waradin; supports Isabella widow of John of Zapoli in her attempts to secure the crown of Hungary for her son, i. 560. Life and character, ibid. Gained by Ferdinand I. 563. Induces Isabella to renounce the throne of Hungary, ibid. Disputes with the Austrian general Castaldo, 564. Assassinated, ibid.

Mary daughter of Louis of Hungary; imprisoned by her subjects, i. 171. Recovers her liberty, ibid.

Mary of Burgundy; espouses Maximilian I. i. 289. Her untimely death, ibid. Account of, 443.

Mary wife of Maximilian II.; her character and attachment to the catholic religion, i. 648.

Mary Elizabeth daughter of Leopold I.; her character, i. 1161.

Mary Anne daughter of Leopold I.; her character, i. 1161.

Mary Christina daughter of Maria Theresa; account of, ii. 564.

Masham, Mrs.; favours the intrigues of the Tories against Marlborough, Godolphin, and the Whigs, ii. 13.

Matthew von Galen bishop of Munster; his character, i. 1017. Unites with Louis XIV. against the Dutch, 1025.

Matthias, archduke and emperor; early life and character, i. 691. Disputes with his brother Rhodolph II. 692. Accepts the government of the insurgent Netherlands, ibid. Resigns, ibid. Distressed situation, ibid. Intrusted with the command of the army in Hungary, 693. Conciliates the catholics

and protestants, and forms a compact with his relatives against Rhodolph, ibid. Concludes a peace with Botkai prince of Transylvania, and a truce with the Turks, 694. Unites the Hungarians, Austrians, and Moravians against Rhodolph, 696. Leads an army into Bohemia, 697. Obtains from Rhodolph Austria, Hungaria, and Moravia, 701. Disputes with his new subjects, ibid. New contests with Rhodolph, 717. Compels Rhodolph to abdicate the throne of Bohemia, 720. Evades the demands of the Bohemians for the revival of their ancient privileges, 721. Chosen king, 723. Receives the homago of the Silesians and Moravians, 724. Elected emperor, 731. Difficulties of his situation, 732. Fails in his attempts to procure support from the empire and his own states to fulfil the treaty of Vienna, ibid. Renews the truce with the Turks, 754. His conduct towards the German protestants, 735. His reluctance to entail the Austrian succession on Ferdinand of Styria, 739. Obtains the election of Ferdinand as king of Hungary and Bohemia, 741. 743. Endeavours to secure for him the imperial crown, 745. Conciliates the Bohemian protestants, 748. 755. His grief on the arrest of his minister Klesel by Ferdinand, 756. Labours to prevent the interference of the catholics and protestants of Germany, 759. Death, ibid.

Maupertuis taken prisoner by the Austrians at the battle of Molwitz, ii. 238. His account of the king of Prussia's singular escape, 239. note.

Maurepas minister of the marine in France; his character, ii. 289. Procures the appointment of Vergennes on the accession of Louis XVI. 546.

Maurice of Saxony; his character, i. 501. Disputes with his relative the elector, ibid. Gained by Charles V. ibid. Attacks the electoral dominions, 506. Defeated, 507. Receives from Charles the electoral dignity and dominions, 512. Reduces Magdeburgh, 518. Causes of his defection from the emperor, 519. League with France and some of the protestants, 520. Attacks the emperor, 521. Peace of Passau, 523. Assists Ferdinand king of Hungary against the Turks, 524. Killed, 525. Arrangement of his succession, ibid.

Maurice prince of Orange; supports the United Provinces during their contest with Spain, i. 632.

Maximilian I. son of Frederic III.; origin of his name, i. 314. note. Obtains the transfer of the Tyrol from his relative Sigismund, 237. Espouses Mary heiress of the house of Burgundy, 289. Baffles the designs of Louis IX. on the Burgundian inheritance, and defeats the French at Guinegatte, ibid. Death of his wife, ibid. Opposed by the natives of the Low Countries, 290. Compelled to accede to the treaty of Arras, ibid. Elected king of the Romans, 291. Reduces the natives of Flanders, 292. Invades Picardy, 293. Imprisoned by the insurgents of the Netherlands, 294. Liberated by the exertions of his father, 295. Treaty with the Flemings, 296. Treaty with France, 297. Obtains the restoration of Austria from Matthias king of Hungary, 298. Disappointed of the throne of Hungary on the death of Matthias, 299. Expels the Hungarians from Austria, ibid. Peace with Ladislaus the new king of Hungary, ibid. Affianced to Anne duchess of Britanny, 301. Deprived of his intended bride by Charles VIII. of France, 304. Appeals in vain to the emperor, the Swiss, and the king of Arragon, ibid. Concludes the treaty of Senlis with Charles, 305. Succeeds to the Austrian territories and the empire, 315. State of Europe on his accession, ibid. Courts the alliance of the Swiss, 329. Disputes with the Grison communities, 330. Connections with Ludovico Sforza duke of Milan, 332. State of his dominions and influence, 339. Effects of the invention of gunpowder, and the changes in the art of war, 340. Repels an invasion of the Turks, 345. Espouses Bianca Maria sister of John Galeas duke of Milan, ibid. Invests Ludovico Sforza with the Milanese, 346. Resigns the Netherlands to his son Philip, ibid. Suppresses an insurrection in Guelderland, ibid. League with Ludovico Sforza to oppose the designs of Charles VIII. on Italy, 348. Appeals in vain to the German states, ibid. Agrees to the establishment of a public peace, and of the imperial chamber, ibid. New league with Ludovico Sforza, ibid. Fruitless expedition into Italy, 353. Attempt on Genoa, 354. Disputes with France relative to the Burgundian inheritance, ibid. War with Charles duke of Guelderland and the Swiss, ibid. Attempts to unite the empire in support of Ludovico Sforza when expelled by France, 358. Alliance with Naples and the Swiss, 364. Agrees to the establishment of an imperial council of regency, 365. An accommodation with France, 366. Endeavours to form a crusade against the Turks, 368. Offends the German electors, ibid. Attempts to raise Austria to the rank of an electorate, 369. Engages in a war with the elector palatine for arranging the succession of Bavaria Landshut, 373. Reduces the elector Palatine to submission, 372. Assists the Spaniards in Naples against the French, 376. Treaty at Blois with his son Philip and Louis XII. 376. Attempts to obtain the regency of Castile on the death of his son Philip, 385. Intrusts his daughter Margaret with the administration of the Netherlands, 386. Appealed to by pope Julius II. against the expected invasion of Louis XII. 387. Attempts to rouse the empire, 388. Passes into Italy and assumes the title of emperor elect, 389. Opposed by Venice, 390. Forms the league of Cambray against the Venetians, with the pope, Louis XII. the king of Arragon, and the Italian States, 391. Attempts to obtain assistance from the German diet, 394. Grants the investiture of Milan to Louis XII. 397. Jealousy between him and Louis, ibid. Besieges Padua, 398. Unites with Louis against the Pope and Venetians, 399. Obtains succours from the diet, ibid. Revives the disputes between the empire and the church, 401. Attempts to assemble a national council in Germany, 402. His supposed design to obtain the papacy, 405. Deserts Louis, ibid. Unites with the pope against the Venetians, 409. Treaty with Henry VIII. for the invasion of France, 410. Serves in the English army, 411. Defeats the French at Guinegatte, ibid. Reconciled with Louis, 412. Attempts to secure the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia for his family, 416. Intermarriage between his grandson Ferdinand and granddaughter Mary and the prince and princess of Hungary and Bohemia, 417. Enters Italy to oppose Francis I. 418. Deserted by his Swiss mercenaries, 419. Abandoned by his grandson

grandson Charles, 480. Concludes a peace with France, ibid. His regulations in the empire and Austrian territories, 422. Attempts to form a new crusade, and obtain the imperial crown for his grandson Charles, 424. Conduct towards Luther, 433. Death and character, 437. Writings, 441. Advantages which he secured to his family by marriage, 447.

Maximilian II.; elected king of the Romans, i. 589. Refuses the customary profession of obedience to the pope, ibid. Crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia, 600. His attachment to the protestant doctrines, 611. Makes a public profession of the catholic faith, ibid. Conduct towards the two religious sects, ibid. Obtains succours from the diet against the Turks, ibid. Receives a subsidy from the pope, 612. Maintains the union of the protestant body, 613. Tolerates the Calvinists, 614. Endeavours to prevent the engagement of German troops in the religious contests of France, 617. Intercedes with Philip II. in behalf of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, and of the unfortunate Don Carlos, 623. General tranquility of the empire during his reign, 625. Evades the demands of the Teutonic knights for the restitution of Prussia and Livonia, 629. Alliance with the czar of Muscovy, 634. Opposes the pretensions of the pope to Florence, ibid. Conduct towards his subjects of Austria and Bohemia, 633. 656. Compelled to suspend his religious innovations by the pope, 655. Attacks John prince of Transylvania, 636. Resists an invasion of the Turks, 637. Armistice with the Turks, and peace with the prince of Transylvania, 639. Approves the election of Bathori, ibid. His magnanimity on the victory of Lepanto, 340. Renews the armistice with the Turks, ibid. Coronation of his son Rhodolph as king of Hungary and Bohemia, and election as king of the Romans, 641. Chosen king of Poland, 642. Opposed by Stephen Bathori, 644. Death, character, and issue, 645. 653.

Maximilian Ernest of Styria son of Maximilian II.; account of, i. 650. Nominated governor of Transylvania on the death of Sigismond Bathori, 683. Enters into a secret compact with the archduke Matthias against Rhudolph II. i. 693. Refuses the imperial crown on the death of Rhodolph, 730. Endeavours to entail the Austrian succession on Ferdinand of Styria, 732. Supports the designs of Ferdinand against the protestants, 754.

Maximilian duke of Bavaria; appropriates Donawerth, i. 675. Forms the catholic league to oppose the designs of the protestants in regard to the succession of Cleves and Juliers, 715. Concludes a treaty with the protestants, 717. Refuses to become a candidate for the imperial dignity against Ferdinand of Styria, 757. Supports Ferdinand against the insurgent Bohemians, 775. Defeats the elector Palatine at Prague, 781. Rewarded with the Palatine Electorate and the Upper Palatinate, 809. Jealous of the emperor, 819. Procures the reduction of the imperial troops, and the dismission of Waldstein, 824. Reconciles with the emperor, 859. Refuses the neutrality offered by Gustavus Adolphus, 860. Opposes the restoration of Waldstein, 871. His intrigues against Waldstein, 891. Defeat of his troops by the French, 939. Invasion of his territories, 941. Temporary desertion of the emperor, 942. His death, 965. note.

Maximilian Emanuel elector of Bavaria; assists the emperor Leopold against the Turks, i. 1078. Espouses his daughter, 1148. Admits French troops into the Netherlands at the commencement of the war for the Spanish succession, 1114. Declares in favour of Louis XIV. 1122. His irruption into the Tyrol, 1129. Refuses to abandon the French alliance, 1145. Defeated at Blenheim, 1146. Expelled from his dominions, 1149. Commands a French army in the Netherlands, 1160. Defeated at Ramillies, 1173. Proscribed by Joseph II. 1212. Restored, ii. 19.

Maximilian son of Maria Theresa; raised to the electorate of Cologne, ii. 350. 364.

Mazarin; intrusted with the administration of affairs in France, i. 934. 955. Induces Ragotsky prince of Transylvania to declare against the emperor Ferdinand III. 936. Negotiates the peace of Westphalia, 949. Opposes the attempts of Ferdinand to secure the imperial crown for his son Leopold, 966. 973. Concludes the peace of the Pyrenees, 985.

Mayenberg, Henry; his declaration of war against the emperor Frederic III. i. 307.

Mecklenburgh, dukes of; deprived of their territories, i. 810. Reinstated by the assistance of the Swedes, 856. Their acquisitions by the peace of Westphalia, 904.

Mecklenburgh; troubles of, ii. 71. 106.

Medici, Lorenzo; his character, i. 333.

Medici, Peter; his character and conduct towards Maximilian I. i. 334. Expelled from Florence by Charles VIII. 347.

Medici, John; made prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, i. 407. Elected pope, 410. See *Leo* X.

Medici, Julian; obtains the government of Florence, i. 413.

Meinhard of Tyrol; assists Rhodolph of Hapsburgh against Ottocar king of Bohemia, i. 38. Obtains Carinthia, 51.

Melanchthon; his writings in the early stages of the Reformation, i. 438. note. 475. Draws up the Confession of Augsburgh, 488.

Melander; intrusted with the command of the imperial army by Ferdinand III. i. 942. Drives the Swedes from Bohemia, 945. Defeated and killed, 944.

Melher, count, admiral of Castile; discontented with the government of Philip V. i. 1133. Quits Spain, 1134. Urges Leopold to invade the country, 1135.

Mercy, Bavarian general; defeats the French at Duttlingen, i. 936. His subsequent success, 939. Killed, ibid.

Mercy, count; recovers Sicily from the Spaniards, ii. 41. Intrusted with the command of the army in Italy in the war for the Polish succession, 125. Killed in the battle of Parma, 126.

Mercy, count; employed to negotiate with the allies the restoration of the Austrian government in the Netherlands, ii. 691. 694.

Michael waivode of Wallachia; assists the Austrians in obtaining possession of Transylvania, i. 683. Assassinated by order of Basta the imperial general, 683.

Milan; situation of at the accession of Frederic III. i. 257.

i. 257. Acquired by Francis Sforza, ibid. State of at the accession of Maximilian I. 331. Attempts of the French to obtain possession of it, 361, 362. 408. 414. Reduced under the Austrian government, 1186. State of when transferred to Charles VI. ii. 44.

Minorca; conquered by a British squadron, ii. 1189.

Mirabeau; endeavours to preserve the regal authority in France, ii. 702. His death, 703.

Mirandola; besieged by pope Julius II. i. 401.

Modena; state of at the conclusion of the quadruple alliance, ii. 67. Incorporated with the Italian Republic, 563.

Mona; reduced by the allies, i. 1228.

Montecuculi; intrusted with the imperial army after the defeat of Melander, i. 944. Sent into Transylvania to support the partisans of Ragotsky against the Turks, 988. His disputes with count Zrini ban of Croatia, 994. Defeats the Turks at St. Gothard, ibid. Drives Turenne from Germany, 1028. Conducts the war in Alsace, 1029.

Moravia, states of; unite with the archduke Matthias against Rhodolph II. ii. 696. Ceded to Matthias, 701. Mediate an accommodation between him and the refractory states of Austria, 704. Unite with the Bohemians against Ferdinand of Styria, 744.

Morea; ceded by the Porte to the Venetians, i. 1090.

Mathesius; disputes between the catholics and protestants relative to its establishment, i. 735. Revocation of its privileges, 736.

Muller, a citizen of *Zurich*; rescues Rhodolph of Hapsburgh from imminent danger during the war of Regensburgh, i. 15.

Munzer; founds the sect of anabaptists, i. 476. His licentious conduct, ibid.

Munich, marshal; forces the lines of Perekop, and penetrates into the Crimea, ii. 169. Banished by the empress Elizabeth of Russia, 277.

Munster; congress and peace of, i. 949.

Muri monastery; accounts of the records containing a genealogy of the Austrian family, i. 7. note.

Naples and Sicily; account of the early history of, i. 28. note. Contests between the houses of Anjou and Arragon, 299. 337. Pretensions of the kings of France to the crown, 316. State of at the accession of Maximilian I. 338. Conquered by Charles VIII. 347. Appropriated by Ferdinand of Arragon, 392. The investiture granted by Julius II. to Ferdinand son of Alphonso the Magnificent, 399. Reduced under the Austrian government, 1195. Advantages of its possession to Charles VI. ii. 44.

Navarre, kingdom of; its state at the accession of Maximilian I. i. 316.

Navigation; account of its improvement, i. 313.

Nectar; effects of his administration in France, ii. 626.

Netherlands; transferred to the Austrian family by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian, i. 289. States of conclude the treaty of Arras with Louis IX. 290. Contests with Maximilian after the death of Mary, 292. Offer the regency to Maximilian on the death of Philip, 385. Surrendered by Charles V. to his son Philip II. 552. Situation and constitution of, 618. Introduction of the reformation, ibid. Persecutions of Philip, ii. 689. Insurrection of the United Provinces, 624. See *United Provinces*.

Netherlands, Austrian or Spanish; reduced by the archduke Albert, i. 652. Occupied by the French at the commencement of the war for the Spanish succession, 1114. Recovered by the allies, 1176. State of as transferred to Charles VI. ii. 43. Disputes relative to the Barrier Treaty, 208. Disputes between Joseph II. and the Dutch relative to the limits of, ii. 587. Constitution of, 630. Innovations of Joseph II. 635. Remonstrances of the States, 639. Commencement and progress of the Revolution, 645. Formation of an independent republic, 648. Factions and opposition to the new government, 689. Change in the public sentiment in favour of Austria, 690. Negotiations for the restoration of the Austrian government, 692. Vain attempts to procure the renewal of the antient constitution, ibid. Subjugation of the country by force, 693. Revival of the discontents, 696.

Neuburgh, prince Palatine of; one of the pretenders to the succession of Julich, i. 710. Embraces the catholic religion, and obtains the support of the catholics and Spain, 736. Accommodation with the house of Brandenburgh, 737.

Newperg, count; signs the preliminaries of the peace of Belgrade with the Turks, ii. 189. 191. His disgrace, 196. His firmness in negotiating the definitive treaty, 197. Imprisoned, 198. Commands the Austrian troops in Silesia, 235. Defeated at Mollwitz by the king of Prussia, 237.

Newcastle, duke of; his character, ii. 317. Becomes the head of the British administration, 343. Retires, 479.

Nicholas III. pope; extorts from Rhodolph of Hapsburgh a confirmation of the grants made by preceding emperors to the church, i. 54.

Nicholas V. pope; acknowledged by the emperor and empire, i. 255. Agrees to the concordates of Aschaffenburgh, ibid. His disposition towards the emperor Frederic III. 260.

Nicholas Francis; becomes duke of Lorraine, i. 865. note. Forced by France to abandon his territories, ibid.

Nimeguen; congress and peace of, i. 1030. 1067.

Nitard, a German jesuit; his administration in Spain, i. 1021.

North, lord; placed at the head of the British administration, ii. 515. His conduct towards the American colonies, ibid. Dissolution of his party, 602. His temporary return into the cabinet, 603.

Norway; state of at the accession of Maximilian I. i. 321.

Nuyen; treaty of between Charles V. and Francis I. i. 420.

Nuremberg, diets of; their proceedings in regard to religious affairs, i. 471. Truce of between Charles V. and the protestants, 493. Congress of for completing the arrangements of the peace of Westphalia, 965.

—— blockaded by Waldstein, i. 873. Population and riches of, 1017.

Nystadt; peace of, ii. 62.

Oldenburgh, house of; raised to the throne of Denmark, i. 322.

Olivi;

INDEX.

Olivа; peace of, i. 983.

Olivarez, minister of Philip IV. of Spain; causes and effects of his disgrace, i. 931.

Olmutz; siege of by the king of Prussia, ii. 422.

Opitz; a protestant preacher banished by Maximilian II. for his turbulent conduct, i. 657.

Orange, prince of; made prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin, i. 293. Negotiates the match between Maximilian and Anne of Britanny, 361.

Orange, William, prince of; his character, i. 620. note. Raises troops in support of the people of the Netherlands, 622. Appeals to the empire, 623. Heads and organises the insurrection, 624.

Orange family; excluded from a share in the government of the United Provinces, i. 1003. Regains its ascendancy under William III. 1027. Its ascendancy on the United Provinces restored by England and Prussia, ii. 606.

Orcan, a Turkish chieftain; establishes the body of Janissaries, i. 192.

Orleans, Philip, duke of; intrusted with the command in Italy, i. 1132. Defeated at Turin, 1134. His successes in Spain, 1200. Dismissed by the influence of the princess Orsini, 1237. Becomes regent of France on the death of Louis XIV. ii. 35. His overtures for a reconciliation with Philip V. 69.

Orleans, Philip, duke; supports the Jacobins, ii. 701.

Ormond, duke of; succeeds Marlborough, in the command of the British army, ii. 17. His conduct, ibid.

Oropesa prime minister in Spain; supports the pretensions of the Austrian family to the succession, i. 1095. Favours the claims of the prince of Bavaria, ibid. Returns to the Austrian interest, 1101.

Orsini, princess of; employed by the French government to secure their influence over Philip V. i. 1132. Her unpopularity in Spain, 1133. 1237.

Ortenau, bailiage of; acquired by the House of Austria, ii. 565.

Osnaburgh; congress and treaty of, i. 949.

Ostend; captured by the allies, i. 1177.

——— company for trading to the East Indies, established by Charles VI. ii. 77.

Othmen; founds the Turkish dynasty, i. 191.

Otho, margrave of Brandenburg; opposes Rhodolph of Hapsburgh after the death of Ottocar king of Bohemia, i. 49. Concludes a peace, 50. Becomes regent of Bohemia, ibid. His oppressions and misconduct, 61.

Otho, son of Albert I.; contests with his brother Frederic, for a share in the administration of the family dominions, i. 119. Succeeds his brother Albert in the joint administration, 121. Character, 122. Refuses the imperial crown, and enters into an accommodation with the emperor Louis of Bavaria, 122. Death, 126.

Otwoshky, an Austrian officer; assists the Swedes in the surprise of Prague, i. 945.

Ottocar king of Bohemia; presents himself as a candidate for the imperial crown, on the election of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 22. 29. Refuses to acknowledge Rhodolph, 30. Vote of the diet against him, ibid. His talents, power, and acquisitions, 33. 35. Attacked by Rhodolph, 40. Concludes an accommodation, and does homage, 41. 43. Renews the war, 43. Killed at the battle of Marhlfeld, 47.

Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden; his remark on the temper of Gustavus Adolphus, ii. 880. note. Intrusted by the senate of Sweden with the conduct of the war in Germany, 885. Preserves the union of the German princes, ibid. Renews the alliance between Sweden and France, 887. Endeavours to revive the protestant confederacy, 901. Rivalry between him and Richelieu, 902. Restores the ascendancy of Sweden after the defeat of Nordlingen, 905. Relinquishes Alsace to France, 906. Proposes to withdraw from Germany, 913.

Painting; revival of, i. 343.

Palatine House; state of after the peace of the Pyrenees, i. 1011. Contest for the succession of, 1046. Account of, ii. 521.

Palatine Electorate; contests for the regency during the minority of Frederic V. i. 729. Conferred on the duke of Bavaria, 796. 809.

Palatinate; religious revolutions in, i. 659. Upper granted by the emperor to the duke of Bavaria, 809. Devastations of by the French, 1050.

Palatine, count; submits to the emperor Albert I. i. 83.

Palatine, elector; receives the fifth electorate on the proscription of the elector of Bavaria, i. 1213. His contest with the elector of Bavaria for precedency in the electoral college, ii. 71. Opposes the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. 106. Conduct on the accession of Maria Theresa, 227. Joins the confederacy to divide the Austrian succession, 561.

Palfy, count; signs the peace of Zatmar with the Hungarian insurgents, i. 1250.

Panin minister of Catherine II.; character and influence, ii. 552. Attachment to France and Prussia, 553. Disgrace, 592.

Papal See; its temporary transfer to Avignon, i. 85. State and interests of at the accession of Maximilian I. 335. Corruptions of, 429. Consequences produced by the reformation, 1000. State of after the peace of the Pyrenees, ibid.

Pappenheim, imperial general; account of, i. 806. note. Defeats the Austrian insurgents, ibid. His exertions in the battle of Breitenfeld, 852.

Pardo; act of, ii. 93.

Parma and Piacentia; disputes between pope Paul III. and Charles V. for the succession of, i. 514. Contests for the succession of, ii. 57. 78. Secured to Don Carlos son of Philip V. 95. Entailed on the House of Austria by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, 557.

Parma; state of at the conclusion of the quadruple alliance, ii. 67.

Partition treaties for the division of the Spanish succession, i. 1098. 1102.

Passarowitz; peace of concluded by Charles VI. with the Turks, ii. 33.

Patsau; peace of, i. 923.

Paul II. pope; excites the empire against George Podiebrad, for opposing the revocation of the compacts with the Calixtines, i. 280.

Paul III.; agrees to assemble a council at Trent, i. 500. League with the emperor Charles V. against the protestants, 502. Detached from the emperor by France, 508. Opposes the design of Charles to re-unite the protestants to the church, 913. Removes the council from Trent to Bologna, 514.

514. Disputes with the emperor relative to the succession of Parma and Placentia, ibid.
Paul IV. opposes the recess of the diet of Augsburgh for the settlement of the disputes between the catholics and protestants, i. 530. Refuses to approve the coronation of Ferdinand I. 586.
Pavia; convention of for arranging the Palatine succession, ii. 524.
Peace, public; established by Maximilian I. i. 350.
Peter; his account of the actions of the Bohemians in the Hussite wars, i. 178. note. Of the consequences produced by the persecution of the protestants, 815.
Peter III. of Arragon; obtains possession of Sicily, i. 112. note.
Peter king of Portugal; his accession, i. 999. Joins the grand alliance, 1135. Assists the archduke Charles in the invasion of Spain, 1186. Death, 1188.
Peter I. of Russia; obtains Azoph by the peace of Carlowitz, i. 1090. Declares war against Sweden, 1172. Defeated by Charles XII. 1173. Change effected by him in the political state of his country, ii. 62. Dislike of Charles VI. ibid. Attempts to form a settlement on the sea of Azof, 164.
Peter III.; his fantastic admiration of Frederic II. i. 465. Separates from Austria; and joins Prussia, 472. Deposed, 475.
Peterborough, earl of; accompanies the archduke Charles to Spain, ii. 3. Takes Barcelona, i. 1187. His conduct during the siege of Barcelona, ii. 4. Quits Spain in disgust, i. 1199.
Phoxinck, Meichior; author of a life of the emperor Maximilian, in German rhime, i. 412. note.
Philip count of Savoy; his war with Rhodolph of Hapsburgh for the imperial fiefs in Switzerland, i. 58.
Philip archbishop of Saltzburgh; encourages Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to attack Ottocar king of Bohemia, i. 79. His account of a portable bridge of boats used by Rhodolph, 41. note. Account of the success of Rhodolph, 42. note. His death, 51.
Philip son of Maximilian I.; espouses Joanna heiress of Castile and Arragon, i. 345. Assumes the administration of the Netherlands, 346. Disputes with France, 355. Accommodation with Louis XII. ibid. Concludes a treaty between Ferdinand of Arragon and Louis relative to Naples, 377. Disavowed by Ferdinand, ibid. Concludes a treaty at Blois with his father and Louis, 378. Offends Ferdinand and Isabella, 379. Proclaimed joint sovereign of Castile with his wife, 380. Obtains the regency, 381. Death and character, 445.
Philip II. of Spain; acknowledged as successor to his father Charles V. by the people of the Netherlands, i. 516. Disappointed of the imperial crown, 518. Succeeds to the Netherlands and Spain, on the abdication of his father, 532. 538. Cruelty towards his son Don Carlos, 538. Concludes the peace of Chateau Cambresis with France to check the progress of the protestant doctrines, 591. Assists the Catholics of France, 616. Conduct towards the people of the Netherlands, 619. Drives them to rebellion by endeavouring to abolish their privileges and extirpate the protestant religion, 620. Rejects the mediation of Maximilian II. 624. Grants the sovereignty of the Netherlands, to the archduke Albert and his daughter Isabella, 650.
Philip III.; agrees to the transfer of the Austrian dominions to Ferdinand of Styria, i. 739. Assists Ferdinand against the Bohemian insurgents, 777.
Philip IV.; loses the kingdom of Portugal, i. 926. His losses by the war with France, ibid. Negotiations with France and Sweden, 950. Detaches the United Provinces, 951. Deserted by the emperor, 952. Protests against the peace of Westphalia, 994. Signs the peace of the Pyrenees, 995. State of his monarchy, 998. Acknowledges the independence of Portugal, 999. Death, 1019.
Philip of Anjou; appointed successor to the crown of Spain by the will of Charles II. i. 1109. Acknowledged by his subjects, and by Europe, 1110. Joins the French army in Italy, 1123. Repulses the attacks of the allies, 1187. Unsuccessful siege of Barcelona, 1188. Regains the ascendancy, 1189. Defeats the allies at Almanza, ibid. Unpopularity of his government, 1237. Conciliates his subjects, 1238. Defeated at Saragossa, 1240. His fortitude and activity, 1243. Defeats the allies at Brihuega, 1242. Battle of Villa Viciosa, ibid. Renounces the crown of France, and is acknowledged as king of Spain by England, ii. 19. Influence and views of his second wife Elizabeth Farnese, 35. Fails in an attack of Sicily, 39, 40. Accedes to terms of peace, 41. Situation at the conclusion of the quadruple alliance, 69. Unwillingness to fulfil that treaty, 77. Abdication and resumption of the crown, 78. Private negotiation with Charles VI. 80. Offended by the dismission of his daughter, who was destined to be the bride of Louis XV. 81. Accommodation with Charles VI. 82. Hostilities, 85. Deserted by the emperor, 91. Agrees to a peace, ibid. Breaks off his connection with the emperor, 93. His situation on the death of Augustus II. 110. Claims on the Austrian succession, 243. Death, 331.
Philip son of Philip V.; invades Savoy at the head of a Spanish and French army, ii. 290. Repulsed by the king of Sardinia, ibid. Enters Milan in triumph, 320.
Philip landgrave of Hesse; espouses the Lutheran doctrines, i. 475. Attacks the catholic bishops of Bamberg and Wurtzburgh, 480. Restores Ulric duke of Wirtemberg to his dominions, 494. Submits to the emperor on the dissolution of the Smalkaldic league, 512. Imprisoned, 513.
Philip William of Palatine Neuburgh; his attachment to the court of Vienna, i. 1041. Raised to the Palatine Electorate, 1046.
Piccolomini; procures an order from Ferdinand II. for the arrest of Waldstein, i. 895. Assists the king of Hungary in the command of the army, 902. Drives the Swedes from Bohemia, 930. Arrests the progress of the French and Swedes in Bavaria, 944.
Pico di Mirandola; his poem on the supposed mischievous marks imprinted on the clothes and bodies of many persons in the reign of Maximilian I. i. 371. note.
Pisa; council of assembled against Julius II. by the king of France, dissipated, i. 405. 409. 412.
Pitt, W.; afterwards earl of Chatham, intrusted with the administration in England, ii. 419. Opposed in the cabinet, resigns, 469. Created earl of Chatham,

Chatham, and placed at the head of administration, 514.

Pitt, W.; raised to the head of administration, ii. 605. Effects of his measures, ibid. Restores the influence of England in Holland, 606. Forms an alliance with Prussia to counterbalance that of Austria with Russia and France, 664. Checked in his designs, 673.

Pius II.; his attempts to revoke the compacts which he had negotiated with the Calixtines of Bohemia, i. 278.

Pius IV.; approves the coronation of the emperor Ferdinand I. i. 589. Agrees to re-assemble the council of Treut, 592.

Pius V.; opposes the concessions granted by Maximilian II. to his protestant subjects of Austria and Bohemia, i. 635.

Pius VI.; opposes the reforms in religion, introduced by Joseph II. ii. 577. His journey to Vienna, 578. His treatment and return, ibid.

Pizzarro; appropriated by the emperor Charles V. i. 516. Restored by Philip II. to the family of Farnese, 520. note. See *Parma*.

Podiebrad, George; placed at the head of the administration in Bohemia during the minority of Ladislaus Posthumus, i. 803. Raised to the throne, 266. Relieves Frederic III. when besieged in the citadel of Vienna by his brother Albert, 270. Opposes the attempts of Pius II. to revoke the compacts with the Calixines, 279. Declares war against Frederic for supporting the Pope, 280. Procures the nomination of Ladislaus prince of Poland as his successor, 282. Death, ibid.

Poland; state of on the accession of Maximilian I. i. 323. Union with Lithuania, 642. note. Progress of the reformation there, and privileges granted to the protestants, 643. note. State of after the peace of Oliva, 1003. State of under Augustus the Second, ii. 63. Contests for the crown after his decease, 120. Account of the first partition, 492. Constitution of the kingdom, ibid. Election of Stanislaus Augustus, 493. Religious and political dissentions, 495. Regulations in favour of the dissidents, 497. Entrance of the Austrian and Prussian troops, 500. Measures of the partitioning powers, 503. Opposition of the diet to the dismemberment, 506. Account of the dismembered territory, 507. Changes in the constitution by the partitioning powers, 508.

Polignac, Abbé; sent by Louis XIV. to negotiate with the allies at Gertruydenberg, i. 1230.

Pomerania; claims of the House of Brandenburgh to that duchy, i. 833. Upper, ceded to Sweden by the peace of Westphalia, 954.

Pompadour, madame; mistress of Louis XV. promotes the conclusion of the alliance between France and Austria, ii. 374. 396. 434.

Poniatowski, count. See *Stanislaus Augustus*.

Portocarrero, cardinal; favours the claims of Leopold on the Spanish succession, i. 1093. Gained by Louis XIV. 1096. Success of his intrigues, 1100. 1102. Induces Charles II. to nominate Philip of Anjou, 1108. His servility to Louis, 1110. His subsequent life and death, 1238.

Portugal; rise of the kingdom of, i. 320. State of at the accession of Maximilian I. ibid. Revolution of, 926. State at the peace of the Pyrenees, 999. Its independence acknowledged by Spain, ibid.

State of at the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, ii. 70.

Potemkin, prince; his character, and influence over Catherine II. ii. 551. Commands a Russian army against the Turks, 614. Defeats Hassan Pasha at Tobne, 623.

Pragmatic Sanction; regulation for the succession of the Austrian dominions established by Charles VI. ii. 41. Guarantied by the principal states of Germany, 106.

Prague; foundation of the university there, i. 172. Takes the principal share in the Hussite wars, 177. Its influence in the states, 568. Deprived of many of its privileges by Ferdinand I. 572. 580. Surprised by Konigsmark, 941. Spirited defence of the inhabitants, 945. Rewarded by Ferdinand III. 948. Taken by the elector of Bavaria in the war for the Austrian succession, ii. 270. Taken by the king of Prussia, 305. Siege of, 403.

Presburgh, confederation concluded there by the Hungarian, Moravian, and Austrian states to support the archduke Matthias against Rhodolph II. ii. 696.

Primogeniture, law of; established in the Austrian territories, i. 918.

Princes, college of; endeavour to obtain a share in the election of a king of the Romans, i. 965. 1008. Form a princely union, 1009. Oppose the grant of the ninth electorate to the House of Hanover, and the revival of the electoral privileges of Bohemia, 1055.

Printing; invention of, i. 342. Its effects, ibid. Contests for the honour of the discovery, ibid. note.

Procopius, Rasa; heads the Taborites in Bohemia, i. 179. Defends the doctrines of his sect at the council of Basle, 179. Killed on the defeat of the Taborites, 180.

Protestants; rise of in Germany, i. 464. Unite against the catholics, 477. Celebrated protest at the diet of Spire, from which they derived their appellation, 492. Confession of Augsburgh, 499. Decree issued against them by Charles V. 490. Refuse to unite with the Zuinglians or sacramentarians, 491. Union of Smalkalde, 492. Assist the Austrian family against the Turks, 493 Conversion of Cuelan with the catholics, 494. Increase of their party, 497. Refuse to acquiesce in the decrees of the council of Trent, 500. Reduced by Charles V. 503. 515. Refuse to take part in the council of Trent, 593. Schism of their body into Lutherans and Calvinists, 594. Their disputes allayed by the emperor Maximilian II. 613. Attempt to introduce some innovations in favour of their body in the capitulation of Rhodolph II. 642. Mutual persecutions, 659 668. Origin of the protestant union, 669. List of their grievances presented at the diet of Ratisbon, ibid. Increase of their union, 670. Confederations of Frankfort and Heidelberg, 671. Persecuted by the emperor, 677. Renew their confederacy, 678. Present their complaints to Rhodolph, 708. Contest for the succession of Cleves and Juliers, 712. Their connections with Henry IV. of France, and other foreign princes, 714. Accommodation with the catholics, 717. Espouse the cause of Matthias against Rhodolph 724. Mature the regulations

of their union, ibid. Oppose the demand of Matthias for succours against the Turks, 732. Contests with the catholics relative to Aix la Chapelle and Muhlem, and the succession of Juliers, 735. Oppose the elevation of Ferdinand of Styria to the imperial dignity, 740. Assist the Bohemian insurgents, 757. Support the election of their chief the Elector Palatine to the crown of Bohemia, 773. Accommodation with the catholics, 777. Dissolution of their union, 788. Alarmed by the transfer of the Palatine Electorate to the duke of Bavaria, 796. Form a new combination, 798. Chuse Christian of Denmark as their chief, 800. Dissolution of their confederacy, 807. Edict for the restitution of the ecclesiastical property, 817. Saved by the jealousy of the catholics, 822. Revival of their union under the auspices of the elector of Saxony, 826. Preserve a neutrality between Ferdinand II. and Gustavus Adolphus, ibid. Demand a redress of their grievances, ibid. Alarmed by the sack of Magdeburgh, 844. Gradually join Gustavus Adolphus, 856. Their union preserved by the exertions of Oxenstiern, 865. Consternation occasioned by the defeat at Nordlingen, 905. Defection of the elector of Saxony, 908. Dissolution of their union, 909. Advantages secured to them by the peace of Westphalia, 955. Vain remonstrances against the introduction of a clause in the treaty of Ryswick, for the reduction of their religion in the Palatinate, 1065.

Protestants of France; persecuted by Louis XIV. i. 1044.

Prussia, Eastern; secularised by Albert of Brandenburgh, i. 475.

——— duchy, liberated from its dependence in Poland, i. 978.

Prussian dominions; state of at the accession of Frederic II. ii. 247.

Pyrenees; peace of, i. 984.

Quadruple Alliance; conclusion of, ii. 41.

Ragotzki, George; chosen prince of Transylvania, i. 839. 936. note. Induced by France to declare war against Ferdinand III. 937. Invades Hungary, 937. 938. Reconciled with the emperor, 940. Unites with Sweden in the war against Poland, 977. Expelled from his dominions by the Turks, 987. Death, ibid.

Ragotzki, Francis; enters into a conspiracy against the emperor Leopold I. 1070. Defeated and pardoned, 1071. His death, 1074.

——— *Francis*; enters into connections with France, i. 1115. Arrested by order of the emperor, ibid. Escapes and raises a rebellion, 1137. Defeated by Heuster, 1149. Chosen head of the Hungarian confederacy, 1246. Rejects the offers of Joseph I. ibid. Declares him an usurper, 1248. Defeat of his partisans, 1249. Retires into Poland, 1250. Refuses the offers of Joseph, 1251. His subsequent life and death, ibid. note.

Ramée, general; leads the troops of Leopold bishop of Passau into Bohemia to assist Rhodolph II. i. 718. Defeated and beheaded by Matthias, 720.

Ratisbon; truce of, i. 1041.

Realp, marquis; favourite of Charles VI. account of, ii. 37.

Reformation; origin of, i. 429. Causes which favoured its progress, 436. 469. Established in Switzerland, 470. Denmark, 480. Sweden, ibid. Introduced into England, ibid. France, ibid. Its progress in Germany, and the Austrian territories, 609. 653. See *Protestants*, *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*.

Regency; council of for the government of the empire established under Maximilian I. i. 365. Renewed and modified under Charles V. 455. Favours the reformation, 469. Dissolved, 495. note.

Regensburgh Luchtold, baron of; his war with the citizens of Zurich and Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 15. Supplicates for peace, and becomes a burgher of Zurich, 17.

Reggio; raised to the rank of a duchy by Frederic III. i. 335.

Reva, Peter of; history of the Hungarian crown, i. 354. note.

Rhé, port of; attempts of Charles VI. to form a naval establishment there, ii. 101.

Rhine; league concluded under the auspices of France to prevent Leopold I. from interfering in the war against Spain, and to reduce his interests in the empire, i. 976.

Rhodolph I. count of Hapsburgh; his acquisitions, i. 3. His disputes with the people of Helvetia, ibid. Division of his territories, 6.

Rhodolph of Hapsburgh; account of his ancestors, i. 1. Table of his genealogy, 3. His birth and inheritance, 8. Attacks the Lord of Tuffstein, 9. War against his uncle Rhodolph of Lauffenburgh, ibid.; and Hartman of Kyburgh, ibid. Espouses Anne daughter of Burchard, of Hohenburgh, 10. Excommunicated, 11. Serves under Ottocar king of Bohemia, ibid. Assists the bishop of Strasburgh against the city, ibid. Reconciled to his uncle Hartman, ibid. Compels the bishop of Strasburgh to restore the deed of donation by which Hartman had transferred his dominions to the see, ibid. Erroneous accounts of the post which he filled under Ottocar, ibid. note. Succeeds to the dominions of Kyburgh, 13. Chosen protector of Zurich, 14. War against Luchtold of Regensburgh, ibid. Surprises the castles of Balder, Glanzenburgh, and Utleberg, 15. Throws down Berchtold, abbot of St. Gallen, 17. Reconciles himself with the abbot, ibid. Turns his arms against the citizens of Basle for massacring several members of his family, 18. Chosen king of the Romans, 20. Opposed by Ottocar of Bohemia and Alphonso of Castile, 22. Inaugurated, 24. His critical situation, 25. Letter to pope Gregory X. 26. Obtains his sanction, 27. Interview with Gregory, 28. Attempts of Ottocar to weaken his authority, 29. Procures a vote of the diet against Ottocar, 30. Reduces the adherents of Ottocar, 32. Alliances with the king of Hungary, and the princes of Sclavonia and Tyrol, 38. Detaches Henry of Bavaria, 39. Invades Austria, 40. Compels Ottocar to conclude peace, ibid. Account of his invention of a portable bridge of boats, 41. note. Remarks on the manner in which he is said to have received the homage of the king of Bohemia, 42. note. Establishes his family in the Austrian dominions, 43. Ottocar renews the war, ibid. Critical situation of Rhodolph, 44. Refuses the offer of some traitors to assassinate Ottocar, 46. Defeats him at the

the battle of Marshfield, 47. Death of Otto-car, ibid. Rhodolph's account of the battle given to the pope, 48. Peace with the government of Bohemia, 49. Secures the Austrian dominions to his family, 50. Confers Austria, Styria, and Carniola, on his son Albert, and Carinthia on Meinhard of Tyrol, 51. Untimely death of his son Hartman, 52. His conduct in the affairs of Italy, 53. Endeavours to restore the imperial authority in that country, 54. Opposed by pope Nicholas III. ibid. Confirms the claims of the popes to the patrimony of the church, ibid. Plans for establishing the peace of the empire, 56. Recovers various imperial fiefs, 58. War with Savoy, ibid. Battle of Morat, ibid. War with the dukes of Burgundy, 59. Quells the insurrection of the Kolups, 60. Attempts to gain possession of Bern, 60. Acquisitions in Switzerland, 91. Assumes the guardianship of Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, and restores tranquillity in the country, 61. Endeavours to procure the crown of Hungary for his son Albert, 63. Attempts to obtain the election of Albert to the imperial throne, ibid. Decline, death, and character, 64. Wives and offspring, 69.

Rhodolph son of the emperor Albert I.; chosen king of Bohemia, i. 87. Alienates his subjects, 88. Death, ibid. Account of his wives and offspring, 98.

Rhodolph son of Albert II.; intrusted with the administration of the Helvetian dominions, i. 136. Concludes an armistice with the Swiss, ibid. His character and talents, 139. Acquires the Tyrol, and assumes the title of archduke palatine, 140. Contests with the House of Bavaria for the Tyrol, 141. Secures the reversion of Goritz and Gradiska, ibid. His passion for antiquities and heraldry, 142. Contest with the patriarch of Aquileia, 143. Death, ibid.

Rhodolph count of Bergdorf and Thun; his contests with the burghers of Bern, i. 154.

Rhodolph II.; crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia, and elected king of the Romans, i. 641. Difficulties in regard to his capitulation, 642. His character and acquirements, 656. Influence of the jesuits, ibid. Attempts to check the progress of the protestant doctrines, 657. Adopts a systematic plan to restore the catholic religion, ibid. Deposes the elector of Cologne, who had quitted the catholic religion, 667. Endeavours to suppress the protestant religion in Bohemia and Austria, and in the empire, 672, 673. Transfers Croatia to his uncle Charles duke of Styria, 679. War with the Turks, 680. Alliance with Sigismond Bathori, prince of Transylvania, 682. Contests with Sigismond relative to the cession of Transylvania, 683, 684. Alienates his Hungarian subjects, 685. Insurrection of Botskai, and loss of Transylvania, 686. State of his dominions and of the empire, 688. Change in his character and conduct, ibid. His seclusion and suspicions, 689. Disputes with his brother Matthias, 691, 692. Intrusts him with the command in Hungary, 692. Refuses to ratify the peace of Vienna, concluded by Matthias with Botskai and the Turks, 695. Brings forward Ferdinand of Styria as his successor, ibid. Attempts to rouse the empire against Matthias, ibid. Confederacy formed against him by the Austrians, Hungarians, and Moravians, under the auspices of Matthias, 697. Attacked by Matthias, 698. Supported by the Bohemians, 699. Compelled to cede to Matthias Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, 704. Contests with his Bohemian subjects, 705. Publishes the royal edict of toleration, 707. Complaints against him by the empire, 708. Conduct in the disputes for the succession of Berg and Juliers, 711. New disputes with Matthias, 716. Compelled to abdicate the throne of Bohemia, 720, 722. Vain attempts to conciliate the protestants, 724. Fruitless appeal to the electors, 725. Death and character, 726.

Rhodolphin tablet; constructed under the patronage of Rhodolph II. i. 727.

Richelieu; commencement of his administration, i. 799. Procures the evacuation of the Valteline by the Spaniards, ibid. Influences the discontents of the German protestants, ibid. Supports the pretensions of the duke of Nevers to the succession of Mantua, 821. Intrigues with the German princes to thwart the designs of Ferdinand II. ibid. Encourages Gustavus Adolphus to invade Germany, 831. Secures Loraine, 835. note. 865. Baffles the attempts of the Austrian partisans to break his connexion with Sweden, 860. His conduct on the death of Gustavus, 885. Supports Oxenstiern, ibid. Conduct towards the Swedes after the defeat of Nordlingen, 906. Obtains Alsace, ibid. Renews the alliance with the Swedes, ibid. Prepares for war, 910. Baffled in his meditated invasion of the Netherlands, 911. Repulses the attempts of the imperialists and Spaniards to invade France, 912. Renews the war in Germany, 913. Obtains the army of the duke of Weymar with the possession of Alsace, 925. Carries the war into Germany, ibid. Death, 932.

Ripperda; negotiates a private accommodation between Charles VI. and Philip V. of Spain, ii. 80. Rises to the supreme administration of affairs, ibid. His fall, 89.

Robert elector Palatine, Anti-Cæsar; defeated on the banks of the Lago di Gorda, i. 168.

Robert son of the elector Palatine; endeavours to appropriate the succession of Bavaria Landshut in right of his wife, i. 372. Opposed and defeated by Maximilian I. 373. His death, 374.

Robertson, Dr.; his error in regard to the assumption of the title of Majesty by Charles V. i. 451.

Robinson, Mr.; British minister at the court of Vienna, account of Sinzendorf, i. 58. note. Of the death of Eugene, 160. Of the king of Prussia's singular escape after the battle of Molwitz, 238. note. His audience of the queen of Hungary relative to the claims of Prussia, 246. Interview with Frederic II. 248. Attempts to obtain the consent of the queen to an accommodation, 302. Audience on the signature of the preliminaries of Aix la Chapelle, 383.

Rockingham, Lord; his conduct towards the American colonies, ii. 514. His death, 603.

Rohan, duke of; occupies the Valteline, i. 910. Forced by the Grisons to retire, 922. Killed, 923. note.

Roman months; name given to the subsidies granted by the German states, to the emperor, ii. 47. note.

Romanof Russian general; defeats the Turks, and

compels the Grand Vizir to sign the peace of Kagnardji, ii. 309.
Roskild; peace of, i. 979.
Rouille, president; sent by Louis XIV. to detach the Dutch from the allies, i. 1247.
Royal Edict, or toleration granted to the Bohemian protestants by Rhodolph II. i. 707. Revoked by Ferdinand, 816.
Rupert, prince, son of the elector Palatine; makes a fruitless attempt to regain his paternal inheritance, i. 922.
Russia; rise of, i. 392. State of on the accession of Maximilian I. 393. State of after the peace of Oliva, i. 1006. Change in the political state of effected by Peter I. ii. 62. State of at the death of Augustus II. 108. War of 1735 with the Turks, 172. 180. Revolution effected by Elizabeth, 277. See *Catherine* II.
Ryswick; peace of, i. 1064. Obnoxious clause relative to the protestant religion in the Palatinate, 1065.

Sacramentarians; a name given by the Lutherans to the followers of Zuingle, i. 491.
Sephorin, St. Brutsh envoy at Vienna; his account of the influence of Eugene, ii. 56. note. His conduct and character, 98.
Savoy, House of; its origin and rise, i. 58. 190. note. State of at the accession of Maximilian I. 332. Claims to the kingdom of Cyprus, 333. note. State of after the peace of Pyrenees, 1001.
Sardinia; invaded by the Spaniards, ii. 39. Ceded by Charles VI. to Victor Amadeus of Savoy in exchange for Sicily, 40.
Saxe, marshal; commands an expedition fitted out in favour of the Pretender by France, ii. 301. Successes in the Low Countries, 302. 316. 333. Gains the battle of Fontenoy, 317. Battle of Lafeld, 344.
Saxony; contests for the electoral vote of, i. 103. Division of the territories on the accession of Maximilian I. 427. Religious changes in, 659. State of after the peace of Oliva, 1012.
Saxony, elector of; opposes the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. ii. 106.
Schaumburgh, counts of; claim Holstein and Sleswick, i. 799. note.
Scheldt; disputes between Joseph II. and the United Provinces relative to the opening of, ii. 588.
Schinner, cardinal; procures 6,000 auxiliary Swiss to assist pope Julius II. against the French in Italy, i. 399.
Schism in the Church; account of, i. 173. note.
Schmettau, count; his narrative of the war against the Turks, ii. 169. note.
Schmettau, general; endeavours to prevent the cession of Belgrade to the Turks, ii. 190. 192.
Schwartz; the inventor of gunpowder, i. 340.
Schweidnitz; taken by the Austrians, ii. 413. Retaken by the Prussians, 416. 422. Surprised by London, 466. Again reduced by the king of Prussia, 476.
Schweitz, Uri, and Underwalden; lay the foundation of the Swiss confederacy, i. 5. Chuse Rhodolph first count of Hapsburgh as their advocate, 5. See *Switzerland* and *Swiss*.
Schwerin, marshal; takes Olmutz and Glatz, ii. 272. Makes an irruption into Bohemia, 395. Killed at the battle of Prague, 402.
Scotland; state of at the accession of Maximilian I. i. 317.
Seckendorf, general; his character, ii. 165. Appointed to command the army against the Turks, 166. Account of the deplorable situation of the Austrian troops, ibid. Thwarted in his operations by the court and his officers, 168. 170. Ill success and disgrace, ibid. Enters into the service of Charles the Seventh, 283. Recovers Bavaria, ibid. Defends Alsace, 302. Drives the Austrians from Bavaria, 304.
Seisson a protestant refugee; endeavours to raise a rebellion in Languedoc, i. 1236.
Selim, sultan; his conquests, i. 548.
Selim, ——; his accession, ii. 622.
Sempach, battle of; i. 156. Celebration of its anniversary, 159. note.
Senlis; treaty of between Maximilian I. and Charles VIII. i. 305.
Seville; alliance of, ii. 93.
Sforza, Francis; account of, i. 258. Acquires the duchy of Milan, ibid.
Sforza, John Galeas, duke of Milan; his character, i. 331. Death, 346. note. Fall of his widow and sons, 361. note.
Sforza, Ludovico, regent of Milan; his character, i. 331. Plan to wrest the duchy from his nephew and ward John Galeas, 332. Induces Charles VIII. to invade Italy, ibid. Gives his niece in marriage to Maximilian the First, ibid. 345. Invested with the duchy, 346. Consolidates a league against Charles VIII. 348. Expelled by Louis XII. from his duchy, 361. Takes refuge in the Tyrol, ibid. Obtains assistance from the Swiss and recovers his dominions, 362. Besieges the remnant of the French in Navarre, ibid. Made prisoner by the French, 369. His treatment, ibid. note.
Sforza, Maximilian; restored to the duchy of Milan, i. 408. Driven out by the French, 411. Again restored by the Swiss, 412. Expelled by Francis, i. 415.
Shelburn, lord; his administration, ii. 603.
Sicilian Vespers; massacre of, i. 112. note.
Sicily, island of; assigned to Victor Amadeus of Savoy by the treaty of Utrecht, ii. 19. Ceded to Charles VI. in exchange for Sardinia, 40.
Sigismond king of Hungary; imprisons his brother Wenceslaus of Bohemia, i. 166. Declares Albert V. of Austria major, 170. Elevated to the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, 171, 172. Becomes emperor, ibid. His conduct towards the citizens of Prague, 176. Proclaims a crusade against the Hussites, 177. Sends embassadors to their chief Ziska, 178. note. Avails himself of their divisions, 179. Acknowledged as king, 181. Confers on Albert of Austria the investiture of Lower Bavaria, 184. Endeavours to secure for him the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, ibid. Defeated by the sultan Bazajet I. 193. Induces the council of Constance to excommunicate Frederic of Tyrol, and incites the empire and the Swiss to invade his territories, 224. Endeavours to gain possession of the Tyrol, 228. Agrees to a reconciliation, 230. 239.
Sigismond of Tyrol; struggle for his guardianship during

during his minority, i. 232. Contests with the cardinal de Cusa, 233. Excommunicated by Pius II. ibid. Invasion and dismemberment of his dominions, ibid. Unites with Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy, 235. Joins Louis XI. ibid. Concludes an hereditary union with the Swiss, 236. Disputes with the emperor Frederic, ibid. Obtains a part of the Austrian territories on the death of Ladislaus Posthumus, 266. Transfers his territories to Maximilian son of Frederic, 237. Death, ibid.

Sigismond king of Poland; succeeds to the crown of Sweden on the death of his father, i. 828. Deposed by the diet, 829. Attempts to recover his crown, ibid. Forced to enter into a truce by Gustavus Adolphus, 830. His death, 884.

Silesia; natives of unite with the Bohemians against Ferdinand II. i. 756. History of the claims of Frederic II. on that territory, ii. 231. note Ceded by the queen of Hungary to Prussia, 267. 274.

Sinzendorf, count; employed in the negotiations between the allies and Louis XIV. i. 1217. 1231. Sent by Charles VI. to break off the congress of Utrecht, ii. 16. His character, 56. Employed at the congress of Soissons, 94. His situation, 163. His death, 362.

Smalkalde; formation of the league by the protestants, i. 492. Situation of the members at the opening of the council of Trent, 503. Hostilities against Charles V. 504. Dissolution of the confederacy, 504. 507.

Snails; used as food in various parts of the continent, i. 444. note. Description of a place for feeding them, ibid.

Sobieski, John; enters into a treaty with Leopold I. i. 1076. Unites his troops with the Austrians and Germans, 1078. Defeats the Turks, and relieves Vienna, ibid. Disgusted by the conduct of Leopold, 1080. Renews hostilities against the Turks, 1084. His acquisitions by the peace of Carlovitz, 1090.

Soissons; congress of, ii. 93, 94.

Soleure; joins the Helvetic confederacy, i. 327.

Soltikof, Russian general; defeats the Prussian commander Wedel at Zullichau, ii. 436. Gains the battle of Cunersdorf, ibid. Refuses to pursue the king of Prussia, 439.

Solyman II.; subjugates Bosnia and besieges Belgrade, i. 549. Invades Hungary, ibid. Supports John of Zapoli, i. 552. Besieges Vienna, 553. Third invasion of Hungary, 556. Siege of Gunts, ibid. Opposed by the Christian princes, 557. Espouses the cause of John Sigismond the infant son of John of Zapoli, 562. Compels his widow to renounce the throne, ibid. Truce with Ferdinand, i. 565. Again attacks Hungary, 637. Besieges Zigeth, ibid. His death, 638.

Solyman; his accession, i. 1085. Defeated by the imperialists at Zenta, 1088. Concludes the peace of Carlovitz, 1089.

Soubise; joins the army of the empire with the French troops, ii. 410. Defeated at Rosbach, 412.

Souche, imperial general; assists in subjugating Pomerania, i. 981. Supports the partisans of Ragotsky in Transylvania, 988. Successes against the Turks, 993.

Spain; state of at the accession of Maximilian I. i. 321. Transferred to the House of Austria in the person of Charles V. i. 418. Losses in the contest with France during the thirty years' war, 926. Revolutions of Portugal and Naples, ibid. Peace of the Pyrenees, 984. Distracted situation after the decease of Philip IV. 1021. Dismemberment of the Netherlands by Louis XIV. at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, 1024. Truce of Ratisbon, 1041. Treaty of Ryswick, 1064. Disputes for the succession between France and Austria, 1092. Claims of the different pretenders, 1094. Transferred to the House of Bourbon in the person of Philip V. 1110. Succession of settled by the peace of Utrecht, ii. 19. Situation of at the conclusion of the peace of Belgrade, 215. Joins France in the seven years' war, 408. Its losses, 478.

Spanish council of Charles VI. account of; ii. 50.

Spinola, Spanish general; occupies part of the contested territory of Juliers I. i. 736. Subjugates part of the Palatine territories, 788.

Spire; diet of for settling the contests between the Catholics and Lutherans, i. 478. Recess of the second diet against the Lutherans, 481. Protest of the Lutherans, from which they derived the name of Protestants, 482.

Stainville; nominated French embassador at Vienna, ii. 396. Created duc de Choiseul, and made secretary of state, 434. Establishes the connection between Austria and France, 513. Dismissed, ibid.

Stair, lord; leads the British and auxiliary troops into Germany, 292. Blockaded by Nosilles in the vicinity of Aschaffenburgh, ibid. Extricated by the battle of Dettingen, ibid.

Stanhope, general; contributes to the defeat of Philip V. at Saragossa, i. 1230. Contests with the German general Staremberg, 1240. Induces Charles to march to Madrid, ibid. Defeated and captured at Brihuega, 1242. Account of, ii. 24. note.

Stanislaus Lettinski; raised to the crown of Poland by Charles XII. i. 1173. ii. 60. 119. His subsequent abdication, 119. Raised to the throne a second time by the influence of France, 120. Besieged in Dantzick, 148. His wonderful escape, ibid. Renounces the crown, 157.

Stanislaus Augustus; elected king of Poland, ii. 493. Endeavours to reform the constitution, 495. Opposes the designs of the partitioning powers, 506. Forced to agree to the partition, 507.

Staremberg Rudiger; defends Vienna against the Turks, i. 1076.

Starenberg; sustains himself in Italy against Vendome, i. 1130. Marches to the assistance of the duke of Savoy, 1132. Sent with an Austrian force to Spain, 1212. Assists in defeating Philip at Saragossa, 1230. Contentions with Stanhope, 1240. Battle of Villa Viciosa, 1243.

Starenberg, count *Gundaker*; his character, ii. 58. His aversion to the alliance concluded by Charles VI. with Philip V. 82. 81. Situation at the conclusion of the peace with France, 173. Laments the ascendancy of France in the Austrian court, 206. Concludes the alliance between France and the House of Austria, 384.

Stephen, St crown of; venerated by the Hungarian nation, i. 201. 554. note. History by Peter de Reva, 554. Restored to the Hungarians by Joseph II. ii. 632.

Stephen of Bavaria; relinquishes his pretensions to the Tyrol in favour of the Austrian family, i. 144.

Stone; account of one fallen from the clouds, by the emperor Maximilian I. i. 370. note.

Strahlund; siege of by Wallstein, i. 811.

Strasburgh; citizens of erect a statue to Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 17. Dispute between the catholic and protestant canons relative to the choice of a bishop, 667.

Sturkland, bishop of Namur; an emissary sent by Charles VI. to London to procure the dimission of Sir Robert Walpole, ii. 145.

Suare Mene; made administrator of the kingdom of Sweden, i. 322.

Styria; account of its early history and acquisition by Ottocar of Bohemia, i. 35. Acquired by the House of Austria, 51.

Sweden, cities of; unite with the Swiss against Leopold of Austria, i. 155.

—— league of; formed for the suppression of private warfare, i. 307. Its origin and progress, 308. Its beneficial effects, ibid. Humbles the House of Bavaria, 309.

Superga, height of; described, i. 1162.

Suwarof; joins the prince of Coburgh, and assists in defeating the Turks at Fotzani and Rumik, ii. 622.

Sweden; state of at the accession of Maximilian I. 321. Civil contests before the accession of Gustavus Adolphus, 822. State of on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, 884. Conduct of the Senate, ibid. Conciliates Denmark, 885. Rises from its depression after the defeat of Nordlingen, 913. Renews the connection with France, ibid. Maintains the war against the imperialists, and regains its ascendancy in Germany, 934. War with Denmark, 935. Negotiations for the peace of Westphalia, 949. State of the country, 953. Advantages obtained by the war, 954. 962. War with Denmark and Poland, and peace of Oliva, 963. State of after the death of Charles XII. ii. 61. Losses by the peace of Nystadt, 62. State at the death of Augustus II. 108. Supports Austria at the commencement of the seven years' war, 397. Revolution in the government effected by Gustavus III. 503.

Szeredy, Austrian general; recovers a part of the Hungarian territories held by John Sigismond prince of Transylvania, i. 636. 638.

Swift; details the malicious charges of the Tories against prince Eugene and Marlborough, ii. 15. note.

Swiss; oppose the endeavours of Albert I. to subjugate them, i. 91. 92. Refuse an asylum to the assassins of Albert, 94. Defeat the Austrians at Morgarten, 106. Accession of Lucern, Zurich, Glarus, and Zug to their confederacy, 129. 132. Defeat the Austrians, 133. Temporary accommodation and renewal of the war, 133, 134. Baffle the efforts of Albert of Austria, 136. Dispute with Leopold, 154. Defeat the Austrians at Sempach, 156. New accessions to their confederacy, 221. Alliance with Frederic of Tyrol, 242. Invade and dismember his dominions at the instigation of the council of Basle, 225. 227. Civil war for the Tockenburgh succession, 231. Appropriate part of the dominions of Sigismond of Tyrol, 233. Unite with the duke of Burgundy, 235. Hereditary union with Sigismond, 236. Renewal of the Tockenburgh war, 245. Defeat the French at the hospital of St. James, 248. Peace with France, 249. Termination of hostilities with the House of Austria, 251. Increase of their union, 327. Their influence and principles, 329. War with the emperor Maximilian, 356. Defeat the Austrians at Dornach, 358. Peace with Maximilian, ibid. Attack the French in the Milanese, 401. 415. Obtain Lugano and Locarno, 409. Restore the family of Sforza, 412. Invade France, ibid. Oppose the invasion of the Milanese by Francis I. 414. Defeated at Marignano, 415. Religious war between the catholics and protestants, 504.

Switzerland; state of at the accession of the emperor Albert I. i. 90. At the accession of Maximilian I. 327. Commencement of the Reformation, 479. After the peace of the Pyrenees, 1001.

Szistova; congress and peace of, ii. 672. 674.

Tabor, mount, in Bohemia; a celebrated strong hold of Ziska, i. 477. Surrendered to Sigismond, 481. Made an imperial city, ibid.

Taborites. See *Hussites*.

Tallard, marshal; reduces Landau, i. 1130. Commands the French troops in Bavaria, 1145. Defeated and captured at Blenheim, 1147.

Tamerlane; his origin and rise, i. 194. Defeats Bajazet, ibid. His subsequent enterprises and death, 194. 195.

Tekeli, Stephen; heads the Hungarian malcontents, i. 1073. Rejects the overtures of Leopold, 1074. Supported by the Turks, 1075. Espouses the widow of Ragotsky, ibid. His success, ibid. Dissolution of his party after the defeat of the Turks at Vienna, 1081. His subsequent fate, 1090.

Teschen; peace of, ii. 837.

Teschen; principality of granted to Albert of Saxony on his marriage with Mary Anne daughter of Maria Theresa, ii. 569.

Tessé, marshal; reduces Savoy, i. 1131. Baffles the designs of the allies against Toulon, 1194. Induces the pope to oppose the emperor, 1214.

Tetzel; the distributor of papal indulgences, i. 430. Opposed by Luther, ibid.

Teutonic knights; rise and possessions of, i. 324. Deprived of Prussia, 475. Fail in their attempts to recover it, 628.

Thugut, baron; sent to Paris to conclude an alliance between Austria and France in support of the Turks against Russia, ii. 519.

Thurn, Henry, count of; appointed general of the protestant confederacy in Bohemia formed against Rhodolph II. i. 707. Opposes the election of Ferdinand, 741. His character, 745. Rouses the protestants to rebellion, 750. Appointed their commander, 752. Defeats the imperialists, 756. Blockades Vienna, 765. Joins Bethlehem Gabor and defeats Burquoy, 771. Accompanies the elector

tor Palatine after his defeat, 784. Prescribed, 786. Induces Bethlehem Gabor to resume hostilities, 793. Returns into Bohemia with the Saxons, 836. Defeated by Wahlstein at Steinau, 889. Made prisoner at Ratisbon, 903. His subsequent obscurity, ibid.

Tycho Brahe; patronised by the emperor Rhodolph II. i. 689. 725. Mischievous effect of his prediction on Rhodolph, ibid.

Tile Kolop, an impostor; raises an insurrection by personting the emperor Frederic the Second, i. 60. Seized and executed by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, ibid.

Tilly, general of the catholic league; account of, i. 775. Invades Bohemia, 779. Defeats the elector Palatine, 781. Follows Mansfeld into the Lower Palatinate, 789. Defeats the margrave of Baden, Mansfeld, and Christian of Brunswick, 791. 793. Dissipates the new combination of the protestants headed by Christian IV. of Denmark, 801. 806. Nominated to the command of the army against Gustavus Adolphus, 838. Baffled by Gustavus, 840. Besieges and captures Magdeburgh, 841. Invades Saxony, 848. Defeated by the Swedes and Saxons at Breitenfeld, 850. Resumes hostilities, 861. Killed, 862.

Teckenburgh; war of, i. 231. 245.

Torcy, marquis; sent by Louis XIV. to negotiate with the allies, i. 1217. His attempts to bribe Marlborough, 1216. note. Character of his memoirs, 1232. note.

Tories; excluded from power, i. 1202. Their invectives against the conduct of the allies in the negotiations with Louis XIV. 1232. note. Regain the ascendancy and hasten a peace with France, 11. 12.

Tortenson; succeeds Banner in the command of the Swedish army, i. 930. Invades Bohemia, ibid. Defeats the Austrians at Breitenfeld, ibid. Renews his attack of Bohemia, 934. Invades Holstein, 935. Repulses Gallas, 937. Renews his invasion of Bohemia, ibid. Defeats the Austrians at Yutterbuck and Yankovitz, 938. Expelled by the archduke Leopold, 940. Quits the command, 941.

Toulon; fruitless expedition against, i. 1193.

Tournay; reduced by the allies, i. 1223.

Tourville; defeated off La Hogue, i. 1053.

Townshend, lord; employed in the negotiations of the allies with Louis XIV. i. 1217.

Transylvania; an account of, i. 539. note. Granted to John of Zapoli, ibid. Resigned to Ferdinand I. by the widow of Zapoli, 564. Restored to Sigismond son of John, 565. Election of Stephen Bathori, 659. Ceded by Sigismond Bathori to Rhodolph II. 683. Contests for its possession, 684. Its deplorable state, 687. Election of Stephen Botskai, ibid. Contests for the possession of after the treaty of Vienna, 732. The natives refuse to submit to the Austrian government, 936. note. Elect George Ragotsky, ibid. Expulsion of Ragotsky, and attempts of the Turks to appropriate the country, 967. Election of Abaffy, 968. Resignation of the principality to Austria, 1091. Rebellion under Ragotsky, 1151. Restoration of the Austrian government, 1247.

Trenn, marshal; defeats the Spaniards at Campo Santo, ii. 296.

Trautmansdorf; sent by Joseph II. as minister plenipotentiary to the Netherlands, ii. 639. His temperate conduct, ibid. His fruitless endeavours to conciliate the insurgents, 647. Retires, 648.

Treitzsaurwein author of the Weiss Kunig; an account of the life and actions of Maximilian I. i. 442. note.

Tremouille La; secures Burgundy against the invasion of the Swiss, i. 412.

Trent; treaty of between the emperor Maximilian and Louis IX. i. 367.

Trent, council of; its conduct towards the protestants, i. 503. Removed by the pope to Bologna, 514. Renewed by Pius IV. 523. Dissolved, 525.

Trevigiano; ceded to Leopold duke of Austria by the Venetians, i. 151. Yielded by Leopold to Francis of Carrara, 152.

Trieste; acquired by Leopold duke of Austria, i. 152. Declared a free port by Joseph II. 581.

Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the subjugation of the Netherlands by Louis XIV. i. 1023.

Tricultio; heads the French troops in the invasion of the Milanese, i. 361. Heads the French army against pope Julius II. 404.

Trocznow. See *Zizka*.

Truchses Gerard, count of, elector of Cologne; renounces the catholic religion, i. 664. Deposed by the emperor and the pope, ibid. Abandoned by the protestant body, 665. Endeavours in vain to obtain assistence from England, 666. note.

Turenne; assists in defeating the Bavarians at Nordlingen, i. 939. Unites with the Swedes in invading Bavaria, 941. 944. Driven out of Germany, 1023. Devastations in the Palatinate, ibid. Killed, 1029. note.

Turks; origin and progress of, i. 191. Conquests of their sultans, ibid. Capture Constantinople and overthrow the Greek empire, 209. Various incursions into Germany in the reign of Frederic III. 275. Invade Naples, 326. Expelled, 327. State of their empire at the accession of Maximilian I. ibid. Increase of their power, 424, 548. Prevent the transfer of Transylvania to the House of Austria after the treaty of Vienna, 734. Their first embassy to Vienna, ibid. Revolutions in their empire, 986. Renew their hostility against Austria, ibid. Attempt to appropriate Transylvania, 987. Invade Hungary, 992. Support Tekeli, 1075. Invade the Austrian territories, 1077. Excluded from Hungary, 1080. 1082. Decline of their empire, 1081. Agree to the peace of Carlovitz, 1089. Break the peace of Carlovitz, and declare war against the Venetians, ii. 28. War with Charles VI. 30. State of their empire after the peace of Passarovitz, 63. At the death of Augustus II. 109. War with Russia and Austria, 166. Their successes, 177. 184. Besiege Belgrade, 187. Peace of Belgrade, 190. War with Austria and Russia, 497. Peace of Kagnardji with Russia, 509. Cede the Buenvina to Austria, 511. Yield the Crimea and Kuban to Russia, 594. Alarmed by the hostile designs of Austria and Russia, 612. Declare war against Russia, ibid. Endeavour to conciliate Joseph II. 614.

Reverses of their arms, 622. Saved by the interposition of the Maritime Powers and Prussia, 624. Conclude the peace of Szistova, 672.

Tuscany; contests for the succession, ii. 37. 58. State of after the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, 67. Intailed on Don Carlos infant of Spain, 93. Transferred to Francis of Lorraine, afterwards emperor, 156.

Tyrol; inherited by Margaret Maultasch, i. 124 note. Contests for the possession of, 125, 126. Transferred to the Austrian family, 141. Contests for between Austria and Bavaria, ibid. Bequeathed by the emperor Ferdinand to his second son Ferdinand, 600. Right of primogeniture established by Ferdinand II. 918. Granted to the archduke Leopold, 919.

Tyrol line of the Austrian family, account of; i. 216.

Tzekeli Moses; heads the Transylvanians to resist the establishment of the Austrian government, i. 684. His defeat and death, ibid.

Valteline, Chiavenna, and *Bormio*; ceded to the Grisons, i. 409. Occupied by the Spaniards, 797. Restored, 799. Occupied by the French, 910. Evacuated, 922.

Vander Noot; organises the revolution in the Netherlands, ii. 644. Appropriates the principal authority in the government, 688. Opposition to his measures, ibid. Appeals in vain to England and Prussia, 689. His flight, 693.

Van Eupen; assists in the revolution of the Netherlands, ii. 644. Associated with Vander Noot in the new government, 688. His flight in the counter-revolution, 693.

Vander Mersch; commands the insurgent in the Netherlands, ii. 645. Defeats a corps of Austrians, ibid. Compels d'Alton to conclude an armistice, 647. Arrested and imprisoned by the congress, 689.

Vander Spiegel; appointed on the part of Holland to negotiate the re-establishment of the Austrian government in the Netherlands, ii. 691.

Vassalage; abolished in the Austrian territories, ii. 879.

Vauban; his improvements as an engineer, i. 1043.

Vendome; excludes Eugene from part of his conquests in Italy, i. 1123. Fruitless attempt to penetrate through the Trentin, 1130. Recalled by the defection of the duke of Savoy, 1131. Reduces a considerable part of Piemont, ibid. Baffles the attempts of Eugene to penetrate into Piemont, 1179. Sent to command the army in Flanders, 1176. 1182. Associated with the duke of Burgundy, 1204. Surprises Ghent and Bruges, ibid. Defeated at Oudenard, 1205. Vain attempts to prevent the reduction of Lille, 1208. Restores the ascendancy of Philip in Spain, 1242. Captures the British troops at Brihuega, 1241. Battle of Villa Viciosa, 1242.

Venice; origin of, i. 147. Invasion of its dominions by Louis king of Hungary, 149. Cedes Dalmatia, 150. Contests with Francis of Carrara, ibid. Yields the Trevigiano to Leopold of Austria, ibid. Regains Dalmatia, 172. Views on the Milanese, 257. Its disposition towards the emperor Frederic III. 259. State at the accession of Maximilian I. 332. Jealousy of the emperor, 333. Unites with France to oppose the passage of Maximilian into Italy, 389. Attacks the Austrian territories, 390. Threatened by the league of Cambray formed by the emperor, the kings of France and Arragon, and the states of Italy, 393. Its distressed situation, 394. 397. Recovers from its depression, 397. Concludes an accommodation with pope Julius II. 399. Attacked by the French and the emperor, 400. Joins the pope in the holy league against Louis XII. 401. Unites with Louis against the pope and the emperor, 409. War with Austria on account of the Uscocks, 680. State of after the peace of the Pyrenees, 1000. Unites with Leopold against the Turks, 1034. Acquires the Morea by the peace of Carlowitz, 1090. Favours Leopold in the war for the Spanish succession, 1116. State of at the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, ii. 65. Refuses to unite with Joseph and Catherine II. against the Turks, 615.

Vergennes; intrusted by Louis XVI. with the administration, ii. 517. Pursues a system of policy hostile to the House of Austria, ibid. Fortifies the prejudices of Louis against Joseph II. 520. His influence in the Russian cabinet, 554. Plan for dividing and weakening the American States, 603. note. Death, 607.

Verrua; siege of, i. 1178.

Versailles; treaty of, ii. 604.

Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy; joins the Grand Alliance, i. 1051. His territories overran by the French, 1054. Concludes an accommodation with France, 1059. Gained by Louis the XIVth in the war of the Spanish succession, 1114. Declares in favour of the emperor, 1130. Defends his country against the French, 1178. Joined by Eugene, 1182. Assists in defeating the French at Turin, 1184. Leads the expedition against Toulon, 1192. Disgusted with the emperor, 1228. Receives the island of Sicily with the title of king, ii. 19. Deserts the emperor Charles VI. and espouses the cause of Philip V. 37. Accedes to the Quadruple Alliance, and receives Sardinia in exchange for Sicily, 40. Character, principles, and acquisitions, 66. 111. His abdication, attempt to resume the crown, and death, 111.

Vienna; troubles there during the contests between Frederic and his brother Albert, i. 270. Frederic besieged in the citadel, ibid. The city besieged by Solyman the Magnificent, 554. Blockaded by the Bohemian insurgents, 766. 771. Besieged by the Turks, 1076.

—— peace of; concluded by Matthias with Botskai and the Turks, i. 694.

—— second and third treaties of; ii. 100, 101.

Villars; leads an army into Bavaria, i. 1126. 1128. Plans an attack against the Austrian territories, ibid. Returns to France, 1129. Commands the army to oppose Marlborough on the Moselle, 1167. Commands on the Rhine, 1177. Penetrates into the empire, 1196. Secures Dauphiné, 1212. Defeated at Malplaquet, 1225. Unable to prevent the reduction of Douay and St. Venant, 1234. Signs the preliminaries of peace with Eugene at Rastadt, ii. 20. His remark on the termination of the war, 21.

Villeneuve French minister at the Porte; extorts from the

the Austrian general count Neuperg the cession of Belgrade, i. 191. 198.

Villeroy; defeated at Chiari by Eugene, i. 1117. United with the elector of Bavaria in commanding the army in the Netherlands, 1174. Defeated at Ramillies, 1175.

Visconti, Matthew; assumes the sovereignty of Milan, i. 112. Opposes the views of pope John XXII. ibid. His contest with Robert king of Naples for the possession of Genoa, ibid. His death, 113.

Visconti Galeas; succeeds his father Matthew, i. 113. Loses Parma and other places, ibid.

Visconti John Galeas; puts his uncle Barnabas to death, and acquires all the territories of his family, i. 168.

Volkmar; his description of the person of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, i. 64. note.

Voltaire; his erroneous assertion that Maria Theresa revived the ancient coronation oath taken by the kings of Hungary, ii. 262. note.

Uhlfeld, count; his character, ii. 369. Singular proof of his subservience to Bartonstein, 365. note.

Uladislaus king of Poland; assists his brother Casimir to obtain the crown of Bohemia when elected by the Hussites, i. 187. Accepts the hand of Elizabeth widow of the emperor Albert, 200. Crowned king of Hungary, 201. Accommodation with the adherents of Austria, 202. Success against the Turks, ibid. Killed at Warna, 204.

Ulric duke of Carniolia and Carinola; sells his territories to Ottocar king of Bohemia, i. 37.

Ulric duke of Wirtenberg; concurs with Augustus elector of Saxony in arranging the Book of Concord or Lutheran Formulary of Faith, i. 660.

Ulrica Eleonora sister of Charles XII.; transfers the crown of Sweden to her husband Frederic, ii. 61.

Underwalden. See *Schweitz*.

Underwaldens; defeat the Austrians after the battle of Morgarten, i. 108.

United Provinces; rebel against Philip II. and declare themselves independent, i. 650. Resist the attacks of Don John of Austria and the duke of Parma, 651. Confer the sovereignty on Francis duke of Anjou, ibid. Deserted by him, ibid. Their distressed situation, ibid. Recovered by Maurice prince of Orange, 652. Obtain possession of the contested territories of Juliers and Cleves, 736. Unite with France in the thirty years' war, 910. Conclude a separate peace with Philip IV. 951. Unite with Leopold I. in the war of Poland against Sweden, 977. Mediate a peace, 983. State of after the peace of the Pyrenees, 1001. Exclusion of the princes of Orange from the government, 1002. Unite with England to prevent Louis XIV. from dismembering the Netherlands, 1023. Attacked by France and England, 1025. Their imminent danger, 1026. Restoration of the House of Orange to the government, ibid. Assisted by the emperor and Brandenburgh, 1027. Make a separate peace with France, 1033. Favour the encroachments of Louis XIV. on the empire, 1041. Accede to the Grand Alliance, 1017. Peace of Ryswick, 1060. State of the country at the commencement of the dispute for the Spanish succession, 1114. Acknowledge Philip as king of Spain, ibid. Reunite with the emperor, 1118. Their conduct in the negotiations with Louis XIV. 1190. 1222. Approve the conduct of their plenipotentiaries at Gertruydenberg, 1232. Join Charles VI. during the negotiations for peace with Louis XIV. ii. 17. Refuse a passage to the troops under the duke of Ormond, ibid. Desert the emperor, 18. Discussions relative to the Barrier Treaty, 22. State of after the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, 69. At the death of Augustus II. 114. Conclude a neutrality with France, 138. Situation at the conclusion of the peace of Belgrade, 205. Disputes with the emperor relative to the Barrier Treaty, 353. Compelled to withdraw their troops from the barrier towns by Joseph II. 387. Disputes with Joseph relative to the limits of Austrian Flanders, and the navigation of the Scheldt, 388. Conclude the peace of Fontainebleau, 590. Ascendancy of France, 606. Restoration of the prince of Orange by Prussia and England, ibid. Unite with Prussia and England to oppose the ambitious designs of Austria and Russia against Turky, 645. 664. 666. Favour the insurgents of the Netherlands, 646. Negotiations with Leopold relative to the re-establishment of the Austrian government, 691. 696.

Urfort, count; arranges with Leopold II. a plan for the relief of Louis XVI. ii. 706.

Uri. See *Schweitz*.

Ursel, duke of; heads a party in the Netherlands against Vander Noot, ii. 689.

Utrecht; history of, i. 680. Their depredations, ibid. Occasion a war between the princes of Austria and the Venetians and Turks, 681. Suppressed, ibid.

Uthquenitch. See *Martinuzzi*.

Utrecht; congress of, ii. 16. Peace of, 18. Remarks on, 34.

Waldegrave, lord, British minister at Vienna; his character, ii. 98.

Waldstein; his early life and character, i. 802. Raises an army in behalf of Ferdinand II. 804. Defeats Mansfeld, 805. Reduces Bethlehem Gabor to sign a truce, 806. Recovers Silesia, 807. Reduces the elector of Brandenburgh to submission, ibid. Contributes to the defeat of Christian IV. ibid. Receives from the emperor the duchy of Mecklenburgh, 810. Proposes to invade Sweden and Denmark, ibid. Overruns Pomerania, ibid. Besieges Stralsund, ibid. Hastens a peace with Denmark, 812. Dismissed through the intrigues of the elector of Bavaria, 826. His conduct in disgrace, 867. Receives new proposals from the emperor, 869. Raises a new army, 870. Endeavours to detach the elector of Saxony, 871. Expels the Saxons from Bohemia, 872. Unites with the Bavarians, and endeavours to reduce Nuremberg, ibid. Baffled by Gustavus Adolphus, 875. Penetrates into Saxony, 875. Defeated at Lutzen, 876. Retires into Bohemia, 887. Causes of his inactivity, 888. Again attempts to conciliate the elector of Saxony, ibid. Recovers Silesia, ibid. Penetrates into the Mark of Brandenburgh, 890. His disgrace and assassination, 890—897.

Wallis, count; commands the army against the Turks, ii. 183. Defeated at Crotska, 185. His depression,

depression, 187. Makes proposals to the Grand Vizier, 188. Yields Belgrade, 192. His reply to the invectives of Bartenstein, 196. Imprisoned, 198.

Walpole, Sir *Robert*; his rise, character, and political principles, ii. 116. Prevents England from entering into the war on the Polish election. 137. Resigns, 277.

Walpole Horatio; his account of the conduct of Charles VI. when besieged in Barcelona, ii. 3.

Walter of Plettenburgh; separates Livonia from the territories of the Teutonic order, and introduces the Reformation, i. 629.

War, art of; change occasioned by the invention of gunpowder, i. 390. Changes before and during the reign of Leopold, 1157.

Waradin; treaty of between Ferdinand I. and John of Zapoli, i. 559.

Wasner, baron; his character and attachment to England, ii. 364.

Wassenaer, admiral; forces the passage of the sound and relieves Copenhagen, i. 981.

Wibray referendary of the council of war at Vienna; his influence with Charles VI. ii. 172.

Wisleren, Philippa; wife of Ferdinand of Tyrol, ii. 604.

Wenceslaus infant son of Ottocar of Bohemia; succeeds to the throne, i. 49. His distressed situation under the guardianship of his uncle Otho, of Brandenburgh, 61. Restored by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, ibid. Marries the daughter of Rhodolph, 62. Obtains the crown of Poland, 85. Disputes with his brother-in-law, Albert, ibid.

Wenceslaus, son of Wenceslaus; chosen king of Hungary by a party of the nation in opposition to Carobert, prince of Naples, i. 86. Succeeds to Bohemia on the death of his father, 87. Reconciled to his uncle the emperor Albert, ibid. Assassinated, ibid.

Wenceslaus king of Bohemia; imprisoned by his subjects, i. 163. Liberated by his brother John, 164. Again imprisoned by his brother Sigismond, 166. His weak and imprudent administration. 172. Deprived of the imperial crown, ibd. His conversation with Zeska, afterwards chief of the Hussites, 175.

Werner bishop of Strasburgh; builds the castle of Hapsburgh, i. 2.

Werner of Eppenstein elector of Mentz; his intrigues to prevent the elevation of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the imperial throne, i. 23.

Wert, John de; general of the catholic league, i. 912. Succeeds in the command of the Bavarian army, i. 939. Attempts to induce the Bavarians to join the imperialists, 943.

Westminster; alliance of, ii. 383.

Westphalia; secret tribunals of modified by Albert II. i. 188.

——— peace of; its conclusion, i. 949. Terms of, 953. Remarks on its effects, 961.

Whigs; gain the ascendancy in the British government, i. 1092. Dismissed, ii. 14.

Wilhelmina, Amelia; wife of Joseph I. 1254.

William son of Leopold of Austria; disappointed in his hope of espousing Hedwige, heiress of Hungary and Poland, i. 152. Extorts from his uncle and cousin, the dominions held by his father, 165. His death, 167.

William landgrave of Hesse; threatened by Tilly, i. 815. Enters into an alliance with Gustavus Adulphus, 817. His death, 921.

——— landgrave of Hesse; his accession. i. 921. His acquisitions by the peace of Westphalia, 955.

William prince of Orange; obtains the authority in the Dutch government, possessed by his ancestors, i. 1027. His exertions to repel the invasion of Louis XIV. ibid. 1030. Baffles the attempts of France, to divide the allies, ibid. Espouses the princess Mary of England, 1031. Endeavours to prevent the conclusion of peace, by attacking the French, 1035. Concurs with Leopold, to rousing the spirit of Europe against Louis, 1046. Obtains the throne of England, 1048. Assists in consolidating the grand alliance, 1051. Opposes the French in the Low Countries, 1053. Accepts the overtures of Louis, 1057. 1060. Concludes the peace of Ryswick, ibid. Negotiations relative to the Spanish succession, 1098. Partition treaties, 1098. 1103. Acknowledges Philip V. 1113. Unites with the emperor, and renews the grand alliance, 1118. Death, 1120.

——— prince of Orange; raised to the Stadtholdership, ii. 343. His character and opposition to the duke of Cumberland, 344.

Winkelried, Arnold of; memorable instance of his heroism, at the battle of Sempach, i. 138.

Witts, de; exclude the House of Orange from the government of the United Provinces, i. 1003. Assassinated, 1025.

Worms, diet of; state of the Lutheran controversy, at its commencement, i. 462. Treaty of, ii. 297.

Wrangel; succeeds Torstenson in the command of the Swedish army, i 941. Carries the war into Bavaria, ibid. Invades Bohemia, 942. Penetrates again into Bavaria, 944.

Wunsch, general; defeats the army of the empire at Turgau, ii. 441.

Ximenes, cardinal; governs Spain after the death of Ferdinand of Arragon, i. 449. Dismissed by Charles V. ibid.

Ysica; conquered by the allies, i. 1189.

Yusuph, Pasha; his success against Joseph II. ii. 616. Invades Temeswar, ibid. Disgraced and assassinated, 622.

Zapoli, John; contests the crown of Hungary with Ferdinand I. i. 552. Supported by the Turks, ibid. Concludes the treaty of Great Waradin with Ferdinand, and obtains the waivodeship of Transylvania, 559. His marriage and death, 569. Erroneous account that he bequeathed the crown of Hungary to his infant son, ibid.

Zatmar; peace of between Joseph II. and the Hungarian insurgents, i. 1252.

Zigeth; siege of by Solyman II. i. 637.

Zips; lordship of first seized by the Austrians in the partition of Puland, ii. 501.

Zisko, or John of Trocznow; heads the Hussites in

in Bohemia, i. 175. Remark on his name, ibid. note. His conduct in the war, 177. Fortifies Mount Tabor, ibid. His death, 178. note.

Zug, canton of; accedes to the Helvetic confederacy, i. 132.

Zwingle, introduces the reformation in Switzerland, i. 479. His dispute with Luther, 491. Killed at the battle of Cappel, 504.

Zurich, citizens of; their contest with Luchtold baron of Regensburgh, i. 14. Chuse Rhodolph of Hapsburgh their chief, ibid. Join the Swiss confederacy, 130. Besieged by Albert duke of Austria, 132, 133, 134. Consent to an accommodation with Albert, 136. The treaty broken off by the intervention of the Swiss, ibid. War with the other Helvetic states for the succession of Tockenburgh, 231. 245. Unite with the emperor Frederic, 247. Conclusion of hostilities, 251.

Zrini, count; his brave defence of Zigeth, against Solyman the Second, i. 637.

Zrini, count, ban of Croatia; his disputes with Montecuculi, i. 994.

Zrini, count Peter; forms a conspiracy against Leopold, i. 1070. Executed, 1071.

FINIS.

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Sixty Copies of this HISTORY of the HOUSE of AUSTRIA have been printed on Royal Quarto, to correspond with the large Paper Copies of the Author's other Works.

MEMOIRS of the LIFE and ADMINISTRATION of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, with original Correspondence and authentic Papers, never before published; 3 vols. 4to. £.3. 3 *s.* Large Paper, £.7. 7 *s.*

The same Work in 3 vols. 8vo. without the Correspondence, Price £.1. 4 *s.*

MEMOIRS of HORATIO LORD WALPOLE, selected from his Correspondence and Papers, and connected with the History of the Times, until his death in 1757; illustrated with Portraits, 4to. £.3. 3.

An HISTORICAL TOUR in MONMOUTHSHIRE, embellished with views by Sir R. C. HOARE, Bart. engraved by Byrne and other eminent Artists, Portraits, Plans of Roman Stations, Towns, Castles, and antient Encampments, and illustrated with a whole Sheet Map of the County. This Work contains not less than Ninety Plates, exclusive of the Map; £.4. 4 *s.* Large Paper, £.7. 7 *s.*

TRAVELS in POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN, and DENMARK, with considerable Additions, 5 vols. 8vo. 5th Edition, £.2. 5*s.*

Also in large Paper, 3 vols. 4to.—In this Edition is given a whole length Portrait of the Emperor Paul I. in his usual Costume; it was engraved from an original Picture in the Possession of Lord Whitworth, late British Minister at the Court of Petersburgh, and the Plate destroyed when the requisite number of Impressions had been taken off.

TRAVELS in SWITZERLAND and the COUNTRY of the GRISONS, 3 vols. 8vo. Fourth Edition, with an historical Sketch, and Notes on the late Revolution, £. 1. 4*s.*

A few Copies are printed on Royal Paper, 8vo. with SMITH's Views, £.2. 2 *s.*

Also in 2 vols. Royal Quarto, with the Supplement, £.6. 6*s.*—The Supplement, 7*s.*

Account of the RUSSIAN DISCOVERIES between ASIA and AMERICA. To which are added, The CONQUEST of SIBERIA, and The HISTORY of the TRANSACTIONS between RUSSIA and CHINA. Fourth Edition, considerably enlarged, 10*s.* 6*d.* A few Copies in Royal Quarto, £.3. 3*s.*

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES of HANDEL and SMITH, 4to. with Portraits and select Pieces of Music, composed by J. C. SMITH, never before published. Price, on fine Paper, £.1. 4 *s.* and on common Paper, 12*s.* Published for the benefit of Mr. Smith's Relations.

A SERMON on the EXCELLENCE of BRITISH JURISPRUDENCE; preached before the Honourable Sir FRANCIS BULLER, Bart. and the Honourable Sir NASH GROSE, Knt. March 10, 1799, in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, and published at their request.

EXPLANATION of the CATECHISM of the CHURCH of ENGLAND, 6*d.*

An ABRIDGEMENT of SECKER's TRACT on CONFIRMATION, 3*d.*